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Calamba in 1858, one of the 60 aquarelle drawings made by a traveling German artist, I. A. Karuth. The original Rizal home was to the right, less than a hundred yards away. (Courtesy, Ayala y Cia.)

RIZAL IN RETROSPECT

The Centennial Anniversary Number
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Carlos Quirino
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The officers and members of the Philippine Historical Association regret to announce the death of their Honorary Vice-President, Don Sergio Osmeña (1878-1961), former president of the Philippines, last October 10, 1961. He was the Speaker of the first Philippine Assembly in 1907 and served in various public capacities until elected to the vice-presidency of the Commonwealth Government in 1935. As a successor to the late Manuel L. Quezon, he landed on Philippine soil with General Douglas MacArthur during liberation, and on his shoulders fell the task of reconstructing a devastated country. He was a statesman and a great patriot. The Association joins all Filipinos in mourning his demise.

A DEFENSE OF THE NOLI

Marcelo H. del Pilar

Among the first to come to the defense of Rizal's novel, the Noli, was the great Bulakeño who wrote under the pseudonym of Plaridel. Learning that a countryman had come to his defense, Rizal wrote: "At last I can say, parodying Jacob — 'now I can die content.' I am sure that the work I have dreamed about will be completed. 'Why couldn't we have a hundred Plaridels?" Prof. Maria Lourdes Carballo of the University of the East made the translation from the original Spanish.

I

Filipino monachism has not been able to stomach José Rizal's novel *Noli Me Tángere,* in spite of the welcome given it in political and literary circles in Spain and the rest of Europe.

Censorship in the Philippines would wish to change the title *Noli Me Tángere* to *Noli Me Légere.*

The following is the opinion of an Augustinian friar:

"Your Excellency: — The undersigned, a member of the Permanent Commission of Censors in these islands has read and examined carefully the book entitled *Noli Me Tángere,* a Tagalog novel, written by F. (?) Rizal, native of the Philippines and printed (according to the frontispiece) in 1886, in Berlin, (Berliner Buchdruckerei-Atien-Gesellschaft).

"The book is an infamous libel, full of lies and calumny. In it, the author reveals gross ignorance of the history of this country, completely savage until the Gospel brought in its light; completely degenerate, like the heathen countries that surround it, until the wise love of Mother Spain raised it from its misery and moral prostration. I thus consider this book as deserving the bitterest and and most severe censure, to be subjected to official rebuke and shunned by all honorable persons.

"His objective is to brazenly discredit all the institutions founded in these isolated islands by the Mother Country: this man who harbors an ill-disguised hatred for the mother who gave him life;

this man who feeds on the infamous works of envious foreigners who would deny to Spain the honor of her great undertaking in the Philippines; this man who struts with the air of a Volney or a Voltaire.

"He attacks, profanely and violently, some fundamental dogmas and many truths and pious beliefs of the State religion. His fury is directed at the Religious Communities and the worthy Guardia Civil not so much because of the habit and the rules of the former, and the social mission of the latter, but because both institutions stand as the invincible barrier to the separatist movement and the full independence of the country.

"According to its author, the Philippines had to pay dearly for the little of civilization that Spain brought here. She would, therefore, prefer degradation and death a thousand times to life under the despotic rule of Spain.

"The author accuses the Tribunals of Justice of corruption, the Governor-General of venality, the administration of ineptitude. He decries the absence of education in a country where more than sixty per cent of the people read and write. He affirms that the archipelago has been left to its own resources, the Filipinos made slaves, the same Filipinos whom he would awaken with shouts of blood and vengeance, evoking memories of Cavite, to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

"One can hardly point out a page in the *Noli Me Tángere* without an injurious allusion to respectable institutions and persons. To note all of them down is impossible. To substantiate what has just been given in summary form, the undersigned would call your Excellency's attention to the following points:"

(Then follows an analytical criticism, divided into four articles, with the following headings:)

Attacks against the State religion;

Attacks against the Administration, the Spanish civil servants and the Tribunals of Justice;

Attacks against the Guardia Civil;

Attacks against the integrity of Spain.

The censor cites pages containing the respective attacks, quoting texts, taking care to omit all words that would complete and justify the author's thought and intention.

A mere glance at this censor's report and a collation with the work under criticism will evince bad faith, if not the ignorance, of the censor.

After the analytical examination of the book, the Reverend Father ends with these paragraphs:

"The undersigned has founded his opinion on the texts which have been submitted *verbatim* for your just consideration, and is of the opinion that this pernicious book should be totally banned from importation, reprint and circulation in the islands."

"As your Excellency has seen, the book not only contains attacks against the State Religion, and respectable governments officials and institutions, but is replete with foreign teachings and doctrines, which might lead the meek and loyal children of Spain in these islands to a bitter hatred for her. He compares her to foreign countries, specially Germany for whom he seems to have a certain predilection. His sole aim is the absolute independence of the country. For this purpose, he seeks to destroy, with a profane and daring hand, the sacred integrity of the mother country, that mother who gave him life; who nurtured him, who fed him with bread of civilization, and who made the Philippines, once pagan and ignorant, a Catholic nation. She (*sic*) is the freest and most enlightened of peoples, living as it is under the protection of the European nations. She is the happiest race, sheltered by the paternal Laws of the Indies, the highest monument that heroic and peerless Spain built in our modern civilization to protect the young nations entrusted to her God, not to enslave and degrade them, like other nations, but to teach and educate them and make them see the dawn of Christian liberty and the shining sun of a new life, of social culture and of modern civilization.

"The recommendation of the absolute circulation [prohibition] of this book is therefore submitted here. We leave, however, to the greater wisdom and lofty judgment of your Excellency to determine the most prudent and fitting manner of judging it."

"Manila, December 29, 1887.—Fr. Salvador Font, Augustinian Friar—To His Excellency, the General of these Philippine Islands."

The literary brilliance with which the reverend censor would embellish his opinion is magnificent; but the adornments of rhetoric cannot disguise the lack of truthfulness and good faith of the criticism:

Consider the conduct of F. Font. He qualifies the work as libelous; he states that it offends, amongst other institutions, the religious community to which he belongs as a friar; and yet, offended as he is in his dignity as a person or as a member of his corporation, he unhesitatingly accepts the position of censor, using his official capacity as a member of the Permanent Commission of Censors to judge a book that he says offends him. Where is

the guarantee of impartiality here? The spleen he vents in his report is certainly not the serenity that one who works dispassionately and with fidelity to duty should display.

Let us examine nevertheless the sentence laid down by this judge and enemy of the Filipino novelist.

II

Any civilizing tendency in the Philippines was discredited and calumniated by the friars. If it came from the ruling elements it was called despotism, and denounced to the fanaticism of the people; if it came from the popular elements, it was called subversion and denounced to the furious blindness of the rulers.

In a history as short as ours, disastrous are the pages devoted to the regular clergy.

Don Diego Salcedo, a power in the islands, was arrested and chained in his own bedroom by the friars. Don Fernando de Bustamante, leader in the archipelago, died of stab wounds, when he was called from his palace by the regular clergy. Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, stubborn defender of the integrity of Spain, Archbishop Don Basilio Sancho, defender of morality and discipline in his diocese, and other civil and ecclesiastical officials felt on their heads the implacable domination of the convents in the Philippines.

It is not surprising, therefore, that now they have to contend with the author of the *Noli Me Tángere,* who wrote to *criticize* for the betterment of the Philippines, because he loved Spain.

In fact, he satirizes the social evils among the people as well as in the institutions. Thus, he upbraids the simony and oppression of the religious, the venality of the officials, the theocratic-clerical tutelage imposed on the Filipino government, the abuses of the army. He reproaches, among the common people, their passion for cockfighting; the indolence of family-heads, as portrayed by Pedro, Sisa's wife; in Bruno and Tárcilo he deplores the mercenariness of the ignorant; in Capitán Tiago, egoism, fanaticism, ambition . . . . and more! in Crisóstomo Ibarra, symbol of patriotism, he criticizes the lack of faith in the free spirit of Spanish politics.

At the height of his misfortune, Ibarra refused to negotiate peaceful reforms for his country, wishing to resort to violent measures in his desperation. The author then condemns his separatist aspirations, putting in Elias's mouth these words that breathe the spirit of wisdom:[1]

[1] All quotations have been taken from Derbyshire translation. (Translator's note)

C. Ibarra: "Now misfortune has torn the bandage from my eyes; the solitude and misery of my prison have taught me; now I see the horrible cancer which feeds upon this society, which clutches its flesh, and which demands a violent rooting out. They have opened my eyes, they have made me see the sore, and they force me to be a criminal! Since they wish it, I will be a *filibustero,* a real filibuster, I mean. I will call together all the unfortunate, all who feel a heartbeat in their breasts, all those who were sending you to me. No, I will not be a criminal—never is he such who fights for his native land, but quite the reverse! We, during three centuries, have extended them our hands, we have asked love of them, we have yearned to call them brothers, and how do they answer us? With insults and jests, denying us even the chance character of human beings. There is no God, there is no hope, there is no humanity; there is nothing but the right of might!"

Elias: "You are the master of your own will, sir, and of your future. But if you will allow me an observation, I would say: think well what you are planning to do—you are going to light the flames of war, since you have money and brains, and you will quickly find many to join you, for unfortunately there are plenty of malcontents. But in this struggle which you are going to undertake, those who will suffer most will be the defenseless and the innocent. The same sentiments that a month ago impelled me to appeal to you asking for reforms are those that move me now to urge you to think well. The country, sir, does not think of separating from the mother country; it only asks for a little freedom, justice, and affection. You will be supported by the malcontents, the criminals, the desperate; but the people will hold aloof. You are mistaken if, seeing all dark, you think that the country is desperate. The country suffers, yes, but it still hopes and trusts and will only rebel when it has lost its patience; that is, when those who govern it wish it to do so, and that time is yet distant. I myself will not follow you, never will I resort to such extreme measures while I see hope in men."

"Then I'll go on without you!" responded Ibarra resolutely.

"Is your decision final?"

"Final and firm; let the memory of my father bear witness! I will not let peace and happiness be torn away from me with impunity, I who desired only what was good, I who have respected everything and endured everything out of love for a hypro-critical religion and out of love of country. How have they answered me?

By burying me in an infamous dungeon and robbing me of my intended wife! No, not to avenge myself would be a crime, it would be encouraging them to new acts of injustice! No, it would be cowardice, pusillanimity, to groan and weep when there is blood and life left, when to insult and menace is added mockery. I will call out these ignorant people, I will make them see their misery. I will teach them to think not of brotherhood but only that they are wolves for devouring, I will urge them to rise against this oppression and proclaim the eternal right of man to win his freedom!"

"But innocent people will suffer!"

"So much the better!"

The preceding lines show that the *Noli Me Tángere* is far from being separatist, and the censor's judgment is clearly inaccurate and slanderous.

The exaggeration of Father Font is pardonable; his obduracy is natural, because of the attacks which he suspects are directed against his Corporation. But it is regretable that his insidious bad faith should place a barrier between the spirit of fraternity that people find between Spain and the Philippines.

Neither have we found proof on the observation that the author of the *Noli Me Tángere* has a special predilection for Germany, for the achievement of his ends.

One must bear in mind that this method of awakening hatred for the Filipinos by accusing Rizal of so-called preference for this nation so covetous for colonies would only excite the cupidity of Germany or the envy of France, and in any case would obstruct Spain's political relations with her possessions.

All the vested interests in the Philippines cry out against this accursed system of clericalism, for it is known that this element is not Spanish, has no mother country. Its future is assured by the Banks of Asia and it would not matter at all to the clergy to see that little piece of Spain involved in international wars.

III

We extend our unconditional praise to the enthusiastic words with which Father Font explains the aspirations of the Mother Country in her campaign for civilization in the Philippines.

He acknowledges Spain's plan of assimilation for the archipelago, as a mission entrusted by God to her, not to degrade the

colonies, but to educate them and bring on them "the resplendent sun of a new life, of social culture and modern civilization."

If is to be deplored, though, that this campaign of the government should meet with an insurmountable barrier in the convents. Raised to power without the responsibilities of power, they stand between the government and the people, thus achieving their objective of domination to the detriment of both groups.

The author of the *Noli Me Tángere* recognizes this: thus the following observation is uttered by a character in the novel, to decry the optimism of those who belittle the power of the clergy before the good intentions of the governments:[2]

"The government! The government!" muttered the Sage, raising his eyes to stare at the ceiling. "However inspired it may be with the desire for fostering the greatness of the country itself and of the mother country, however some official or other way recall the generous spirit of the Catholic Sovereigns and may agree with it, too, the government sees nothing, hears nothing, nor does it decide anything, except what the curate or the Provincial causes it to see, hear and decide. The government is convinced that it depends for its salvation wholly on them, that it is sustained because they uphold it, and that the day on which they cease to support it, it will fall like a mannequin that has lost its prop. They intimidate the government with an uprising of the people and the people with the forces of the government, whence originates a simple game, very much like what happens to timid persons when they visit gloomy places, taking for ghosts their own shadows and for strange voices the echoes of their own. As long as the government does not deal directly with the country it will not get away from this tutelage, it will live like those imbecile youths who tremble at the voice of their tutor, whose kindness they are begging for. The government has no dream of a healthy future; it is the aim, while the head is the *convents.* By this inertia with which it allows itself to be dragged from depth to depth, it becomes changed into a weak and incapable way it trusts everything to mercenary hands."

This observation may or may not be accurate. If it is, if it is true that the friar belittles the government, if it is true that the government errs miserably in allowing itself to be led by clerical ambitions, if it is true that this state of affairs is staining the brilliant history of Spanish institutions in the East, why should this man be censured? Why should he not be accused of Filibusterism,

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2 From Derbyshire's translation (Transl.'s Note).

and anti-Hispanism? Why when with his learning and his sacrifices he gives the government the fullness of his knowledge to erase old errors and build up Spain's prestige in the Philippines?

If the observation is untrue, if the friar on the contrary rises to the aid of the government, if he favors their projects, why are there so many obstacles in the work of progress in the Philippines, so longed for by both rulers and subjects?

Why is it so difficult to propagate the Spanish language, when the friars control the faculty who depends on the clergy for their sustenance? Why do people turn to private instruction, when public education is free and supervised by the friars? Whence come those dark clouds that dim the "resplendent scene of a new life, social culture and modern civilization?"

Standing orders declare all obstructionists to the diffusion of the official language in the islands as enemies of the state. And yet, a little Tagalog novelette recently published is going around, discrediting the study of our language.

The booklet entitled *"Si Tandang Basio Macunat"* written by the Very Reverend Father Miguel Bustamante declares that a knowledge of Spanish in harmful to the *indio* for from the very moment that he is separated from his carabao he becomes an enemy of God and his King.

This little work, in spite of such a declaration, was approved by the Commission of which Father Font is a member. On the other hand the *Noli Me Tángere* was declared anathema because it bewails the lack of union between the people and the government and the weakening effects that such a lack will have on the integrity of the government.

IV

The Manila Commission of Censors also charges the *Noli Me Tángere* with reviving memories of Cavite.

The uprising referred to, foreseen by Fray Salvi and attributed later to Ibarra, has actually a similarity with the Cavite events of 1872.

The famous question of the Filipino clergy was being agitated, as it aimed to revindicate the rights of the secular groups.

The Tridentine Council declared that members of the regular clergy may not hold secular benefices. As such, all friars who have been given parishes are discharging their office on pure privilege

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and on a temporary basis, as long as there are not enough secular priest to fill them.

Such was the situation with the promulgation of the Papal bulls of Pius V, Innocent X, and Benedict XIV and the royal decrees issued immediately after the conquest.

But the situation has changed, and arrangements have been made for the secularization of the parishes; also, the opening of the Suez Canal has helped to attract secular priests in Spain to these parishes.

Therefore, steps were taken to continue the matter of secularization which had been initiated by Don Pedro Pelaez. Under the leadership of the young doctor Don José Burgos the secular priests maintained that the privilege of holding parishes by the regular clergy had already seen its time.

The regular clergy answered with a vigorous campaign. Helpless to oppose the rights of the secular clergy, they resorted to a thousand ways to belittle the native priest. He has been accused of ignorance; he has been reported as consecrating hosts made of rice-flour; and with his enemy drawing inspiration form Darwin, he has been relegated to the race of the apes.

Forgetting the history of the country, keeping silent on offenses made against the highest authorities of the archipelago by the friars, dismissing the memory of Salcedo in prison and Bustamante's assassination, the idea was spread out that the friar was necessary to the country for the maintenance of Spanish unity and integrity.

The rain of calumnies began; the enthusiastic welcome given General De la Torre was interpreted as a desire for separatism. A wave of enmity hit the atmosphere, greatly impeding the progress in the country.

Then the Cavite affair! A few soldiers rose in mutiny, and was quelled twelve hours later. Immediately a military tribunal acted and three priests of the secular clergy, Don José Burgos, Don Mariano Gomez and Don Jacinto Zamora, were condemned to the scaffold.

This is the Cavite event which should be the object of a careful and impartial study. The Philippines is on the threshold of a period of reforms, and we believe that their good effects will depend greatly on a fair examination of past historical events. It is of great importance, therefore, to determine whether the Cavite case was a mere military insubordination or a popular uprising.

Proof of its military nature was the fact that it was judged by a military tribunal. In those times, neither Cavite nor Manila, nor

any other part of the archipelago, was in a state of a siege; military law had not been proclaimed; and because these military tribunals had no power over political crimes their jurisdiction was purely over military ones.

The Filipino people are therefore not answerable to history for that uprising.

The judgement passed on the Filipinos with regard to that rebellion is weak. There is no declaration on record, no sentence passed by any competent tribunal that declares as true and indisputable the Filipino aspiration for separation from the mother country.

Furthermore, such an aspiration would be opposed to the interests of the Philippines. Her sons are well aware that, severed from Spain, they will become a pawn in international wars; the geographical position of the country cut up into so many islands lends itself to this; to accuse them of this thought is to accuse them of suicide. Would such a desperate intention give honor to Spain?

The Cavite event clamors for enlightenment. Seen from this point of view, Father Font's criticism is welcome, for it provides the opportunity to bring such an important episode of the Philippine archipelago out in the open.

Recalling these events, the *Noli Me Tángere* in Chapter VIII answers with this thought:

"No, in spite of everything, the fatherland first, first the child of Spain, first the Spanish fatherland! No, that which is decreed by fate does tarnish the honor of the fatherland, No!"

And Father Font condemns this!

CRITIQUE OF THE NOLI

Ferdinand Blumentritt

A spirited defense of Rizal's first novel was made by his good friend and admirer, Prof. Blumentritt of Leitzmeritz, who enumerates the basic reasons why the Spaniards attacked so rabidly the book and its author. This critique and that by Plaridel first appeared in a pamphlet printed in Barcelona in 1889. Translation has been made by Prof. Maria Lourdes Carballo.

In that far corner of the world-known as Filipinas, conditions are such that one cannot help recalling the state of affairs of past centuries. The administration of the country, completely bureaucratic-military, is subordinated to the interests of the all-powerful monachism. Deprived of representation in the Cortes and of freedom of the press, abuses are the order of the day and, as in the provinces of ancient Rome, the welfare or the misfortune of the country depends not on the laws but on the personal qualities of each civil servant in particular.

It is not to be denied, however, that the administration meets with difficulties, such as the diversity of races inhabiting the islands, and their different degrees of culture. The population is predominantly Malayan, subdivided into several branches. For our purpose, we shall look only into the Christianized section of the people, among whom the most important is the Tagalog race.

The Spaniards included under the name *Indio* (and *India*) all Christianized and civilized Malayans, an appellation we shall continue to use in our dissertation to avoid misunderstanding.

Beside the six million *Indios* dwindle in importance the other Christian elements consisting of a few thousand Spanish-Filipinos and their *mestizos,* and the hundreds of thousands of Chinese *mestizos* or *sangleyes;* that is, the offspring of Chinese and *Indias,* for a great number of Chinese are found in the Philippines, living in much the same way as the Jews in Poland.

From the first days of the conquest, this entire Christian population fell under the influence of the clergy who enjoy a power

and a prestige unheard of in any other Catholic country, not even in the ancient states of the Church where the ministry was never accorded by the people the respect and consideration it received, and is even now receiving, in some parts of the Philippines. The Filipino clergy is composed mainly of native-born Spanish monks (Dominicans, Augustinians, Recollects and Franciscans) and of a few indigenous priests, most of them coadjutors. The Filipinos were deeply grateful to these monks or friars as they are called there: their power protected them from the Spaniards who sought to perpetrate abuses such as those committed in America with the *Repartimiento* system of the encomiendas and mine works. Of those cruelties that the conquest of the Americas recorded in pages of blood and tears, the Philippines was never a witness, and she has to thank the friars for this.[1] Her soil has not been desecrated by the introduction of the accursed slave-traffic:[2] the friars are also to be credited for this. And later, when some governors and mayors wanted to "peaceably" exploit the *Indios* in their estates and properties, the friars intervened as the defenders of the oppressed and their intercession was not in vain, for behind each friar was his order to uphold him.

No wonder, then, that under such circumstances, the friar was the lord of the land! As long as he kept to his mission of priest and protector, there was nothing to lament! The inhabitants were happy and grateful; they kissed the friar's hand, not only to show formal respect but also to give proof of their profound gratitude.

But, alas! times have changed. As long as the Philippines, fearing contact with the foreigners, kept herself isolated in slumberous lethargy, things went on peacefully. But the movement that was to conquer Japan and attack the legendary walls of the Celestial Empire was not going to halt here. Progress was not daunted by tariff or pageantry from setting foot on that soil where a Spanish adage said in defiance of all truth, birds did not know how to sing and its women did not possess love nor its flowers, perfume. Progress came slowly, but with sure steps. First, Manila opened her gates to foreign trade; other ports were fitted out and with trade came new ideas for the beautiful though improvident country. The ideas grew slowly; but with the opening of the Suez Canal, the admission of Japan into European culture and the establishment of steamship

[1] However, history quotes the depopulation of the Islands as due to wars, cruelties and to the numberless *indios* who were sold, made slaves, or who committed suicide etc. See Gaspar de San Agustín. (Editor's note in the original published work.)

[2] Yes; slavery existed until the close of the seventeenth century, and there were *indios* who were sold for flimsy reasons.

lines in the Pacific, the Far East, once a remote corner of the globe, was converted into a busy center of trade routes from all over the world, and thus began the era of enlightenment for the Philippines.

Only then did the Spaniards and the *mestizos* as well as the *Indios,* begin to awaken from the lethargy in which they had lain; only then did they feel the need to know more. The clergy who were responsible for the propagation of education could have exploited this desire for learning if they had reformed the secondary schools and the university of the Dominicans of the new era. Only the Jesuits understood these needs when they returned to the country a quarter of a century before, and it is no wonder that those who were eager to learn, the talented young men of the country [3] sought the best universities in Spain and elsewhere abroad. From there they returned home filled with new ideas and they saw their country in a new light. Here in the Philippines, condemnation and tyranny! There in Spain, liberty and liberalism! They had been free citizens in Spain; in the Philippines they were subordinated and subdued! As a natural consequence, the enlightened Filipinos tried to obtain for their poor country participation in the privileges conceded to her sons by the mother country. However, a previous decree had prohibited open discussion of the many faults and frequent abuses committed by some officials of the Government.[4] Silence was not enough. Every patriotic manifestation of a desire to change the system of government was denounced as treason to the country. The emancipation of the American continent had led the Spaniards to suspect separatist ideas behind every movement that savored of freedom.

In 1872 the country suffered untold affliction with the uprising of the Cavite garrison. It was actually nothing else but a simple mutiny that was quelled rapidly . . . with the aid of na-

[3] Among these should be included the Filipinos exiled in Europe during the early part of the century. (Editor's note.)

[4] Fr. José María Ruíz attests to this in an official paper: *Additional memorandum of Section II of the program. Native Settlers, Existing Races and their Varieties, Religion, Practices and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Philippines.* Manila 1887. Page 285: "If the employees enjoyed a little more stability . . . the administration would profit much by it, and the *indios* would not be witnesses to the frequent disorders that, to the eternal disgrace of the Spaniard, are caused by some (Spaniards—translator's note) whose only purpose is to make a little money . . . from such cases arise those abuses and disorders."

Any Spanish employee may find himself out of work for no reason at all, and this threatening situation easily leads to corruption, or at the least, to a lessening of interest in the service. It is to be noted that only forest engineers were exempt from this, for the State as well as the sciences owe a great deal to these active workers. —From among the corporations, the Economic Society (Sociedad Económica) is to be commended for its patriotic movement.

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and a prestige unheard of in any other Catholic country, not even in the ancient states of the Church where the ministry was never accorded by the people the respect and consideration it received, and is even now receiving, in some parts of the Philippines. The Filipino clergy is composed mainly of native-born Spanish monks (Dominicans, Augustinians, Recollects and Franciscans) and of a few indigenous priests, most of them coadjutors. The Filipinos were deeply grateful to these monks or friars as they are called there: their power protected them from the Spaniards who sought to perpetrate abuses such as those committed in America with the *Repartimiento* system of the encomiendas and mine works. Of those cruelties that the conquest of the Americas recorded in pages of blood and tears, the Philippines was never a witness, and she has to thank the friars for this.[1] Her soil has not been desecrated by the introduction of the accursed slave-traffic:[2] the friars are also to be credited for this. And later, when some governors and mayors wanted to "peaceably" exploit the *Indios* in their estates and properties, the friars intervened as the defenders of the oppressed and their intercession was not in vain, for behind each friar was his order to uphold him.

No wonder, then, that under such circumstances, the friar was the lord of the land! As long as he kept to his mission of priest and protector, there was nothing to lament! The inhabitants were happy and grateful; they kissed the friar's hand, not only to show formal respect but also to give proof of their profound gratitude.

But, alas! times have changed. As long as the Philippines, fearing contact with the foreigners, kept herself isolated in slumberous lethargy, things went on peacefully. But the movement that was to conquer Japan and attack the legendary walls of the Celestial Empire was not going to halt here. Progress was not daunted by tariff or pageantry from setting foot on that soil where a Spanish adage said in defiance of all truth, birds did not know how to sing and its women did not possess love nor its flowers, perfume. Progress came slowly, but with sure steps. First, Manila opened her gates to foreign trade; other ports were fitted out and with trade came new ideas for the beautiful though improvident country. The ideas grew slowly; but with the opening of the Suez Canal, the admission of Japan into European culture and the establishment of steamship

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1 However, history quotes the depopulation of the Islands as due to wars, cruelties and to the numberless *indios* who were sold, made slaves, or who committed suicide etc. See Gaspar de San Agustín. (Editor's note in the original published work.)

2 Yes; slavery existed until the close of the seventeenth century, and there were *indios* who were sold for flimsy reasons.

lines in the Pacific, the Far East, once a remote corner of the globe, was converted into a busy center of trade routes from all over the world, and thus began the era of enlightenment for the Philippines.

Only then did the Spaniards and the *mestizos* as well as the *Indios,* begin to awaken from the lethargy in which they had lain; only then did they feel the need to know more. The clergy who were responsible for the propagation of education could have exploited this desire for learning if they had reformed the secondary schools and the university of the Dominicans of the new era. Only the Jesuits understood these needs when they returned to the country a quarter of a century before, and it is no wonder that those who were eager to learn, the talented young men of the country [3] sought the best universities in Spain and elsewhere abroad. From there they returned home filled with new ideas and they saw their country in a new light. Here in the Philippines, condemnation and tyranny! There in Spain, liberty and liberalism! They had been free citizens in Spain; in the Philippines they were subordinated and subdued! As a natural consequence, the enlightened Filipinos tried to obtain for their poor country participation in the privileges conceded to her sons by the mother country. However, a previous decree had prohibited open discussion of the many faults and frequent abuses committed by some officials of the Government.[4] Silence was not enough. Every patriotic manifestation of a desire to change the system of government was denounced as treason to the country. The emancipation of the American continent had led the Spaniards to suspect separatist ideas behind every movement that savored of freedom.

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tive troops! The Spaniards however were convinced that this mutiny was a frustrated attempt to liberate the Philippines. These fears on the part of the good Spanish patriots were laudable—and the friars and those *peninsulares* who had material reasons to perpetuate the old system of government made use of such fears. The mutiny afforded them with the opportunity to accuse all Filipino liberals of *filibusterismo:* a *filibustero* is one who seeks the emancipation of a Spanish colony, or a sympathizer of such a cause, and therefore a traitor to his country.

Then began an era of persecutions, compared to which the beating of the Jacobins in Germany was child's play; that era is comparable only with the government of the *Ré Bomba* in Naples or with that of Murawiew in Poland. This fear of the Spanish government for a total colonial emancipation was used by the clergy as well as by the *peninsulares* to do away with the dissatisfied elements by denouncing them as *filibusteros.* To be "questionable" was cause enough for deportation to Paragua, Balabac, Marianas or any other remote place.

Thus the number of dissatisfied people grew in the country; and herein lies the excellence of Rizal, author of the *Noli Me Tángere,* giving pathetic form to this dissatisfied man in a novel which he wrote with his heart's blood, a novel that the friars hunted down in the Philippines with the same zeal with which the inquisitors pursued books on witchery—the *Noli Me Tángere* against which the friars not only preach but also write books, to the extent of promising eighty days' indulgence to the reader.

Here is a close view of the author. Don José Rizal Mercado is the son of an honest and respected landowner of Calamba, in the province of Laguna (Luzón). Although he belongs to the Tagalog race he looks somewhat Japanese.[5] He went to Manila and enrolled at the *Ateneo Municipal,* a high school, excellently run by Jesuits. Rizal was one of the most able students in this center of learning, the best in the Philippines. After obtaining his bachelor's degree, he went to the University of the Dominicans for philosophy, but seeing the narrow horizon that awaited him, he took up medicine. After several years, and against his parents' wishes, he left for Spain, and in the University of Madrid he earned after three years the title of Doctor in Medicine and Surgery and Licentiate in Philosophy and Letters. Then he traveled through Europe and there broadened his knowledge of medicine and languages. He stayed for some time in Paris and then went to Germany. Without any understanding

[5] In 1888, the Japanese used to take him for one of them.

of the German language he learned it and in fifteen months mastered this difficult tongue in its spoken and written form.[6] He studied in Heidelberg, Leipzig and Berlin. Germany delighted him immensely. He used to tell me several times: "Here, for the first time, I have learned to work." And it was here where he wrote and published his *Noli Me Tángere,* which we shall speak of lengthily.

The purpose of the author was to give plastic form to the abuses of the administration, to the helplessness of the political prisoners who were accused with or without cause, to the inhuman cruelty engendered by ambitious friars. All the faults and abuses of the ruling class were personified with mastery. All the types of men in the daily life of the nation, from the scheming monk to the conscienceless civil servant are seen in the novel, not only mentioned, but pictured: men more dangerous to the country than the thousands of Moro pirates and harmless *filibusteros.* These men appear not in vague personifications but in clear photographs whose originals are still to be seen now, although under other names.

One can easily imagine the tempest this novel created in the circles of Filipinos who were thus attacked—it was like stirring a hornet's nest. The censors asserted that Dr. Rizal criticized several Catholic rites, which it would have been wiser to let be. Nevertheless, even without this assertion, the book would not have escaped the censors of Manila, because the charge of passing judgment on the book was given to a friar (the Augustinian Fr. Salvador Font); in other words, to a member of that corporation so sharply assailed by the novel. The novel's future was sealed, the defendant was at once the judge of the plaintiff, and consequently the book was condemned. The censor found the novel full of attacks against the state religion, the administration, the courts of justice, the *guardia civil* and the integrity of the country. But this no longer arouses our interest for the character of the censor explains the condemnation of the book. A very interesting portion of the criticism is that part in which Fr. Font reproaches the author for subordinating Spain to the foreign nations "especially Germany for which he seems to have a special predilection."

This disclosure of Spanish fear and hatred for the Germans is on a par with the ludicrous interpellation of Senator Vida who hinted that Dr. Rizal was a close friend of Prince Bismarck and

[6] He also speaks French, English, and if I am not mistaken Italian or at least understands it.

professor of medicine in a German University (session held June 11, 1888). When I received a copy of the book and read the word "Berlin" on the cover, I had a premonition that this name would prejudice the reception of the novel in the mother country as well as in the Philippines; for since the riot of the Carolines, anti-German feeling runs high among numerous political circles in Spain. And even among the Spaniards who have no reason to hate Germany, a mistrust has been growing since 1885. Never did I dream, however, that this hatred and mistrust would have beclouded the mind of such a learned man as Fr. Font who did not suspect that the expression of such hatred would favor those who, according to their part or ideas, would welcome or deplore the rising ignorance of the religious corporations. No single line of Rizal's book reveals that "treacherous" predilection for Germany (though perhaps one could read it between the lines); Rizal, who translated Schiller and other poets into Tagalog loves the customs, the ways of being and the cordiality of the Germans. Rizal admires the order and the preciseness with which the rulers of the German and Austrian empires carry out their duties, devoting all their energy to the welfare of their country. He watches with satisfaction the homage learned Germans pay science. All this Rizal openly said, and for this Fr. Font denounced him. Does not the very denunciation reveal his narrow-mindedness? Indeed, the author of the *Noli Me Tángere* is accused of being a criminal not only for his pro-Germanic tendencies but also for other crimes, as reported by Father Font to the Captain-General: "As Your Excellency has seen, not only does the novel attack directly the religion of the State, institutions and civil servants, it is also steeped in foreign doctrines and teaching." Judging from the letter, it would seem that Fr. Font is one of those men of poor discernment who value as just and good only what his native land can invent or produce, those men who prefer isolation to a free exchange of ideas among modern nations. This man appears to belong to the group of blind apostles preaching chauvinism; the politically short of vision, sordid of soul, who hate and despise all that is foreign, not because it is bad, but because it is foreign. Dr. Rizal who, in the enthusiasm of his noble soul and understanding, had welcomed all that was great and beautiful in other countries, must have been deeply grieved to meet with a man so petty in spirit and wisdom. This censure of things foreign had prejudiced the prestige of the Augustinians in the Philippines who had for so long shown their worth in the service rendered to the studies of the history, geography, science and linguistics of the land. But let him be.

The rain of accusations against this novel did not come only from the censor; the friars found followers from the majority of the *peninsulares* living in the archipelago, among the *matandas* (old settlers in the country) as well as the *bagos* (the newly-arrived from Spain). They accused him directly of wishing to separate the islands from the mother country, and he was called the apostle of hatred against everything Spanish in name or in fact. Ire led to the distortion of sense. Senator Vida even affirmed that novel is anti-Catholic, Protestant (!) Socialist (!!) and Proudhonian (!!!) Blind and fanatic hatred! No man with the least motion of things would name the *Noli Me Tángere* a Protestant book (German pastors would smilingly sustain this against Senator Vida); and it is certainly Socialist and Proudhonian only to him who has never read it. What inconsistency Senator Vida shows; in one breath Rizal is a friend of Prince Bismark, Protestant, Socialist and Proudhonian! Servant of princes and partisan! Lutheran and Nihilist!

These accusations of Rizal's Socialism and Proudhonism are mere figments of the imagination: as such, I will not waste time on them. I shall, however, make a few observations on the charge of Protestantism, so as to explain to the reader why the book was called Protestant and the author, too,[7] in spite of his being a Catholic. First: He had lived in Germany which, to the ignorant and semi-educated Spaniards of the Peninsula and her colonies, was the classic seat of heresy; Second: Rizal, in his book, expressed affection for the Germans hence, he was a heretic; Third and last: his criticism of certain Catholic rites and customs. Once again I regret Rizal's comments of certain theological points in the book, thus giving his enemies reason to attack him.

Although I have before me a series of splendid articles that prove brilliantly that Rizal writes *not against*, but *for*, the interests of Spain,[8] the question still arises: Is the *Noli Me Tángere* anti-Spanish?

Here I must point out the difficulties that a Filipino, and more so an *indio*, must face, when he comes out openly to criticize, if ever so slightly, the actual state of affairs—one can readily understand the uproar that the *Noli Me Tángere* created.

With a few exceptions, the Spaniards from the earliest times has always looked down on her colonial subjects, and not only on the colored people (for there are dark Europeans of noble blood)

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[7] Such a suspicion can endanger the freedom of an *indio*.

[8] I speak here of Plaridel's articles: *"Noli Me Tángere: ante el odio monacal de Filipinas"* published in La Publicidad (Barcelona, July 10, 13, 18, and 22, 1888) — (See preceding article.)

but also on the *mestizos* and Spaniards born and bred in the islands. Thus did the Roman citizen look down on his provincial countrymen. It was this very disdain for the rights of her American brothers that lost [for Spain] her American colony. This great disaster was not strong enough to teach her a lesson: occasioning a desire for emancipation without providing a better government than what was done in México and Perú. This lack of benevolence coupled with a deep distrust for the Filipino Spaniard and even the *mestizo* hampered their children from entering politics, although they formed a privileged class compared with the *indios* and the Chinese *mestizos*. One can easily understand the plight of the *indio*. Most Spaniards consider the *indio* an inferior person; his betters call him a younger brother (*hermano menor*) and the good Spaniards call him a child (*un niño*) not responsible for his actions. But the adventurer who goes penniless to the Philippines to seek his fortune follows the convenient theory of Quioquiap and Co.[9] which is: the *indio* is a sort of a human quadruped, a combination of man and ape, a being like the species Darwin looked for—a very convenient theory, since it allows the *castila* his heart's content without fear of censure.

One can well imagine what the *peninsulares* would feel at the sudden appearance of an educated *indio* who dares criticize Spanish institutions.

Is it possible! An *indio*, a *brute*, an *animal*, a *creature*, an *ape*, to dare talk ill of the institutions of his country, an *indio* to dare make critical observations, reproaching the friar and the civil servants for their official or moral misconduct! All the books written by friars picture the *indio* as a mortal creature whom Nature has denied the power to reach the height of European civilization,[10] and notwithstanding this—such a mortal creature dares to question institutions that have been existing in the Philippines for three centuries? Such is the arrogance of the Spaniard, the haughtiness of the European that grow in the heart of both friar and *peninsular*, who are still deluded by the old wives' tale that the white man was made of finer clay than the yellow, the brown or the black man.

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[9] Quioquiap is the pseudonym of a Spanish resident [Pablo Feced] of Naga, Camarines Sur, who, in numerous articles, insults the natives, calling them a miserable race incapable of civilization. The educated *indio* should tolerate such insults, for opinion permits it in the same way that it prohibits *indios* from retaliating.

[10] The friars seem to forget that this very claim lowers the prestige of the ministry and arouses the derision of the Protestants, for every year many native priests are ordained in the seminaries of Manila, Vigan, Naga, Jaro and Cebú. We draw the conclusion, therefore, as a direct deduction from this thinking of the friars, that the Catholic clergy need not reach the peak of Christian civilization, since the *indio* can just as well be *domesticated* to act as a priest. Apparently, the friars do not realize that they are thus imperilling the prestige of Catholicism. [Footnotes in the original edition.]

If an *indio* is labeled impudent when he dares criticize the institutions of a superior race, what must he become when he goes a step further! The rabble must be after him, all the firm believers in the superiority of the white and the inferiority of the Malayan. Even intelligent persons fall prey to this theory of superiority which flatters them with their blue-bloodedness.

To top it all, the Spaniard in touchy of all foreign or non-Spanish criticism, even when recognizing the fairness of such criticism. This attitude is explained by the fact that, with the exception of Portugal, no other European nation has led so isolated an intellectual life as Spain. France alone has influenced her a little; outside of France, Spain has been happy living within herself, and being her whole world. Since the restoration of the unforgettable and ill-starred King Alfonso XII, since the foundation of the Geographical Society of Madrid and of the Society of Commercial Geography, things have improved, it is true, but the fruits of this new trend will be harvested only by the rising youth who understand and appreciate them, unlike the *peninsulares* who now rule the islands and belong to the old order. These men grew in the tradition that Spain was not only the greatest power in the world, in the past but still *is,* now; since their childhood they learned that Spain was noble and valiant, superior to all foreign nations. Such conceit, together with ignorance of everything foreign, makes the Spaniard view as good and beautiful only what is Spanish and of Spain. This national weakness explains a lot of things. Such an imperfect national education accompanied by an inordinate pride so harmful to the nation explains the displeasure of the Spaniards at criticisms hurled at their country from within or from her colonies, as well as by the English, Germans or French (although the latter were tolerated more than the others). If we consider that, in the eyes of the ordinary Spaniards, the *indio* ranks below the foreigner (some would even doubt his dignity as a man), we can also readily understand their innumerable followers when the hue and cry is raised against the *indio* (!) who finds so much that is of Spain to censure. As I have explained from the very beginning, Rizal, being an *indio,* should have guessed that his work would meet with a host of enemies, even if he had not touched on theological matters.

Also, it was clearly foreseen that his book would be denounced as anti-Spanish. It is not surprising that Spaniards whose horizon goes beyond the boundaries of their country should find in the *Noli Me Tángere* a satanic hatred for Spain in the same way that French books called Germans barbarians and thieves. To explain: Rizal wanted to depict in his *Noli Me Tángere* the accumulation

of evils that his country was suffering from the rule of the friars and the abuses of the administration. And who were these friars and who were these civil servants? The answer is: 1st *Peninsulares,* 2nd *Peninsulares,* 3rd *Peninsulares.* Consequently, Rizal had to portray the *peninsulares* among those who misruled, and thus his book is dubbed anti-Spanish. Hence the accusations!

Rizal's book is anti-Spanish, 1st: because the author is an *indio;* 2nd: because this *indio* dares to choose foreign to Spanish institutions; and 3rd: because the "bête noire" or the nightmare of his novel in made up of *castilas* who had to be included in his book if he had to pursue at all the theme of the *Noli Me Tángere.* To this we must add the fair comment of Plaridel that to the friars all educated *indios* who love progress are *filibusteros* and every Spaniard suspects the least movement of the native as *filibusterismo.* And I ask every Spaniard who is as yet not blinded by hatred: Is it possible to criticize the political conditions of the Philippines without attacking the *peninsulares*? If it is not, should one withhold the attack? Is the silence of the dead a virtue?

Rizal has been accused in such a way as to place doubt on the judgment of the accusers or at least in their equanimity. He has been accused of painting the Spaniards in his book as rogues, maligners, intriguers, and as being mercenary etc., and this has been cited as the best proof of the anti-Hispanism of the book. From the prologue of the work one can already infer that the greater number of Spaniards in the novel are not, and should not be, models of virtue; nevertheless one meets with honorable *peninsulares* in the *Noli Me Tángere,* such as the old lieutenant of the Civil Guard, who appears at the beginning. And even granted that Rizal's *peninsulares* are all vicious, does this make the book anti-Spanish, when it was written with patriotic reasons to call the sovereign's attention to the cancer gnawing at the heart's core? Does corruption not exist in the Philippines? Why is the present Captain General Weyler so highly praised? Why? Precisely because he wants to root out evil. I shall not mention names for I do not want to wash linen in public. Rizal then was right in calling a spade a spade. But it is ridiculous or mean to think that he hated the Spaniards simply because he is an *indio* or because he depicts all Spaniards as vicious. All the wise men and writers of France, Germany, England, Austria and Italy who know Rizal personally, as well as his numerous Spanish and Filipino friends, and myself, know that he harbors not a single spark of hatred in his heart for Spain. He loves what is noble and brave in the Spaniard as he hates and despises the tyrant, the scoundrel, him who forgets his duty

regardless of whether he is a Spaniard, *Indio,* Negro or Papuan. He values not the color of the skin or the language he speaks but the character of the man. Is this being anti-Spanish? Is it not rather being Spanish, in the sense of being noble, a quality so long identified with Spain? Circumstances explain why he cannot feel any kindliness for the friars, but in no way is the feeling anti-Spanish.

I believe that if Rizal had been a *peninsular,* his *Noli Me Tángere* would not have made so many enemies. In France, Zola has portrayed the Frenchmen in a poorer light than Rizal with his *peninsulares.* With the exception of one woman, all the characters of *Nana* are corrupt, and yet in his novel Zola aimed, not to entertain the idle rich in their salons, but to set before the French people a mirror in which they would see their dissolute ways reflected. Has this made Zola unpopular in France? Has he been expelled from his country like Rizal? Did the French people proclaim him the mortal enemy of their country? On the contrary, France recognizes him as one of her greatest novelists, she is proud of him, and soon the French Academy will honor him, although if one were to judge from his novels, France would be nothing but a brothel, a paradise of despicable rogues. Rizal's greatest fault is having been born an *indio* in a Spanish colony.

Hardly had the news reached the islands that I intended to translate the *Noli Me Tángere* into German when I received letters from my friends, both Filipino and *peninsulares,* asking me not to do it. The Filipinos were afraid that I who had always fought like a patriot for the integrity of Spain, might acquire the fame of *filibustero* for simply translating the *Noli Me Tángere,* which would endanger my Filipino friends who would be considered as guilty as the *filibustero* himself![11]

The first of these letters made me laugh. I, the most faithful follower of the Mother Queen, of her unfortunate husband and the young innocent King, I who had defended the honor and flag of Spain in word and in writing, I — a *filibustero*! It was absurd! Nevertheless, a little reflection told me that my friends' fears were not exaggerated; but I shall continue with my plan, for only fanatics

[11] In such a way was Rizal's brother-in-law Don Manuel T. de Hidalgo torn away from his family and banished. When Dr. Rizal returned to his country in 1887, a nameless fear took hold of his friends who were afraid of being denounced as *filibusteros,* although he was continually accompanied by a lieutenant of the Guardia Civil, Taviel de Andrade. His friends begged him for the love of God to leave the country immediately, for he was endangering, not only his life, but also that of his friends. They offered him money to be free of his perilous presence, and his own family, his aged parents, begged him to leave for everyone's sake. Was this not an enviable situation? Are these not vestiges of the Middle Ages in the nineteenth century? [Original footnote.]

or men weakened by evil or stupidity can "filibusterize" me, and never in my life have I curried favor or reeked of the hatred of the blind and the ignorant, and I shall not do so now.

On the other hand, my *peninsular* friends begged me not to publish the book in German, so as not to spread its contents in Austria and Germany and Spain. This argument gives food for thought, and the plea has decided in favor of the *Noli Me Tángere*, for the petitions that have reached me from different parts of the world have given rise to many considerations.

I gather from this that the majority of the *peninsulares* do not have the remotest idea that the situation in the Philippines is well known abroad. These *peninsulares,* impelled no doubt by noble patriotic sentiments, begged me to leave off translating the book because they feared that the *Noli Me Tángere* would expose in Austria and Germany all the misery of anti-clericalism and the spectacular administration of the Philippines. Nevertheless, I called my friends' attention to the fact that the Germans interested in the Philippines, read not only German works but also Spanish, French English and Dutch books. In such a rich bibliography were found accusations against friars and civil servants, compared to which the *Noli Me Tángere* appears like an advocate of the mother Administration. Neither would the publication of this book reveal anything new to the Germans and I even dare to believe (the misrule of the Philippines being widely known in Europe and felt deeply by the friends of Spain), I dare to believe, I repeat, that the *Noli Me Tángere* would be to the credit of Spanish colonization, because this novel knows that that civilization has born fruit, nurturing in a young and noble native an aversion for immorality in whatever form it may appear, thus attesting to the existence there of a perfected morality and civilization.

And so the main argument against the writing of my translation (unfortunately not yet finished) is broken. Besides, I wish to announce to all that the *Noli Me Tángere* is well known in Germany. Upon its first appearance, the Geographical Society in Berlin took note of the book and more recently, the colonial Gazette of November 26, 1888, the *Gazette of Northern Germany* two or three days later, and the *Dresdener Anzeiger* on December 3. More than any other people, the Germans are best informed on Philippine affairs.

Another conclusion can also be drawn from this plea: The tacit confession that conditions are exactly as the author of the *Noli Me Tángere* describes them. Why is the author not con-

tradicted? Why the frightening anxiety to silence the novel? Why is opposition reduced to insults and denouncements of *filibusterism*? In everything that has been written against Rizal, I have not found anything that contradicts the spirit of the novel and its theme:

> "The native who has incurred the hatred of the friars finds himself helpless and without any rights, for the government is simply the executive branch of monachism, placing its interests above the interests of the State."

While Plaridel, Rizal's defender, refutes the charge of *filibusterismo* word for word, his detractors merely waste their time in vague accusations, Fr. José Rodríguez' booklet concerning Rizal is mere nastiness; however, I would like to inform my German readers of the following so that they may know with what ignoble adversaries Rizal has to contend. Fr. José Rodríguez tells his ignorant readers (who are his sole reading public) that the *"Noli Me Tángere"* reveals in every page the most gross ignorance of the rules of writing; this, of course, is a lie and serves but to vouch for the senseless hatred of the priest because, although Rizal's enemies may rejoice at a certain crudeness of language, the merit of the novel is not lessened either in its extraordinary political significance or in its literary value.[12]

Furthermore: The *Noli Me Tángere* portrays the Spanish elements in morbid colors, while idealizing all the *indios* in the book; and he has been condemned for this. This needs no defense, for it is but natural, I believe, for Rizal to paint his countrymen whom he loves in that aspect which seems most just to him. And I think that he owed it to them to paint them in a better light than Cañamaque and Quioquiap did. We have already said that the latter at no time considered the *indio* human; Cañamaque speaks of him as a child to be reared with the rod. Dr. José Rizal knows his fellowmen as much as Spaniards, and foreign writers and travelers do, and knows them better than do all the Spaniards, Germans, French and English put together.

Here Rizal's enemies show how blinded they were by hatred; their tirades often missed their aim, and one can see that they must have read the novel through the eyes of Quioquiap and Company.

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[12] A professed adversary of Rizal writes: "How can I deny the many good points of the novel *Noli*? Some descriptions are excellent; there are passages of note—the novel is full of thought, and treats reality as real." As for the rest I cannot understand why Fr. Rodríguez wrote that booklet granting the reader eighty days' indulgence, for educated Filipinos would undoubtedly prefer reading the interesting novel *Noli Me Tángere* to the insipid booklet of the priest; and the ignorant among the *indios* do not read it, for they do not understand Spanish." [Original footnote.]

Because some of the characters in the novel happen to be good, noble and unselfish *indios* etc., the *matandas* and *bagos* exclaim: "Oh, the filibuster! He paints all Spaniards black and all *indios* white and rosy!" One were to think all the *indios* in the *Noli Me Tángere* were angels and seraphims, which is certainly not true, for among the *indios* Rizal depicts a rabble of hypocrites, rogues, superstitious fanatics, gamblers and others of the same breed, which would have incensed the *indios* had they been as touchy as the *peninsulares*. Consequently, those who accuse Rizal of portraying characters who were a dishonor to Spain must in justice accept that Rizal also painted the natives back.

I shall not go into the criticism of the novel and the study of the character of some of its personages; in this book so rich in dramatic passages, one perceives the original through the disguise, thus attesting once more to the reliability of the book, or as one of Rizal's enemies said: "The novel's characters (the true ones) are detestable; the false characters, the *indios* (this, as I said, is inaccurate) are attractive and poetic . . .

In many letters sent me, the writers complain that every Filipino student owns a copy of the *Noli Me Tángere,* that the educated people of the country are looking for copies, in spite of the heavy temporal and spiritual punishments facing its readers. These complaints are beyond my comprehension. Why was the book confiscated, thus drawing world attention to it? If the Spaniards assert that not only the *indios* but also the *mestizos* and Spanish Filipinos do not read, whence such great interest in the novel? Are the *peninsulares* perhaps not deluded in their concepts of the Filipino's indolence?

Undoubtedly, no book has been so persecuted in the Philippines as the *Noli Me Tángere!* It is being hunted down everywhere, including night-raids too. All this helps but to magnify the importance of the book, and create more readers. Reason is now blinded; the friars in their very anger are unwillingly aiding Rizal. Quioquap has unwillingly turned defender of *filibusterismo,* for, for every insult hurled at the *indio* a new follower is recruited for the cause. And by their inquisitorial proceedings, the friars spread the influence and ideas promulgated by the book. The *Noli Me Tángere* is known and read throughout the archipelago, from Batanes to Davao.

Also, because of Fr. Font's report, the Captain General bans Rizal's book under pain of grave punishment, for its anti-Hispanism and its attacks against the Church.

Now an enemy of Rizal informs me that he wanted to denounce the book for being anti-Spanish but that his pamphlet would have to be published in Spain, for it was forbidden in the Philippines! It is not allowed, then, to attack a book that is considered dangerous to the State? I cannot find any plausible excuse for such a strange prohibition.

For if Rizal's novel is truly as anti-Spanish as his enemies paint it, then whoever impugns it should be rewarded. Is silence the weapon that will kill it? Then, why does Fr. José Rodríguez publish his booklets? Why does Fr. Baldomero Real attack the defenceless *Noli Me Tángere* from the pulpit?

In conclusion, I shall summarize the reason for the outrageous attacks against Rizal.

The exclusivism and national pride of the Spaniards were hurt at the sight of an *indio* boldly portraying in his novel representatives of the chosen race who placed their personal interests above their honor and their duty toward the state. The mistrust of the Spaniard for his colonial children brought with it a malignant hatred for the author of the book. The author also touched a most sensitive spot: the financial interests of certain Spanish groups threatened by the novel. The mother country had precisely started to show a keen interest in Philippine affairs, neglected for so long. The suppression of the tyrannical tobacco monopoly was the first step in the reforms, thanks to the Minister of Ultramar, Balaguer. Then followed the Exposition of 1887 and the introduction of the Penal Code besides other reforms, making it evident that the Mother Country was beginning to listen to the complaints of her far-flung provinces. A noticeable increase was noted in the number of *peninsulares* who, prompted by patriotism and a kind heart, seconded the realization of these reforms. Naturally all those whose lives were endangered in the Philippines by the introduction of such reforms were fearful that Rizal's novel, portraying as it did so clearly the miseries of the *indios,* would increase the number of reforms in Spain and so they closed ranks against their enemy. Such monstrous fury can otherwise not be explained. The rabble will clamor most where it is most hit!

Besides, Rizal published his novel in Germany, praising German customs and institutions, which created enemies for him. Since 1885, Germany lost all her Spanish friends who developed a sort of Germanophobia under different guises. Discounting the question of the Carolines, the word *Berlin* which appears on the book and Rizal's eulogy of German customs were enough to offend the friars

who still thought of Germany as the classic seat of heresies; so, from the pulpit, the Augustinian friar Baldomero Real called Dr. Rizal "a friend of corrupt and corruptive Germany." The good priest seemed to ignore the fact that Germany counts with sixteen and a half million Catholics who often are more Popish than the Pope himself. And since the friars were also *peninsulares,* filled with the same national prejudices like their lay counterpart, they had to show themselves as enemies of the book. Besides, since Rizal had chosen to portray the most repugnant of friar types, their anger was aroused because these lords and masters of the islands consider it a mortal injury and audacity (from an *indio,* no less!) to be made the "nightmares" of his novel. The clamor raised by the outraged friars affected the Spaniards who perhaps would have remained indifferent had the priests not made them feel that their power in the islands depended on the religious corporations; Thus, such Spaniards came to the conclusion that a book that warred against the friars was necessarily also anti-Spanish.

If I may express my opinion of the *Noli Me Tángere,* I shall state frankly that I consider it the greatest literary work ever written by any man on the Philippines, and I am happy to say I am not alone in this opinion.

The literature of the Philippines does not count with any novel which shows so ardent a love of country as the *Noli Me Tángere* written with the heart's blood of a patriot, who harbors not hatred for Spain but a righteous abhorrence for him who abuses selfishly and scandalously the powers conferred on him by the State or the Church. If Rizal in his book has passed judgment on a great number of Spaniards, it is only because all the offices, the better parishes and the majority of ecclesiastical positions are in the hands of the Spaniards. No man with a minimum of sense could demand silence of Rizal, and thus condonement of their abuses, simply because the church and state officials happen to be Spaniards. Such exigency would warrant a pathologist's care and would denote the moral insanity of the man.

The novel has been written not to alienate the Philippines from Spain but to call the attention of noble-hearted Spaniards in the motherland to the misrule which has been existing in the Philippines and might continue to exist; and in this way to save the Philippines for Spain by the introduction of much-needed reforms. Rizal reveals many bitter and heart-breaking facts to us, but the bitterest medicine has proven the most potent cure. The administrative qualities of Alfonso XII and his august widow, the

peaceful steps that Spain is taking after an era of countless revolutions, bring us hope that Rizal's dream may be realized. I personally believe that the vigorous campaign in the Philippines led by General Weyler against corruption is a consequence of the *Noli Me Tángere,* or at least in conformity with Rizal's intention.

To conclude, I must express my deep sorrow at the sad role the Agustinian order is playing in the campaign against Rizal. In his censor's report, Father Font could not match the loftiness of the situation. The famous Father Baldomero Real, in order to vitalize the crusade against Rizal, had to hurl calumny and insult at the German Empire, on friendly footing with Spain and the Holy See. But exceedingly lamentable is the case of Fr. José Rodríguez. In his booklet "Why I Should Not Read Them," p. 9, Fr. Rodríguez has a string of insults and inaccuracies (where are the foolish propositions? Where the blasphemies?) and the author shamelessly resorts to mud-slinging, an attitude unworthy of a well-bred man, a noble Spaniard, a Christian minister and a humble monk.[13] This hurts to the core, for not only was I baptized by an Augustinian, but I have always had a singular respect for the Augustinians in the Philippines, who in the past had earned so much honor and been considered litterateurs of the highest magnitude. I fear that with this campaign have passed the glorious days of their Order. And to the entire friar-world let me quote, in conclusion, the words of that fervent German Catholic, Reinhold Baumstack:

207 acc. no. (Rizaliana)

"It is unjust, in any sense, to believe that in political, religious or ecclesiastical warfare, Right should so definedly and unconditionally take sides. As there is one sole Divine Truth, so is there Truth on earth. But unquestionably, its earthly advocates may err. For even in the pursuit of a just cause, *injustice, unmercifulness* and *cruelty* of proceeding, *passion* and *sin* can lead their adversaries to believe that they, too, have Right on their side . . . !

AMBETH R. OCAMPO
歐康波

[13] Compare this with the passage: and this is understood. . . . .

MY TRAVELS WITH RIZAL

Maximo Viola

One of the hero's close friends in Europe was the author of these memoirs which were written in 1913 and first appeared in the *Manila Times* some eleven years ago. Dr. Viola loaned the money for the publication of the great novel, the *Noli,* while visiting his friend in Berlin in 1886 and received for his reward the proofs and dummy of that book. His intimate glimpses of Rizal's personality and anecdotes about the tour form one of the most revealing pen portraits of our national hero.

It was June or July, 1886. Having left Madrid for Paris, Jose Rizal was stopping at Barcelona. I had never met Rizal. We knew each other only by name. But despite this fact he went from the train depot directly to my house. I was then a medical student. The door bell rang while I was preparing my school work. My landlady opened the door and informed me that I had a visitor. I went out to meet him, and upon hearing his name, I embraced him with joy and conducted him to my room.

He spoke about his projected trip to Europe. Then he asked me if he could stay in my room. He explained that he did not intend to spend more than a week in the city, and that he could not afford the luxuries of an hotel. I asked my landlady's permission and she immediately gave her approval. So Rizal stayed in my room.

Rizal's visit to Barcelona was not marked by any unusual manifestation. The monuments, establishments, friends and countrymen were visited with neither the pomp nor the splendor that is appropriate to great men. Due to my school work, I could not accompany him on his daytime excursions as often as I had wished. At night I often took him to the Café de Pelayo, which was then the meeting place of Filipinos in Barcelona.

At other times, we went to centers of distraction—including houses of loose women. Such places were unknown to Rizal in Madrid. But now he insisted on viewing these houses for himself.

Possibly the first public monument erected in honor of the national hero was this memorial built in front of the first provincial building in Camarines Norte in 1898, a date inscribed below the name at the bottom of the picture. (Courtesy of Dr. Jose R. Abaño of Daet, C. S.)

For he wanted to write and expose such evils. He realized that he would be better equiped to attack such problems if he understood its causes. It should, therefore, be noted that these visits were inquisitive and not carnal in its nature. Rizal always maintained that he never succumbed to any urge of nature when it ran contrary to his principles and beliefs.

One of the friends he visited in Barcelona was Eusebio Corominas who was then editor of the newspaper *La Publicidad,* a paper owned by Mr. Morayta. Corominas accompanied him around the city. Together they visited the cloth, glass and porcelain factories.

Since we were living in the same room, my attention was called to Rizal's habit of retiring early. By candlelight, he would always read a book for six or eight minutes before going to bed. This custom he observed rigorously every night. I, therefore, presumed that it was a prayer. But when I asked him whether his prayer was an oracion or a Trisagion, he replied that it was neither. It was, instead, a methodical study of the German language. He explained that he memorized five new German words a night, and that when multiplied by the 365 days of the year, this could be considered a regular academic year's course.

Sometime before leaving Barcelona, he gave the editorial staff of *La Publicidad* a crayon half-body portrait of Mr. Morayta. Copied from a photograph he possessed, this well-finished work was done in a night of artistic inspiration. Also he left the rough draft of a timely, controversial article on the Carolinas question, informing Mr. Corominas that if the release of the article would place any one in jeopardy, then its publication should be withheld. Mr. Corominas praised the portrait saying that it differed from the model only by the phenomenon of speech. Immediately after, he announced that he was publishing the article with neither scruples nor compromise to anyone.

It is also noteworthy to mention a clay bust of one of my house companions, a fellow named Juan... a native of Valencia and ex-intern of Santa Cruz Hospital. This bust Rizal gave to this student as a souvenir of his short stay in Barcelona.

Recalling Rizal's fame as a student with great talent and the possessor of a great encyclopedic knowledge, I decided to find out for myself if his great store of knowledge was due to his great application to studies, or it was more the result of his remarkable memory. So one day I interrupted his studies and proposed that we both study a material previously unseen by either of us. We

picked the work of a Mexican civil engineering student who also lived in the same house, and we studied a paragraph of quite a few lines. Through this test I was able to calculate that as far as putting something to memory was concerned, Rizal could not be classified as Number One, but when it came to retaining what is once in his head, rest assured that he falls in that number.

In Berlin, six months after this test, and he was already my German professor, it occurred to me to ask if he still remembered the lines we had learned in Barcelona. He recited the whole paragraph as if he had just memorized it an instant ago. Rizal was not a man who put things to memory with ease. As an Ateneo student, some of his classmates, among them I mention Mr. Marzano, used to beat him as head of the class.

Filipino residents of Barcelona offered Rizal a modest banquet before he left. Pedro Arcenas prepared *pancit* out of *bijon* and *mique* donated by a Filipino family. Those present at the feast were Felix Roxas, Pedro Arcenas, Candido Reyes, Rafael Ampuero, some Cubans and myself. During the toasts all the speakers distinguished themselves, but none more than our guest of honor. He gave a very significant speech.

The next day he left for France. We bade him goodbye at the station. Later I received letters from him. He always mentioned what he first suggested to me in Barcelona, that, upon completing my studies, of a trip through Europe with him. He also wrote to me from various points where he had spent some time. He spoke about his impressions of the cities and his special studies on optic diseases. He also mentioned his French professor Wecker and his German professor Becker, both of whom taught him to be an eye specialist. The ends of his letters were sometimes illustrated by pen and ink drawings of the said professors.

One of Rizal's poems was recited at a Filipino reunion held in the house of some Catalan friends. I had solicited this poem from him specially for this occasion. He had sent it to me from Heidelberg.

Having finished my medical career, I resolve to travel, leaving Barcelona on December 3, 1886 and arriving in Paris the very next day. There I stayed at the Hotel de Paris, 37 rue Maubege, from the fourth to the tenth of that month and year. In Paris, Rizal requested me to pick up his diamond ring from a friend, who turned out to be none other than the famous Filipino painter, Juan Luna. Later, in front of a Paris Boulevard show window, I almost lost this ring, and my own, to some French racketeers. After a brief

stay in Paris, I proceeded to Berlin where my good friend Rizal was waiting for me. But being sick at the time of my arrival, Rizal was not able to meet me at the station.

I arrived in Berlin at midnight. Despite the late hour and his fever, I found Rizal awake to greet me. That night he spoke about his illness. I left early on account of his being sick, and from his house I proceeded to the Central Hotel, a place he himself recommended. Early the next morning, my sick friend who had hardly slept the night before, was knocking at my door. I dressed quickly and we both went to the restaurant below. After breakfast we went to his house. Here he gave me the complete details of his illness. First, he told me the medical history of his family. Then, his own physical make-up. Finally, he described the symptoms of his disease: midnight fevers preceded by chills, desultory cough, fatigue, loss of weight, etc.

Rizal suspected that he had contracted tuberculosis. But I examined his chest and could not discern anything that would have confirmed his suspicion. In my opinion his physical condition was caused by his rigid vegetable diet forced on him by his bad financial condition. And to this physical strain he had yet to add another. Rizal had a great love for gymnastics. And he had made up his mind to match the strength of the strongest man at one of the local gymnasiums. To triumph in his desire he tried lifting great weights under an unaccustomed diet. For to him, to desire was to achieve.

Another factor that contributed to his bad physical state was his excessive love for studies. Berlin's scholarly environment greatly stimulated his Faustian thirst for languages. Summing up my diagnosis, I advised him to see a Berlin specialist, who, upon examining his sputum and other secretions, concluded by affirming the inexistence of the suspected disease. The doctor's prescription was: nourishing food and moderate exercise.

My arrival in Berlin brought him still further preoccupations. More concerned with my welfare than his own, he went to the trouble of finding a modest home for me. Upon my moving to my new home, I began my study of the German language with Rizal as my professor. As was the custom in Berlin, we ate our midday meals in a restaurant with each one paying for his own meals. For supper, however, I used to eat at his house and at his expense for a week. And in the following week the procedure would be reversed and he would eat at my home.

Despite this custom and our mutual confidence he relied on me to solve his financial difficulties. One day I discovered that the diamond that I had delivered for him from Paris was missing. I asked him where his ring was. He explained that by necessity he wore it as a souvenir from his family, and now by a bigger necessity he had had to part it. All this happened after I had sincerely offered him my reserve money that was destined to go only for frivolous expenses.

His special passion for the languages reached its peak when he found himself in association with the members of the Geographic and Ethnographic Associations. He was offered membership in these organizations on condition that he present an original research work on any subject. In perfect German he wrote a treatise on Tagalog verse. This work received great praise from all the members, particularly the president.

It was in Berlin that Rizal developed his gifts as a linguist. Aside from German that he already mastered, he studied English with a German grammar, and as soon as he began to dominate the language, he studied Italian with an English grammar, and in this way he successively mastered 22 languages. French he had learned with perfection since Madrid. For he was still in Madrid when he tutored Filipinos in that language. Also it was in Madrid that he wrote his articles in French. Still, when he got to Berlin he studied this language further under the tutelage of Madame Lucie Cerdolla. This French lady was the tutor of the Imperial Family and with the usual French amiability she invited us to dine at her house. Through this invitation I learned that Rizal was both professor and pupil, meaning that he gave his own comments on French grammar to his teacher, while she explained the rhetorics of the language. I asked him why he had a special interest in French. He answered that it was his purpose to write in French, in the event that his *Noli Me Tangere* would fail and find the Filipinos lacking in response to the purpose of his work.

Aside from his linguistic pursuits, he laboriously assisted in different clinics and conferences. Worthy of mention are the clinic of Dr. Schultzer, to whom he became assistant; the professor's seat in the Descriptive Anatomy of Dr. Hans Virchow, the son; and the conferences of Dr. Rudolf Virchow, the father, on anthropology. He also was a collaborator in many scientific organizations.

Rizal kept several volumes of books on his desk. He had the Gospel texts in Greek and in Latin. He had the Old Testament in Hebrew, that had to be read right to left. Often he would

translate some Hebrew passages for me. He had then already began his great novel, *Noli Me Tangere,* and he would read these passages to support the religious convictions that were being expressed in his work. He worked hard writing and rewriting his manuscript, and claimed that he had mastered Hebrew to be on the level of those who have written on religion. Since the original Bible was written in Hebrew, he wanted to support any religious argument that might arise from his novel with knowledge of the original text.

According to his criterion, the Christian religion was the most perfect of the known religions, not only because of the spiritual moral carried by its doctrines, but because it also is the religion that has had the most influence in the discipline and morality of mankind. He likened Christianity to a building that by carrying unnecessary supports can be placed in danger of collapsing. Speaking of hell, he added that it could not be as preached, painted or photographed by religious books. To Rizal Christ was a religious genius.

Reading some passages of his novel, which he was then correcting, he told me that many of his characters were his friends and relatives under different names. These people, he explained, affected the social conditions described in his work, though they themselves were victims of the abuses inflicted by other represented characters.

Regarding the political question, it is well to bear in mind some of his ideas regarding the anomalous situation of the Philippines in that era. He said that he did not subscribe to any idea of armed revolution. His reason being that a revolution would excite and foment the greedy desire for colonies of other potential powers. He was particularly worried about Japan. He mentioned Japan's proximity to the islands, its greater population and advanced modern military equipment. He assured me that if the Philippines overthrew Spanish rule by force and violence, she would only land in the clutches of Japan, where she would have far less chance of ever obtaining her freedom.

In place of an armed revolution, he proposed the following plan: the asking of liberal reforms from the mother country; arousing the spirit of Filipino nationalism that was being obstructed by the ruling friars; stimulating the creation of diverse societies, and the building of instructive institutions, etc. Through this method Rizal believed that the spirit of liberty could be instilled in the Filipino people. Once this was done, he said, then Spain being a nation

kept backward by the follies of her ruling class, would, for better or for worse, have no other alternative but to renounce her sovereignty and recognize our independence. In this way our independence will be legitimate and assured on a firm foundation.

To distract himself from his many occupations, with the end of getting some physical exercise, he bought a pocket pedometer with its corresponding compass, and taking long hikes, he would later draw a map of the terrain he covered adding his own systems of fortification. And when his mood did not lend to this kind of exercise, then he visited the museums, aquarium, botanical garden, Jewish synagogues, the Victoria Column, libraries and other cultural places. These visits were always long. He would stand over historical sites and relive the dramatic incidents that had occurred in the place. He interpreted fossils of prehistoric significance and examined mummies of remote history.

On New Year's Day a German captain and former aide-de-camp of General Moltke in the Franco-Prussian war invited Rizal to a party. To commemorate this event Rizal improvised an artistic souvenir. Buying two clay jars he painted an old man and a child to represent the outcoming and incoming year. Time was represented by a German matron in accordance with the German custom and tradition.

Berlin's main street, *Unter den Linden* (Under the Linden Trees) was one of Rizal's favourite haunts. The reason for this was two-fold. First, one of the beer halls had newspapers from all over the world, each in its own language. Second, it was the street where the imperial family resided. William II, who resided in the palace, had the custom of appearing in the balcony for a few minutes every Saturday afternoon, and personally announcing his state of health to the public.

A story seldom told of Rizal is the following: One morning Dr. F. Jagor paid Rizal a visit. Rizal told Jagor that he was being threatened with deportation. He said that the chief of police had visited him early in the morning asking for his passport. And since he did not have it, he was given four days to present his document to the police station. If at the end of four days, he had not presented his passport, then he would be escorted to one of the German frontiers. Immediately, we went to the Spanish Legation, that was then situated in the distant Jewish district, and requested for the said papers. The legation assured us their help. But after the expiration of the four days and countless trips to the legation, we were plainly told that the Count of Benomar, am-

bassador of the Spanish government in Berlin, lacked the authority to issue the promised passport. Rebuffed by this unexpected development, we proceeded to the police station. We spoke harshly of the Spanish government all through the way.

At the police station, Rizal recounted his experiences at the Spanish Embassy. He told the chief of police how the ambassador had promised him his passport, and now at the very last moment he was told that it was not in the ambassador's line of duty to issue such documents. He explained that never in his travels had the authorities demanded his passport; and since he no longer had time to appeal to another Spanish office, he was then placing himself under the jurisdiction of the constituted government.

The chief of police deliberated on the matter. Then he told Rizal that his reports indicated that Rizal had been visiting cities, towns and hamlets. That these visits were prolonged, and that in each of them he had certain personal relations with the inhabitants. The government, after investigating and receiving data from the various towns visited by Rizal, had interpreted these visits to be acts of espionage in favor of the French government. (At that time there were strained relations between the two governments.)

Rizal admitted that he had been to the alluded places, but denied that the visits were for any illicit motive. His purpose was purely instructive. Desiring to study the ethnography of a nation, he had adapted the method of first investigating the remote isolated towns to see the manners and customs of its inhabitants, more natural and pure in contrast to the large cities where the characteristic seal of these peculiarities have been modified to give way to an artificial culture. In view of this explanation and other secret information, the chief of police was glad to dismiss the whole case, and since then Rizal had no more threats of deportation.

Regarding his love for the theatre, I have little knowledge to contribute. In the five months we lived together in Berlin, it was very seldom that I saw him attend this type of spectacle.

After he had finished correcting and editing his *Noli Me Tangere,* he immediately went to a photographer to have his picture taken despite his sickly look. For at that time it was the custom to have the author's picture in his book. But after thinking it over, modesty triumphed over vanity, and so *Noli Me Tangere* came out in print as it did.

While he was making the rounds of various printing shops in search of an economical price, I offered and insisted on uncondi-

tionally financing his novel. At first he declined saying that Antonio Regidor, Juan Luna and his brother Paciano, knew about his novel, and that at his asking, any of these were ready to give any quantity towards such need. But my stubborn insistence finally won him over. Immediately he worked for the release of 2,000 copies began at a cost of ₱300.

My appreciation for the great merit of this immortal work began only when I began to read the proofs that were being handed to the author. Even the men at the print shop were commenting on the book. One of them stated that if Rizal ever went back to the Philippines the Spaniards would surely behead him. He said this motioning his hands across his throat, and before leaving he adviced Rizal never to venture back into the islands. To all this Rizal answered with a smile, as if saying, "What will be, will be."

When the printing was done he gave me the proofs of *Noli Me Tangere*. The proofs were rolled carefully, and at the center I found the pen, or one of the pens, that he had used to write his great work. It was well-wrapped in paper and had a significant dedication. Also he gave me the dummy with his autographs saying: "To my dear friend Maximo Viola, the first to read and appreciate my work.—José Rizal—Berlin, such and such a date, 1886." All these priceless souvenirs I lost during the revolution of '96.

And then remembering his friends in Europe, he started to send a copy to each. As a prologue to his return to the Philippines he also sent copies to the Governor General and Archbishop of Manila. This he did with a Voltairan smile.

After a while he received a thousand pesos from his family through the painter Juan Luna. Immediately, he paid me the ₱300 pesos I had advanced for his novel. Then we planned our trip.

In the meantime, he already begun writing letters bidding good-bye to his European friends and announcing his return to his native land. The recipients of the letters all advised him against his plan to return to the Islands. Nevertheless the trip continued despite all fraternal opposition. Our arguments regarding this matter were long. But all my different arguments failed to produce the desired effect. For he said that he had a mission to fulfill on earth. That God had given him his way of being and thinking. And that to act contrary to these things would constitute a rebellion against His wish. He said that as a doctor he had studied the manner of preventing, curing or alleviating the physical diseases

of man, and in the same way he was convinced of his obligation to remedy the moral diseases of his country. Besides, he doubted how his countrymen would respond to the preachings of his novel, if he himself would not set the example in his own land. For surely they would not think that he had dared to say what he pleased only because he was in a place where he was safe.

When I proposed that he change his citizenship in order to minimize the violent repercussions to which he was exposed, he replied that he would not submit to such an act, for he considered such actions to be pure cowardice. Anyway, he added, "I would gladly accept the good fortune of an ant that bites even after its death."

Our departure from Berlin was planned ahead of schedule. We had fifteen days to devote to recreative and instructive purposes. By foot, we scoured the suburbs of Berlin, seeing monuments like the Victory Column, a tower built with cannons captured in the Franco-Prussian war. We saw the Jewish synagogue, a beautiful edifice where one entered with his hat on. Every Friday afternoon the cantor sang, and his vibrating voice attracted a large public. We also visited the National Gallery,, theatres, museums, castles, libraries, Reichstag, etc. I lament the fact that I cannot give descriptions and details concerning all these places, but I have lost all the notes I made of our travels.

Nevertheless, I can give a few details that are related to our life in Berlin during the said fifteen days. This will give the reader an idea of the plan we used to learn the city, a plan we later adopted for all the cities we visited. On waking up in the morning, or if possible before, we opened the Baedeker Guide Map and memorized certain principal streets to use as a guide in the event that we got lost. Then we looked at the text to check the visiting hours of the places we intended to visit. All these we did, of course, after we had a good knowledge of the history of the city. Thus prepared, he would take his breakfast, a large glass of water. Then we would leave the house in a rectilinear direction toward the city, visiting all the monuments and museums along our way. When my breakfast time came, we would stop at the closest restaurant, and then go on our way. For lunch (between twelve and one) we would stop at any restaurant, and after eating (he always ate twice what I did) he would read the papers, magazines, etc., and again we would proceed on our journey, always in accordance with the indications of our guide.

In the afternoon, between five and six or earlier, when we had no more opportunities for further visits, we always went home through different streets. The next day we would repeat the same operation, taking another street, parallel if possible to the one previously taken, without missing any opportunity of seeing any worthwhile sights. On returning, we again would use another street parallel to the first with our point of departure always as our center.

If in these parallel routes of our excursions, there remained any building or museum still unvisited, then, we struck out in a perpendicular direction, following these routes to other successive streets, so that if one mapped the streets that we had passed, the results would look more or less like a spider web. On our way we passed many trees that had been planted by historical personalities; many flowers, leaves, beautiful and rare plants that symbolized memorable epochs or commemorated historical dates. On his way, Rizal would pluck a flower or a leaf from all these plants and trees and methodically keep them in the book he always had in his hand.

Getting to know Berlin by the system just described, we moved to Potsdam. With the pedometer always in hand, we got to know that beautiful historic city in all its details. We saw its fantastic Mausoleum enclosing the beautiful marble statues of Frederick the Great and his consort. Also we saw palaces and buildings of various distinct architecture made of marble and other materials. In their luxurious rooms were bronze adornments with varicolored topaz and shells of different sizes forming lines that combined into fantastic shapes. We were astounded by its beauty and left wondering if all the beauty inside the immense garden that Frederick the Great had ordered to be constructed, were the works of men or a phenomenon of the other world.

It is also worthy to mention the historic windmill near the garden. Its structure is a great contrast to its surroundings. The fame of this windmill lies in the story of the quarrel between its owner and Frederick the Great. It is said that when Frederick the Great became sick, the doctor asked him to move to his palace that happened to be near this windmill. The windmill functioned night and day and it bothered the sick man. So Frederick the Great called the owner and offered to buy the windmill. The owner was willing to part with the windmill, but they could not agree on the price. At first Frederick the Great threatened to confiscate the windmill but finally the case was taken to court where the judges sustained the owner of the windmill, and Frederick

the Great lost his case. Since then the windmill stood on the place as a symbol of German justice. Rizal envious of the symbolic windmill could not help exclaim:

"This country unlike ours, should not thirst much for justice. For the laws of this country belong to the judges and not the friars."

When we were getting ready to leave, I noticed that most of Rizal's luggage consisted of letters he had received from his family and friends, among them those that I had written from Barcelona. I asked him why he conserved his correspondence. He answered that he wanted to study the character, temperament, transformation and intellectual tendencies of his friends and countrymen.

On the dawn of May 11, 1887, we left Berlin and visited the following cities:

Dresden

It is one of the best cities in Germany. In his study of this city Rizal employed more time than was necessary due to the regional floricultural exposition. He spent a great deal of time studying numerous plant varieties of extraordinary beauty and size. There were aquatic plants whose leaves were two feet in diameter. In the visit of monuments, museums and buildings we adopted the same method we used in Berlin.

Teschen

This city had nothing notable in comparison to the other cities already visited, nevertheless, we made the usual tour of the place. Also, we wired Professor Blumentritt to inform him of our arrival at Leitzmeritz. This was done following the suggestion of Dr. F. Jagor, whom we casually met at the Dresden exposition. Dr. Jagor had then advised us to wire Blumentritt of our coming because Blumentritt was of a nervous disposition, and he was afraid that he would suffer a shock if we arrived unexpectedly. We wired Blumentritt and proceeded to

Leitzmeritz

At the train station Blumentritt stood waiting for us. Previous to this moment I had known this generous friend only through pictures and letters. We stepped down from the train and received a very warm welcome. After establishing us at the Krebs Hotel, Blumentritt invited us to his house. And from that time on his home was also ours. His wife, Rosa, whose generosity equaled only

that of her husband's, gave us her complete attention during our stay in that city. As to be expected, our conversational themes were always pleasant and varied. Speaking of the *Noli Me Tangere,* the Austrian professor said:

"It is a work written with the blood of one's heart."

In the hours accessible for visits to the museums, our friend Blumentritt always accompanied us in our regular excursions. And if for some reason, he could not come with us, then one or more of his friends accompanied us to said excursions. At night, we always ate at the home of this semi-Filipino friend. After discussing Philippine affairs, he always accompanied us to the doors of our hotel. The next day, early in the morning, our tireless friend would be waiting for us in the lobby of the hotel. And after we had finished our breakfast, he again would take us to other instructive and historical places.

One day our host invited us to a beer hall. One of the tables was occupied by tourists who were discussing the practicability of passing the railroad tracks through one of the tiny towns near Leitzmeritz. Blumentritt introduced us to the president of the town in question. The president politely invited us to visit his town. And soon Rizal and the president were engaged in conversation. Rizal's perfect mastery of the German language attracted the president's attention, and he asked Rizal how long he had been speaking the language. And when Rizal answered eleven months, his admiration increased. He used the phrase "privileged talent" to describe Rizal's ability in languages. Blumentritt embraced Rizal and told him that few Germans could use their language as Rizal could. He also said that it was one thing to write German well and another to speak it well. And that Rizal through his correspondence and now through his conversations had proven that he had mastered both.

Desiring to commemorate our stay in the house of our generous host, Rizal, one day, asked for some sketching material. And after a brief period of work he presented our host with his portrait. Blumentritt was very pleased with the gift. Among the wonders we saw in Leitzmeritz, I still recall was a rare Bible edition that the English government once offered to buy for £3,000.

As a parting token of friendship. Blumentritt ordered a banquet. After the dinner Blumentritt gave a speech on Rizal, on which he said that Rizal was the greatest product of the Philippines and that his coming to the world was like the appearance of

a rare comet, whose rare brilliance appears only every other century.

The next night we expressed our gratitude to our host by giving a banquet in his honor, in the restaurant of our hotel. Here Rizal lost his diamond stickpin. He was not aware of the loss, however, till a few days had passed, and we were already in Vienna. He wrote to Blumentritt concerning the loss, and Blumentritt recovered the pin from a maid at the hotel, and mailed it to us at the Vienna Hotel Metropole.

The next day the whole Blumentritt family and their friends accompanied us to the station. Tears were shed by every one present as we left for Prague. Blumentritt gave us a letter of recommendation to Dr. Velcom, a professor of natural history at the Prague University. Dr. Velcom and his charming daughter acted as our guide as we visited the tomb of Copernicus; bacteriological laboratories; museums of natural history; the cave were Juan Nepomuceno was imprisoned; the bridge were this martyr was hurled into the river was marked by a piece of marble worn by the kisses of the devout. From this city we went to Brunn. Nothing of importance happened there.

Vienna

This beautiful capital of Vienna has its most impressive buildings in its downtown section forming a ring. We spent four days inspecting its beautiful buildings and examining its sacred statues and images. Many of these images had a historic rather than artistic merit. Rizal, who had a cultivated artistic eye, could not help but express his opinions of the images.

In one of our excursions in Vienna, Rizal met a Viennese lady of extraordinary beauty and irresistible attraction. This lady seemed to have entered our hero's life for the sole purpose of momentarily tempting our country's apostle of liberty with the cup of mundane pleasure. For up to then Rizal had led a life worthy of his namesake, Saint Joseph.

This, however, was a solitary case. During our six months together, I can't recall of any other incident wherein he succumbed to temptation. Concerning Dapitan, certain things should be taken into consideration. Rizal's mind was used to activity. Under the stress and the abnormal environment of exile in Dapitan his instincts momentarily outweighed his intellect. For the idle mind is the workshop of the devil.

In his first love for Leonor Rivera, we have a good example of how his mind always dominated his emotions. Despite his great love for her his sense of moderation always ruled. In the Christmas of 1886 while we were still in Berlin, I accompanied Rizal when he bought his gift for his fiancée. Despite his great love for her, he bought her only a box of stationary although there were other gifts suitable for the occasion.

To change the panorama, in the next move of our travels we decided to take a small boat that traveled along the famous Danube. During this river voyage we spent our time discussing the historical incidents that took place in the Danube. It was, also, the second time that we saw paper napkins being used. It was then a novelty, and supposed to be more hygienic and economical than cloth napkins. The end of this river voyage ended in

Linz

Here, the time we spent on our visits was little due to the relative unimportance of the city, and soon we took the train to continue to

Salzburg

In this place we did not stay for long either, only what was enough to know the city according to our Baedeker Guide Map, and then we continued to

Munchen (Munich)

Beautiful city, and aside from its picturesque sights, it serves the best beer in all Germany. Here are the two best factories of this drink that is becoming famous everywhere. For the third time we were served our meals with paper napkins. I don't recall having done much there. From Munchen we passed on to

Nuremberg

This is one of the old cities of Germany. The style of its architecture and the outline of its streets, all belong to a past age. Among the various sights I saw in this city, I only remember the different torture contraptions used during the Inquisition. Some were in human form, in the cavities of which a person fitted perfectly. The sides of the apparatus were lined with nails, and when it was closed its victim's body were completely perforated with holes. Others were shaped like horses with its saddle covered with nails and its stirrups clamped to fracture the legs of the un-

fortunate prisoner, etc. etc. We saw all these things with disgust. I noticed that Dr. Rizal examined each apparatus with caution. We also saw a very deep well in which a dropped object had to travel two to three minutes to hit the bottom. The biggest industry here is the fabrication of dolls that invade all the markets of the world. We embarked for

Ulm

This city has the biggest cathedral in Germany. It was still in construction during those days—the towers had not yet been built. We climbed its many hundred steps and I had to rest twice on the way. When I reached the top I felt dizzy from the strain. Rizal went up the steps without stopping even once, and he did not seem tired when he got up. From this city we passed to

Stuttgart

After the regular excursion, of which I remember nothing, we passed to

Baden

We followed the usual procedure of excursion, and when finished we went to

Rin Waterfall

This is the most beautiful waterfall of Europe. We took a boat ride in the river, bought a few souvenirs of our visit, and then proceeded to

Schaffhausen

We again referred to our guide book on the sights worth seeing in this city. From here we went to

Basle

Again I don't recall anything of importance regarding our visit in this city.

Bern

Making our usual customary visit, we directed ourselves to

Lausanne

From here we again rode on a small boat, travelling through Leman Lake. There was a thick fog so that one could not see

two meters ahead of him. The captain was obliged to sound his fog-horn every five minutes. We desembarked at

Geneva

One of the most beautiful cities of Switzerland, it is the most visited by tourists. After picking our luggages from the customs officials, we started to visit the city. Its inhabitants spoke Italian, German and French. Our polyglot friend conversed with them in all three. Some afternoons we spent on pleasant boat trips, covering a great part of the lake with its crystal water of aquamarine tint. It was on this boat trips that Rizal learned to row and steer a boat. On our way to the trip, he rowed under my direction, and on our way home, he steered while I rowed. On our fourth or fifth day in Geneva, he told me that it was his 24th birthday. And after a few days of our usual trips, we prepared our luggage and each of us went on his own way. He went to Italy. I went to Barcelona. During our whole trip he had spent his money wisely, buying only what is necessary and in accordance to his means. So that our tickets from Stetlin to Geneva were all of second class, with the exception of the boat trip in the Danube. Even the hotels we stayed at were all also of second class ratings. On June 23, 1887, we both embarked the same train with different destinations. We separated at the Swiss frontier.

My next meeting with Rizal was back in Manila in December of 1887. We met at the house of Sr. Pedro Serrano on San Jose St., No. (?). Trozo. He learned of my arrival at the city, and since he knew that I was heading for my hometown San Miguel de Mayumo, he stopped by to see me very early in the morning. In this opportune visit, I endorsed to him a patient, Lorenzo Tuazon of Malabon. This man who was suffering from an optic disease was, through my recommendation, planning to take a trip to Calamba to submit himself under his treatment. This same man was later operated on by Rizal in Madrid.

Our second meeting in Manila was in the last days of June 1892, a few days before his deportation to Dapitan. He wrote me immediately upon his arrival in Manila, and he asked me to see him. He was, then, living at the Hotel del Oriente, and in daily conferences with General Despujol, the results of which he always transmitted to me upon his coming from Malacañan Palace.

In synthesis, the result of his conferences with said general, was at times optimistic and at other times pessimistic. It was pessimistic whenever it referred to his Borneo emigration project

of forming an agricultural Filipino colony composed of his friends and relatives. Under this plan the Filipinos were to be under the British government for 90 years. The British government had already approved the principles and laws of this society. When Rizal submitted this plan for General Despujol's approval, the general was opposed. He told Rizal that his patriotism should not favor, much less support, such ideas. His main objection to the plan was that such mass immigration would make the Philippines lose a great number of much needed workers. Rizal explained that it bothered him that he had to resolve to taking such drastic actions. But in the face of the great evils that he was forced to face in his country, the Borneo project was the least he could desire. He thought that this would be the best solution not only for his own self, but also for his family. He said that certain people in power considered his farthest kin an enemy that has to be eliminated, just as his father, brothers, and friends have been eliminated by administrative disposition. On reaching this part, the discussion became optimistic. The general in a fit of clemency immediately decreed the liberty of his father and other members of his family.

The discussion then turned to *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. The General, admitting that he had never read the book, said that he had heard that the two novels contained many ideas that were of subversive principles and contrary to the religious spirit of the Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines. Since the General spoke only through hearsay, Rizal offered to give him copies of his work. The General declined. So Rizal limited himself to explain in more or less these same words: If one reads *Noli Me Tangere* superficially the reader will discover that its author is anti-Spanish and a filibusterer in the sectarian and relative sense of the word. But if one analyzed it profoundly, the impression changes. And the concept of anti-Spanish is changed to that of very Spanish and Hispanophile. In *El Filibusterismo,* on the other hand when taken lightly, the author appears a Hispanic nationalist, but on examining its depths, the Spanish mask disappears, and the features of the filibusterer presents itself in its conventional reality. And it is that way in effect. For being the instructing spirit of both novels, in the *Noli Me Tangere* the trajectory of its intention followed its straight course that its author previously traced; but in the normal course of happenings and in the evolution of our aspirations towards a more perfect regime, the same author who had suffered so much deception became a patient spectator of socio-political scenes lamented in the first novel, and following that, the same spirit that dominated *Noli Me Tangere,*

was modified and obliged to what it is, under the point of view of colonial injustice.

When it got to this point, the conference was suspended for other days. General Despujol interrupted the discussion under the pretext of urgent business. The next appointment was postponed three or four times. Due to his delay, I was not able to wait for the results of the conference. When I arrived in my town I was surprised by a minute search conducted by a Peninsular Spanish special agent of the government, accompanied by various civil guards led by their officer, who gave me the sad news of Rizal's detention, at Fort Santiago. Before this detention, a few days before that tragic conference, I invited Rizal to the house of the lawyer, Mr. Nazario Constantino, where certain of his followers awaited him for an interview. There I had the opportunity of offering him the sum of ₱100 to help him, no matter how little, in his extraordinary expenses. As usual he refused to accept, and I found myself obliged to deposit the money in the hands of Mr. Constantino in his presence. During his exile in Dapitan our prisoner wrote to Dr. Ariston Bautista, asking him for a second-hand photographic machine worth ₱100. He told Dr. Bautista that he could get the money from Mr. Constantino. But since Dr. Bautista never found the type of machine specified, this transaction never materialized.

Later, in September of 1893, Mr. Constantino became impatient over Rizal's inaction and silence concerning the money deposited in his care. He asked me if he could invest the ₱100 in a lucrative business the proceeds of which were to go to Rizal. I favored the idea, and we decided to invest it in the purchase of 16 shares of the Mambulao Gold Mines that a British enterprise had offered to exploit by means of the assistance of stockholders. This company, as is known, failed. And up to this hour, no one knows what will be its final end.

Here you have all the reminiscences of 26 years back concerning my personal relations with our idol, from Barcelona, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and then the Philippines. I regret the fact that I can't amplify the other details that have surrounded the life of our martyr. But when the revolution of 1896 came, I had to move constantly to escape persecution. It was during this time that I lost all the notes that I had made of our travels.

CULTS HONORING RIZAL

Marcelino A. Foronda Jr.

As an expression of nationalistic fervor, the Philippine Independent Church headed by the late Bishop Aglipay has canonized Rizal. Religious cults have risen in some parts of the archipelago in honor of the national hero. In this study, the author, a senior instructor of the humanities and history at De La Salle College,[1] describes the growth of these religious centers.

I

Introduction

It would be extremely difficult, if not well nigh impossible, to definitely ascertain the cult[2] in honor of Rizal that first came into being. However, as early as 1900, or two years before the actual establishment of the Philippine Independent Church, Isabelo de los Reyes, who was to be one of the founders of this sect, advocated what he called the "canonization" of the three martyr priests, Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora.[3] However, he made no mention whatsoever of a similar plan for Rizal. Yet as events turned out Rizal, together with the three priests, was canonized[4] by this sect on September 24, 1903, or less than a year after the sect was founded.

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is due to Brother Denis, F.S.C., Brother C. Peter, F.S.C., Brother Lucian, F.S.C., and Atty. Eduardo Deveza, M.A., all of De La Salle College, Manila, for their invaluable help in the preparation of this study. Errors of commission and/or omission are, however, the writer's sole responsibility.

[2] *Cult also Cultus,* broadly, honor to a thing or person. It thus includes worship and veneration. (*The Catholic Concise Encyclopedia,* p. 119.) It is in this sense that this word shall be used in this study.

Sect, on the other hand, shall be taken to mean that which is "commonly applied to a separately organized religious body having its distinctive name and its own places of worship; a 'denomination'" (*The Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles,* p. 1827).

[3] *Vide* Isabelo de los Reyes, "A los tres mártires de la Patria Burgos, Gómez y Zamora 28 de Febrero de 1872" in *Filipinas Ante Europa,* II, 9 (28 de Febrero de 1903) 67-78.

[4] For a discussion of Rizal's canonization by the Philippine Independent Church see our work, "The Canonization of Rizal" in *The Journal of History,* VIII, 2 (June, 1960) 93-140; and "How Rizal Became a Saint" in *Sunday Chronicle Magazine,* XVI, 25 (June 18, 1961) 10-12.

Vide also Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Gregorio Aglipay y los Origenes de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (1898-1917). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cienti-

In his new status as saint, a cult in Rizal's honor was established within the Philippine Independent Church. Novenas were composed in his honor, his statues found a revered niche in churches and chapels of this sect, his feast days marked with religious observances, and his name was given at baptism. As has been pointed out by no less an authority than the present Supreme Bishop of the sect, Mons. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., Rizal's canonization was an expression of the "intensely nationalistic phase" of the development of the sect. That phase, de los Reyes has also added, is now a thing of the past. By this is also meant that Rizal is no longer considered a saint by this sect and, as such, cults in his honor within the sect, are all but forgotten.

And yet, strangely enough, this did not deter other sects from being established, sects which consider Rizal not only a saint but a god, or at least, a being endowed with supernatural powers.

As early as 1923, Katherine Mayo relates, a cult built around Rizal was established by the colorums [5] of Surigao. It appears that during 1923 and 1924 a tale was spread of the imminence of war which would first break in Surigao. "Then, after four months of fighting, Dr. Jose Rizal would arrive . . . in a large ship. In this ship he would embark all the faithful and would carry them triumphantly away to the Island of Cebu. There they would celebrate victory in company of the Holy Child."[6]

Many believed this to be nothing but a sudden outburst of religious fanaticism which would soon pass away. But even as late as 1959, Fr. Richard Arens has also mentioned that the "Pulahanes of Camp Minarog (in Wright, Samar) believed that Rizal would return to life and that there would be a time when rich and poor would be alike."[7]

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ficas, MXMLX. I, pp. 302-308; Pedro S. de Achutegui and Miguel A. Bernad, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines The Life and Church of Gregorio Aglipay* 1860-1960. Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1960, pp. 240-241; Salvador Pons y Torres, "La Iglesia Filipina Independiente" (Manuscrito que se conserva en la Biblioteca de los Padres Agustinos de Valladolid) in Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 11-174. For the canonization of the Philippine heroes in Pons y Torres, *vide* pp. 167-168 of the work just cited. *Vide* also Wenceslao E. Retana y Gamboa, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal. Vide* pp. 452-453 of the edition of this work published in 1958 by the Nueva Era Press, Manila, in five volumes, xvi, 506p.

[5] Katherine Mayo, *The Isles of Fear The truth about the Philippines*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, c1925, p. 188.

" 'Secula seculorum', the familiar but wholly uncomprehended terminal words of many a Latin prayer, are held to have supplied the name for a sect widely spread among the islands... For a considerable number of years the colorum sect has been known in the Islands in various places."

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[7] Richard Arens, "The Early Pulahan Movement in Samar and Leyte" in *The Journal of History*, VIII, 4 (December, 1959) p. 346.

With regard to other sects and cults in honor of Rizal, Paulina Carolina Malay[8] makes the following observations:

> Many towns of Leyte among them Dulag, Burauen, and Limon—have religious sects called Banal which venerate Rizal as a god. They have chapels where they pray on their knees before the hero's picture or statue.
>
> Legaspi City, too, has a strange society called Pantay-pantay whose members are called Rizalinos. Periodically the members walk barefoot in a procession to Rizal's monument and hold a queer sort of a mass. Usually this procession is done on Rizal Day (December 30) or on June 19, the natal day of the hero.
>
> Some 'colorum' sects also venerate Rizal as a god. A 'colorum' sect in Tayabas, Quezon has built a chapel for him at the foot of Bundok San Cristóbal, better known as Mt. Banahaw... The sect called Rizalina in Barrio Caluluan, Concepción, Tarlac, has even a sort of nunnery for its priestesses. The girls, forbidden to marry during a certain period, are sent to Rizal's hometown, Calamba, for 'training.' When they go back to Tarlac, they perform masses, baptize and do other religious rites...

These sects in honor of Rizal found in various places of the archipelago, as shall be presently shown, have been established for some time now and, in some instances, may even be said to have flourished. And yet aside from passing mention of them in books and magazine articles, practically nothing has been written on them.[9] The reason for this may be two-fold: 1) either our scholars are still unaware of the existence of these cults or 2) if they are aware, they have not found them worthy of serious study. It is this writer's belief, however, that aside from making a modest contribution to our growing Rizaliana literature, a study such as this may also yield an aspect of Philippine culture which has reached such proportions as to stagger the imagination of social scientists. Furthermore, this writer hopes that the student of Philippine culture will find this study helpful in the acquisition of a view of a segment of religious movements in the country.

The Pulahans were members of a "very complex organized movement of the 'mountain people' who fought the Spanish and American governments." There are still some to be found in Samar and Leyte today. For a treatment of the subject, consult the work just cited.

[8] Paulina Carolina Malay, "Filipiniana: Rizal as a Saint" in *Weekly Women's Magazine,* III, 44. (March 5, 1954) p. 33.

[9] Aside from the works already cited the following magazine articles may also be mentioned: Napoleon R. Gavina, "Nueva Ecija's Religious Adarnistas" in *Kislap-Graphic* (May 4, 1960) 16 and J. P., 'Watawat Ng Lahi' in *Sunday Chronicle Magazine,* XVI, 25 (August 13, 1961) 34-39. Although Gavina discusses the establishment of this sect, which is also a subject of this present study, its beliefs and its rituals, he failed to mention Rizal's place within this sect aside from a scanty line: "The portrait of Dr. Jose Rizal adorns the altar of the Adarnistas." Although J. P.'s (?) article is mainly a pictorial coverage of the *Watawat ng Lahi,* it also contains a short historical account of the sect. However, J. P.'s allegation that Rizal is considered a "saint" by this sect does not tally with our findings. *Vide* pp. 192-194 of this present study.

As has already been seen, there are other cults in honor of Rizal aside from those treated in this present study. In choosing the four sects for our study we were guided mainly by their accessibility. However, identical threads run through all of them and we feel that these sects chosen for our study are representative of the others. We hope that in our present study we have modestly succeeded in presenting a picture, however incomplete, of these movements.

Although an attempt has been made to make this study as comprehensive as is possible under the present circumstances, still we feel that this study is far from being complete. We hope, therefore, that other studies along these lines be undertaken in the future. Furthermore, we have not attempted here to approach the subject from the theological angle: we shall leave that to more qualified persons.

This study is divided into five parts. The short introduction is an attempt to trace the origins of the cults in honor of Rizal. For this, we have drawn heavily from our study already cited. The second part attempts to trace the origins and the establishment of these cults, particularly the *Sambahang Rizal,* the *Bathalismo* (*Inang Mahiwaga*), the *Adarnistas,* the *Watawat ng Lahi,* and the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina,* their beliefs, religious practices and rituals, and their hierarchy. Except the *Bathalismo* (*Inang Mahiwaga*) and the *Watawat ng Lahi,* writings on the other sects are practically nil, we were left no alternative but to interview officials and leading members of these sects and, at least in one case, to observe some of their rituals. In discussing these sects, therefore, we have relied mainly on these interviews and observations. The third part is an attempt to determine the place of Rizal in these sects. The fourth part is a summary of the salient points and conclusions derived from our study. The fifth part is the appendix which is more or less planned in the pattern of an anthology.

A Note on the Appendix. Included in the appendix are hymns and prayers, some of which appear in print for the first time of the sects studied. Written in Iloko or in Tagalog, as the case may be, these hymns and prayers are given in the original side by side with the English translation. There is no attempt here to improve on the original by changing the spelling of some words into the more accepted orthography. Thus, this writer believes that these hymns and prayers will retain a more authentic tone and a rustic quality so typical of the peasant members of these sects.

In the case of the other prayers or hymns written in a conglomeration of what would seem to be Spanish, Latin, Greek, and of Iloko and Tagalog, only those parts in Iloko or Tagalog are rendered in English, the other parts left as they are. In all instances, the sources of the hymns or prayers are mentioned in the footnotes. Also included in this appendix are pertinent documents culled from the Securities and Exchange Commission, Manila, and other materials having a bearing on our study. Whenever necessary, the English translation of these documents and materials are also given.

The appendix is divided according to the sects.

Finally, it must be stated here that only the representative hymns or prayers of the sects are included. A work such as this would have to rule out the possibility of including all the prayers and hymns of these sects.

II. CULTS IN HONOR OF RIZAL

1. Sambahang Rizal [10]

Sambahang Rizal, literally, "Rizal Church," was established by the late Atty. Basilio Aromin [11] in Cuyapo, Nueva Écija in 1918.

Aromin told his followers that this sect was established to honor Rizal who was appointed by Bathala [12] to redeem his race and people and who, Christ-like, offered up his life in oblation to save mankind.

Beliefs. The beliefs of this sect may be summarized as follows.

God is known by the name "Bathala." At this point, it may be well to say something about the concept, "Bathala." Historians who have studied the religions of the pre-Magellanic Philippines, among others, Morga, Chirino, and de los Reyes, have pointed out

[10] Actual research did not yield any printed matter about this sect which has since become extinct, although one is told of the presence of such printed matter some years ago. This sect must have been registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission before the second world war. However, the papers of incorporation must have been lost during the war as they are no longer to be found in the said office.

This discussion of the *Sambahang Rizal* is based on an interview of this writer with Nicolas Sumalbag, 73 year old former *guru* (i.e. Teacher, Preacher) of this sect for ten years, 1918-1928, but now a preacher of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Sumalbag is from Latap, Cuyapo, Nueva Écija where this interview was held on April 27, 1960.

Expressions like "Sumalbag says," "Sumalbag states" and the like have been purposely left out to avoid a cumbersome tone in the narrative.

[11] This writer was not able to get any other information, aside from that mentioned above, about Aromin from Sumalbag, his informant.

[12] *Cf. infra.*

that "Bathala" is the term that the ancient Filipino used to designate "God," "Lord," "Master," or "Creator."

As early as 1586, Gonzales de Mendoza wrote in his book, *Historia de las cosas etc de China,* (Madrid, 1586) that the ancient Filipinos conserved idols of men and women and "among these they had the greater veneration for an idol whose name was *Batala,* which reverence they had taken as tradition."[13]

Morga, on the other hand, stated that "some (ancient Filipinos) adored a bird which was to be found in the mountains, which was yellow in color which they call *Bathala*."[14] The well-known Jesuit historian, Chirino, (spelled by de los Reyes as "Quirino") has also written that "among the gods (of the Filipinos) there was a principal one and (who was) superior to all the rest whom the Tagalogs call *Bathala Meicapal,* that is to say, god the creator . . . The Tagalogs adored a blue bird, the size of a thrush, and they called it *Bathala,* which was among them the name of the divinity."[15]

The term "Bathala" or "Badhala," Isabelo de los Reyes adds, indicates a Brahmanistic influence on the pre-Spanish Filipino religion, and goes on to say: "The word 'Bathara' in Sanscrit (sacred language of the Hindus) signifies 'Lord'. The Bataks, the Buginese and the Macassars called their god Bathala (lord) Guru (master) the cognomination of Siva, the third person of the Brahmanic triad."[16]

De los Reyes further states that the name "Bathala or Badhala is used only by the Filipinos who had relations with the Malay Hindus or the Moslems, i. e. those from Manila to the South. In northern Luzon this name is unknown."[17]

As can be seen from this brief discussion, the term "Bathala," though its use was not so widespread but was confined to only a segment of pre-Hispanic Philippines, was used to designate "God."

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[13] This and the following citations are quoted by Isabelo de los Reyes in his book, *La Religión Antigua de los Filipinos.* Manila: Imprenta de El Renacimiento, 1909. p. 20. The Spanish text: "Entre estos tenían su mayor veneración a un ydolo cuyo nombre era *Batala,* la cual reverencia la aviantomado por tradición."

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 29. The Spanish text: "*algunos* adorauan un ave en los montes pintada de amarillo que llaman *Batala.*"

[15] *Ibid.* The Spanish text: "entre sus dioses había uno principal y superior a todos a quien los Tagalos llaman *Bathala Meicapal,* que quiera decir el dios fabricador o hacedor..." (p. 30) "los tagalos adoraban un pájaro azul del grandor de un tordo y le llamaban *Bathala,* que era entre ellos nombre de divinidad." (p. 32)

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 33. The Spanish text: "La palabra Bathara en en sanscrito (idioma sagrado de los indus) significa 'señor.' Los battaks de Sumatra, los buguis y macasares llaman a su dios Bathara (señor) Guru (maestro), sobrenombre de Siva, la tercera persona del trimurti brahmanico.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 34. The Spanish text: "Bathala o Badhala sólo se usaba entre los filipinos que tuvieron relaciones con malayos hindus o mahometanos, o sea desde Manila al Sur. En el Norte de Luzon no se conoce este nombre."

The ancient Filipino idea of God definitely shows some traces of anthropomorphism, a factor which, as subsequent discussions will show, is also present in all the other sects studied for this paper.

Be that as it may, the sect *Sambahang Rizal* professed the belief that Rizal is the "Son of Bathala" in the same manner that Jesus Christ is considered the "Son of God" by all the orthodox Christian religions. The doctrines and teachings of Rizal are to be found in his novels, *El Filibusterismo* and the *Noli Me Tangere,* doctrines, which however vague they might have appeared to the members of the sect, each member was expected to believe. The two works were considered the "Bible" of the sect.

Sacraments and Rituals. The sacrament are "basically similar"[18] to those of the Catholic Church with some changes suited to the particular needs of this sect.

Baptism consisted in the Trinitarian formula; i.e. the prospective member was baptized in "the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Water was used by aspersion, and members were given the orthodox names like María, Juan, José, etc. Baptism, however, was only for infants and children, not for adult converts. Confirmation, performed by the "lalawigan guru" (*Preacher of the province*), consisted in the members' promise to uphold the beliefs of the *Samahang Rizal.* Although the sacrament of matrimony was also "similar" to that of Catholics, the ceremonies for the dead consisted in prayers asking Bathala that "the dead merit heaven through the merits of Dr. Rizal." The sacrament of holy orders, as such, was not within the framework of the church, although Aromin himself taught the *gurus.*

Hierarchy. The *gurus,* who belonged to lowest rung of the hierarchy of this sect, were obligated to preach the gospel of *Sambahang Rizal* (i.e. Rizal's teachings) in territories assigned to them. The "lalawigan guru" (*preachers of the province*) who would approximate the bishops of other faiths, were naturally higher in rank; it was their duty to perform the rites of confirmation and supervise the "gurus" under their jurisdiction. "Pangulu guru" (*chief preacher*) was the highest rank within the sect. Aromin, the founder of the sect, held this title. However, there was a council, called the "Consejo Sambahang Rizal," which helped Aromin in the ad-

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[18] This assertion of our informant has to be taken with extreme caution. What Sumalbag means here, apparently, is that the outward appearance of the way these sacraments were conducted approximated those of the Catholic Church. We have no pretensions of a knowledge of theology and so we shall leave this for further discussion by better qualified persons.

ministration of the sect. This was formed by the "pangulu guru," and six other members of the sect (not necessarily the "lalawigan guru") selected by Aromin himself. The "Consejo Sambahang Rizal" met in Manila when Aromin transferred his residence there.

Cuyapo, Nueva Écija, however, remained the training center for "gurus"; it was from there that these "gurus" were sent to preach the beliefs of this sect to other places.

There used to be a church of the sect near what is at present the Quirino Avenue and Julian Aguila Street in Cuyapo, Nueva Écija. Churches of the sect were also found in Umingan, Sta. María de Pila, Mangatarem, Rosales, Balungao, and in Manaoag, all in Pangasinan, and chapels were found in other towns in Nueva Écija at the height of the popularity of the sect when it could count on about 7,000 followers in these places mentioned.

A typical church or chapel would have an altar facing the congregation. This altar was draped in the Philippine flag. On the altar was prominently displayed a statue of Rizal.

As far as can be determined, this sect is already extinct.

2. Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga)[19]

"Bathalismo" is a derivative from "Bathala" which, as has already been shown, is the ancient Filipino term for "God". "Bathalismo," therefore, may be loosely translated into English as "Bathalaism" or "Belief in Bathala." Venancio P. Wagan, founder and presently the Supreme Bishop of the sect, has an interesting explanation of the term. Says Wagan:[20]

> I know, and it is also written in the pages of history by the heroes Paterno and Basa, that at the establishment of the Philippine Republic was also established the Philippine Religion called "BATHALA," "ANAKHALA," and "KALAPATI" which in the abbreviated form of today is "BATHALISMO" Inc.; (INANG MAHIWAGA).

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19 We are more fortunate in our discussion of this sect for a book containing documents, rituals, hymns, etc. of the sect is available to the researcher. *Vide: Bathalismo* (*Inang Mahiwaga*), n.p., n.d., 120 p. (illustrated). As the book is written in Tagalog. the citations will be in English translation as given in the text, and the Tagalog original will be included in the footnotes. Henceforth, the book will be cited as *Bathalismo* and the sect as *Bathalismo* (*Inang Mahiwaga*) to avoid confusion.

However, it must be stated here that the data taken from the book must be taken with extreme caution inasmuch as there are, at least for the present, no available means of checking all of them.

20 The Tagalog text: "Nalalaman ko at nasusulat din sa mga dahon ng kasaysayan na ang pagkakatayo ng Pamahalaang Republica Filipina ay kalakip ang Pananampalatayang Filipino na "BATHALA," "ANAKHALA," at "KALAPATI" na isinulat ng mga Bayaning Paterno at Basa, na sa maikling salita ngayon ay "BATHALISMO" Inc.; (INANG MAHIWAGA). *Bathalismo,* p. 5. All words in capital letters are transcribed as written in the book.

Unfortunately Wagan failed to cite the sources from which he obtained his data, and it may be quite impossible for him to support his assertion as the known writings of Paterno do not indicate the establishment of a new religion called "Bathala," "Anakhala" and "Kalapati" at the inauguration of the Philippine Republic. (What Wagan means here, obviously, is the one inaugurated in Kawit, Cavite, on June 19, 1898, and not the Japanese sponsored Philippine Republic inaugurated on October 14, 1943 or the Philippine Republic inaugurated on July 4, 1946 when the United States of America granted the independence of the Philippines). Contrary to Wagan's allegations, Basa is not known to have written any history book, before or after the inauguration of the Philippine Republic.

A perusal of a work written by Pedro A. Paterno,[21] available to this writer, yielded no information about the religion "Anakhala" and "Kalapati." However, in this same book, Paterno writes about *Bathalismo* and its influence on some aspects of the life of the pre-Spanish Filipino.

Paterno states that *Bathalismo* belonged "to the last days of the Tagalog civilization,"[22] that is to say, the era immediately before the Spanish conquest. The followers of this sect who inhabited what was then known as the Tagalog region professed a belief in the deity, "Bathala" and a kind of pantheism. We are told, for instance, that they had

> ... a profound conviction in the presence of the Supreme *Láuon* of the only *Maláuak* (Immense) *Bathala,* in the rivers, in the fields, in the mountains, in the sea, in the fields sown with seeds, in the houses, in all beings, everywhere.[23]

The religion preached that man had three spirits completely distinct from each other: the *calulúá* which corresponded to the intelligent soul, the *diwá* which corresponded to the sensitive soul, and the *laygo,* which corresponded to the vegetative soul.[24] But this trinity of spirits, each with a distinct personality or existence, did not form three beings, but one being only, i.e., the soul. The follower of *Bathalismo* had the obligation to save his soul so that

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[21] Pedro A. Paterno, *Synopsis de Historia de Filipinas.* Manila: Imprenta "La República," 1911. 135 p.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 86. The Spanish text: "...a los últimos días de la civilizacion tagala."

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 221. The Spanish text: "...una convicción profunda en la presencia del *Láuon* Supremo, del único *Maláuak* (Inmenso) *Bathala,* en los ríos, en los campos, en las montañas, en el mar, en los sembrados, en las casas, en todos seres, en todas las partes."

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

he would enjoy the happiness in *Kalualhatian* (a kind of heaven).[25] The souls of the evil ones were condemned to pain and suffering in *Casanáan* which was inhabited by demons.[26]

Bathalismo also preached the brotherhood of men, termed the *sandugo* (of one blood), as well as the equality of everyone. Thus, this sect also held that man should be free from oppression and slavery.[27] It was probably for this reason that *Bathalismo* destroyed the hereditary castes, and laid more stress on virtues, intelligence, and the capacity for work rather than on aristocracy and power.[28]

However, *Bathalismo* had a hierarchy of officials as can be seen in the office of the *sónat* (bishop) and that of the *alagar* (priest).[29] It might be inferred that it was the duty of these church officials to spread the doctrines of *Bathalismo*.

These are the main tenets of *Bathalismo* which Wagan claims are presently "abbreviated" (?) in *Bathalismo Inc.* (*Inang Mahiwaga*). The explanation of the other term of the nomenclature of this sect, "Inang Mahiwaga" may be even more difficult to seek. The book entitled *Bathalismo* which has been used as the basis for our discussion, contains no definite passages to explain the term. However, the book makes reference to Bishop (*Obispa!*) María Loreta V. García variously referred to as the "Blessed Mother" (*Mahal na Iná*) and "Mysterious Mother" (*Ináng Mahiwaga*)[30] Does the term "Ináng Mahiwaga" refer to the said María Loreta V. García? [31]

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[30] *Bathalismo,* p. 32.

[31] That this sect gives much importance to the "Mysterious Mother," María Loreta V. García, may be gleaned from the many pictures of hers included in the book, (*vide* pictures facing pp. 16, 33, 50, and 120), in which, among others, she is shown dressed in the robes of a bishop complete with mitre, and episcopal staff! If this sounds strange, her life as reported in the book is even more so.

Although the account begins with the less mysterious date and place of her birth (December 15, 1907 in Alfonso, Cavite), it is interspersed with such fantastic details as: García has two sisters, one obviously normal, and the other, a fish or siren (*isda o sirena*) called Enomine Domine Mintuam Envalioreyna Dei!; she was reared in a secret cave called the "cave of mercy" (*cueva ng awa*); she was later brought to live in the "limbo of the blessed" (*limbo ng banal*); and still much later brought to a chapel where three hermits consecrated her!; after six days she was brought to the river Jordan where she was baptized by the Most Blessed Father (*Amang Kabanal-banalan*) and by the Mother of Mothers (*Inang Kaina-inahan*)!

At the right age (*nang siya ay nasa katamtamang gulang*) she was made to marry Martin Herfacio, from Sinaliw, Alfonso, Cavite. Of this union were born seven children, four boys and three girls. The fourth boy, however, was born under mysterious circumstances, and was called Emmanuel Salvador del Mundo!; the nine choirs of angels cared for this boy (*inalagaan na siya ng Siyam na Corong Angelica*)!

Establishment of the Sect.[32] It is not known whether this sect was in any way affiliated with the *"Sambahang Rizal"* of Cuyapo, Nueva Écija; neither is its actual date of establishment known. However, Wagan[33] assures us that he established it after several years of study and investigation. This sect, Wagan goes on to say, originated from the *Samahang Espiritual, Katahimikan May Kasarinlan, Inc.* ("Spiritual Association, Peace with Independence, Inc.")[34] On June 19, 1936, however, Wagan continues, the Bishop founders of the *Iglesia Nacional Filipina, Iglesia Catolica Apostolica Romana, Iglesia Liberal Filipina, Iglesia Filipina Independiente, Iglesia Cristiana Filipina, Iglesia Mistica Filipina*[35] agreed to join the said *"Bathalismo" (Inang Mahiwaga) Inc.*, and the Supreme bishop of this church (i.e. *Bathahlismo Inc.*) was recognized as the head of the said faith.

This sect was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (*Kawanihan ng Kalakal at Paggawa,* as Wagan writes it). on November 25, 1948. This date may be considered the formal establishment of the sect.[36]

So far, this narration of fantastic details (*vide Bathalismo,* pp. 33-35). As can be seen in this narration, the details are so fantastic one wonders whether the anonymous writer of the account was serious or whether he needed the services of a psychiatrist. However, in a signed note after this account, Wagan assures his readers: "I vouch for the truth of the above (account)." "*...pinatutunayan ko ... ang lahat ng nasa itaas nito.*" We shall leave the facts to speak for themselves.

32 *Vide* "'Kasaysayan' ng 'BATHALISMO' O, 'Santa Iglesia Filipina', 'Samahang Espiritual Katahimikan May Kasarinlan'" in *Bathalismo,* pp. 37-39.

33 Practically nothing is known of Venancio P. Wagan, the founder of this sect, except for this very meager information taken from the book, *Bathalismo,* p. 45: "(Wagan) is a former musician and member of the Municipal Band of the English Government on Campo Manila Street at Singapore. While there, he came to know of a religion called 'Sagrada Familia'" (*Ika 12 ng Agosto ng taong* 1899, *noon ako'y naging isang kawani sa mga manunugtog sa Banda Municipal ng Gobierno Ingles sa Singapore at dito ako nagkaroon ng pagkakataon na makilala ang isang Relihion na tinatawag na "SAGRADA FAMILIA"*)

In our attempt to gather more information about Wagan, we wrote him a letter in which we requested him, among other things, to send us a short biographical sketch. In his reply to us, dated July 11, 1960 and sent from the central office of his sect in San Leonardo, Nueva Écija, Wagan said that he could not send us answers to our questionnaire but invited us to visit him in the headquarters of the sect. Pressure of work and lack of time make it impossible for us to accept his invitation.

34 *Bathalismo,* p. 9. For the papers of incorporation of the so-called *Samahang Espiritual, Katahimikan May Kasarinlan, Inc.* See Appendix A.

35 *Loc. cit.* The sects mentioned here, except the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* and the *Iglesia Mistica Filipina,* are not registered in the Securities and Exchange Commission. Of the alleged union of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* with *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga) Inc.,* Mons. Santiago Fonacier, former Obispo Maximo, and at the time of the alleged union the first Assistant Secretary General of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente,* told this writer in an interview (Pasay City, October 20, 1960): "I do not know of any conversation or conference between Wagan and the late Bishop Aglipay, much less a union between *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga) Inc.* and the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente.* Otherwise Bishop Aglipay would have told me and I am positively sure that he never mentioned anything about the alleged conference between himself and the founder or any member of the *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga) Inc.*"

36 For a copy of the papers of incorporation see Appendix A of this present study.

Aims of the sect. The aims of the sect have been succinctly stated by Wagan in the following words: "to be united, to love and help one another, to uphold true reason, truth, and works of charity . . . These are the principles, purposes, and aims of *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga) Inc.*"[37] Wagan also adds that "to investigate the lives and be familiar with our great heroes like José Rizal, Padre Burgos . . . so that the enslaved truth, justice, and faith, and the unity of the race and country be upheld,"[38] as the other aims of the sect.

Beliefs of the sect. Wagan states that the basis of the beliefs of the sect may be found in Isaias 2, 1-3.[39] However, he quotes only Isaias 2, 2:[40]

> And in the last days the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills and all nations shall flow unto it.

He also includes Isaias 2, 19 and makes this appear as part of Isaias 2, 1-3:

> And they shall go into the holes of rocks and into the caves of the earth, from the face of the fear of the Lord and from the glory of his majesty when he shall rise up to strike the earth.

In further support of his claims, he also cites Isaias 3, 1-3. Actually he quotes only Isaias 3, 2-3, and this with marked variations in the Tagalog version:

> The strong man and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the cunning man, and the ancient. The captain over fifty, and the honor-

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[37] *Bathalismo,* pp. 6-7. The Tagalog text: "MAGKAISA, MAGMAHALAN, MAGTULUNGAN, itindig ang tunay na KATUIRAN, KATOTOHANAN, at KAWANGGAWA... Iyan ang simulain, patakaran, o tuntunin ng "BATHALISMO" Inc.; (Inang Mahiwaga) (sic).

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 37. The Tagalog text: "Nang masuri at makilala ng ating mga Dakilang Bayaning sila Gat. Jose Rizal, Padre Burgos... upang ibangon ang naaping "KATOTOHANAN, KATARUNGAN, PANANAMPALATAYA, at PAGKAKAISA ng Lahi sa Lahi at ng Bayan sa Bayan."

[39] The Tagalog texts, as they appear on pp. 8-9 in *Bathalismo* are the following:

Isaias 2, 2, erroneously cited as Isaias 2, 1-3 by Wagan: *Sa mga huling araw ang buhay ng Panginoon ay matitindig sa taloktok ng mga bundok at mga burol at ang mga Bansa ay magsisiparoon doon upang mag-aral at lumakad sa landas ng Panginoon.*

The following, misquoted as part of Isaias, 1-3, is actually Isaias 2, 19: *At ang mga tao ay magsisipasok sa bitak ng mga bato at yungib ng mga lupa sa landas ng Panginoon sa kakilabutan sa Panginoon.*

The following, though not the exact Tagalog rendition of what Wagan cites as Isaias 2, 1-3, is actually, with variations, Isaias 2: *Sa mga huling araw ay may isang lalaking ititindig ang Panginoon, ng Panginoon ng mga Hukbo ng mga matatalinong mga tao, ng mga tagapayo, ng mga matatalinong mangangalakal at mga eencanto. Bata ang mangungulo sa kanila at sanggol ang mangunguna.*

[40] English citations from the *Holy Bible Old Testament in the Douay-Challoner Text; New Testament and Psalms in the Confraternity Text.* Rev. John P. O'Connell, editor. Chicago: The Catholic Press, Inc., c1950. p. 639.

able in countenance, and the counselor, and the architect, and the skilful in eloquent speech.

However, Wagan does not elaborate on these citations and one seeks in vain for his interpretation of these lines to show their relevance to the sect. Be it mentioned, however, that there is a predilection of this sect to have its centers of worship in heavily wooded areas, near mountains, and hills.

What may be considered as another basis for the establishment of the sect is Wagan's preoccupation with what he terms, "VOICES" (capitals are his). Wagan mentions about his conferences with the "VOICES" which, he adds, the true follower of his sect must follow. Because of these "mysterious voices," he continues, his followers would suffer no troubles. With a certain flourish, he goes on to say that according to the "VOICES" his sect had already sprung up from our (i.e. the Filipino) race and our native land even before the coming of the missionaries from foreign lands."[41]

Unfortunately, however, Wagan does not explain what these "voices" are, or where they come from, or how he manages to have "conferences" with them.

Be that as it may, the beliefs which the members of this sect profess are contained in another article by Wagan.[42] These beliefs, twelve in all, are not purely religious in nature and, as shall be seen later, also include what may be the "political" or "patriotic" credo of the sect. However, we shall cite here only those which have a bearing on our study.

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[41] *Bathalismo*, p. 37. The Tagalog text: Na sa kanilang muling pakikipanayam ay sa "VOCES" na lamang sa iba't ibang Poder, o, Pavor na kanilang maibigan, o, mapili na kung kaya itinagubilinang tandaan ang kanilang tinig, o, voces. Na iyan nga hanggang sa panahong ito ay sinusunod ng mga tunay na alagad ng "BATHALISMO" o, STA. IGLESIA FILIPINA." Na dahil din sa VOCES, o, Espiritu, o Mahiwagang Voces (Juan: 14; 16:17.26) (!) kung kaya matahimik at walang ligalig na dinanas ang mga sumusunod, o, magkakapatid.

Na ayon sa "ESPIRITU" o, MAHIWAGANG VOCES ang "STA. IGLESIA, o, "BATHALISMO" ay katutubo ng ating Lahi at ng ating Lupa ng Tinubuan bago pa dumating dito ang mga misionerong taga ibang Bansa, o, Romano at iba pang Pananampalataya dito sa Kapulung Filipinas. Na ang mga umiiral na Pananampalatayang iyan ng Lahing Filipino, o, ng Katagalugan.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46. The following is the Tagalog original and is numbered as it appears in the book cited. The other principles having no bearing on our study (i.e. No. 4: "The Filipina woman shall wear the new dresses worn by the foreigners." p. 45 *op. cit.*) have been purposely left out.

1. Si Rizal ay hindi namatay noong binaril sa Bagumbayan noong 1896. Siya'y tumungo sa China lulan ng isang bapor na nagpunta dito, nakabalatkayong intsik na di makilala ng sino man.

3. Na ang Filipinas ay para sa mga Filipino lamang.

5. Na dito sa Sangdaigdaigan ay walang mayaman at maralita ang lahat ay magiging pantay-pantay lamang.

6. Na sa mga bundok na mainam ay may mga Encantado ang Makapangyarihan.

8. Na ang Filipinas ay magiging isang Kaharian at Emperio ng mga Monarkang dito magsisipanggaling.

The following are the beliefs:

1. Rizal was not killed when he was "supposedly" shot at Bagumbayan in 1896. He left for China taking a boat which came here, disguised himself as a Chinese and was not recognized by anyone.

2. The Philippines is for Filipinos only.

3. There are no rich or poor in this world; all shall be equal.

4. In good mountains reside the enchanted and almighty ones.

5. The Philippines shall become a kingdom whose monarchs shall come from here.

In another article, also by Wagan,[43] entitled "Ang Cristo Jesus" (*Christ Jesus*) one comes across the following words: "According to many readers, Christ Jesus was killed and nailed to the Cross by the Jews. But what those readers do not understand are the words (") Jesus is true God and true man(")"[44] However, Wagan tactfully sidetracks the issue, and it is not clear whether or not he himself subscribes to this orthodox Christian doctrine; i.e. that Christ is true God and true man. However, as in his belief with regard to the execution and death of Rizal, he has, what Biblical scholars would certainly consider, a completely farfetched theory on Christ. Wagan says, for instance, that "it was not Christ who was killed and nailed to the Cross by the Jews."[45] This is how he explains this "theory": When the Jews were deliberating on whether or not to free Barrabas, Christ, using his powers as God, swapped faces with Barrabas! When the Jews decided to crucify Christ—which they did—it was, therefore, Barrabas (with the face of Christ) who was crucified and not Christ Himself! After the crucifixion of Barrabas (?) Christ went to other nations to preach Reason and Truth.[46]

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[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 55. The Tagalog text: "Sangayon sa maraming mambabasa ang Cristo Jesus ay pinatay at pinakuan sa Cruz ng mga Judio. Nguni't ang hindi nakukuro ng mga iyan ay ang salitang si Jesus ay Dios na totoo at tao namang totoo."

[45] *Loc. cit.* The Tagalog text: "...hindi ang Cristo Jesus ang napatay at napakuan sa Cruz ng mga Judio."

[46] *Loc. cit.* The Tagalog text: "...Sa mga sandaling pinagpasiyahang palayain si Barrabas ng personaho, o, actor, upang ang Dramang ibig maitanghal ng kapangyarihan sa Sangkatauhan ng Bilang Misterio ay maisulat o maikasakatuparan, na kung sakaling ibig pag-aralan, o, sundan ng mga tao, ay nang huwag maligaw. Na dahil diya'y bagam pinalabas na sinasabi si Barrabas ay nawala na rin sa dahon ng kasaysayan, sapagkat siya nga ang ibig pinatay at napakuan sa Cruz. Nang maganap ang kabuuan ng Ministerio ang Cristo Jesus ay naglagalag sa iba't ibang Bansa upang mangaral, o, magturo ng buong Katuwiran, at Katotohanan sa lahat ng sa kaniya ay makikinig at susunod.

Wagan goes on to say that in the year 1861 Christ was reincarnated in "our great martyr, Dr. José Rizal, of the brown race and of our Mother Philippines."[47]

Rizal, in the belief of this sect, is a reincarnation of Jesus Christ. Is Rizal, therefore, God? Wagan would not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. "From the beginning, now, and in the future, that was the principle upon which our faith is based," he says, "without any reservation whatsoever, we say that the said Dr. José Rizal of the Philippines is the All Powerful Bathala (i. God) of this world."[48]

Rituals and Sacraments. Insofar as can be ascertained from the book, *Bathalismo,* already cited many times, the sect has only three sacraments: Baptism which makes use of water whether by aspersion or by immersion is not indicated, Confirmation, and Matrimony.

The handbook does not mention anything about the ordination of the ministers of this sect. However, the fact that this sect has sacraments would imply that there are those within the sect who would administer them.

Hierarchy. We are told, however, of the presence of a Council (*pamunuan*) which may be considered as the hierarchy of the sect. This council is composed of five members whose names and addresses appear below:[49]

Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakan, San Pablo, Laguna
Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Écija
Victor Bundok, Lian, Batangas
Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas
Juan A. Nagaño, San Leonardo, Nueva Écija

Membership. Inasmuch as Wagan, who is perhaps the only source for the present, did not send us answers to our questionnaire which, among other things, included a question with regard to the present number of members of the sect, we can only conjecture as to the actual members of the *Bathalismo.* Although the headquarters of the sect is found in San Leonardo, Nueva Écija, there

[47] *Op. cit.,* pp. 55-56. The Tagalog text: Nang taong 1861, ay siyang pag-reengcarnal, o, pagsaling ng kaniyang Espiritu sa isang sanggol na isinilang. Sa panahong yaon na dili iba't ang ating Dakilang Martir Dr. Jose Rizal ng lahing Kayumanggi at ng Inang Bayang Filipinas.

[48] Letter to this writer, dated July 11, 1960. The Tagalog text: "...iyang ang aming simulaing pinaninindigan mula pa sa una, sa ngayon, at sa hinaharap na hindi naman maaaring ipangimi kaninoman at sa alin mang nasiyon sa Mundong ito. Na sinasabi kung si Gat. Dr. Jose Rizal ng Bansang Filipinas ang Siyang Tañging Makapangyarihang Bathala sa Sangdaigdigang ito."

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

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are other branches of the sect to be found in Bundok Kinabuhayan ni Banahaw, Dolores, Tayabas, in Lian, Bundok ng Sandiego, Batangas, in Banilla, Bundok ng Arayat, Pampanga. It is presumed that the sect has some following in these places.

3. The Adarnistas or the Iglesiang Pilipina[50]

Practically nothing has been written on the *Adarnista* sect, also known as the *Iglesiang Pilipina* (literally, the "Philippine Church"). To the knowledge of this writer, the only article written so far on this sect,[51] contains no data about the actual foundation of the sect. Hence, like that of the other sects under study, it would be very difficult to ascertain the actual date of its establishment. However, Alfredo Salvador, a pastor of the sect, claims that this sect was founded by Candida Balantac, a ninety three year old widow called by her followers "Mother Adarna" (*Inang Adarna*), Teacher, (*Maestra*), and Holy Spirit (*Espiritu Santo*) in Bangar, La Unión in 1901.[52] Originally from San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte, Balantac first began preaching in La Unión, Pangasinan, Tarlac, finally establishing a "colony" of the sect in barrio Olivete, Bongabon, Nueva Écija, where she presently resides.

Why has the sect been named "Adarnista"? It seems probable that the term is a derivative from "Inang Adarna," one of the names by which Balantac is known by her followers. Her followers believe her to be an "enchanted one" (*engkantada*). Salvador, for one, claims that he saw with his own eyes a rainbow which would be formed around Balantac, thus giving her the effect of an "adarna" (a bird of varied colors).

The reasons or the basis for the establishment of the sect are also unknown, as Salvador, our informant, was not familiar with them himself. However, it seems that Balantac has known Venancio P. Wagan, the founder of *Bathalismo,* and if we are to believe Wagan's assertion, Balantac helped Wagan establish his sect.

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[50] This account is based mainly on our interview with Alfredo Salvador, a thirty year old pastor of the *Iglesiang Pilipina* as the *Adarnista* sect is also known, on April 28, 1960 in Tagumbao, Gerona, Tarlac. In this discussion, however, the sect shall be cited henceforth as *Adarnista,* and the members, *Adarnistas.* Expression like "Salvador says," "Salvador states," unless necessary, have been purposely left out to avoid a cumbersome tone in the narrative.

Gavina's article, *infra,* shall be cited whenever necessary. During the interview Salvador did not avail himself of any notes; this may account for the slight discrepancies between his account and with some aspects of the Gavina article.

[51] *Vide* Napoleon R. Gavina "Nueva Écija's Religious Adarnistas" in *Kislap-Graphic* (May 4, 1960) p. 16, already cited.

[52] It may be very difficult to ascertain Salvador's assertion as the papers of incorporation, a great help along these lines, are not to be found in the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In fact, Balantac is listed as one of the original incorporators of the *Bathalismo* sect.[53]

As has already been shown, *Bathalismo* was established in 1938 while Salvador maintains that the *Adarnista* sect was founded in 1901. However, this seeming discrepancy may be explained when one remembers that Balantac, as Salvador has pointed out, first preached the beliefs of the new faith years before its actual establishment. Is it not possible that in her itinerant preaching days Balantac came across Wagan and agreed to help Wagan to establish his sect in 1938? Is it not also possible that Balantac first belonged to the Wagan group, as Wagan implies, and for reasons known only to herself, broke up with the group to form a new group which eventually became the *Adarnista* sect? Breaking away from the main sect, to form splinter-sects seems to be a common characteristic among the sects studied, as shall be seen later. It seems that the second conjecture is plausible enough, in which case, the *Adarnista* sect could not have been established by Balantac in 1901, as Salvador alleges.

Beliefs. Be that as it may, the following is a summary of the beliefs of this sect: 1) Rizal is the god of the Filipino people; 2) Rizal is true god and true man; 3) Rizal was not executed as has been mentioned by historians;[54] 4) Man is endowed with a soul; as such, man is capable of good deeds; 5) heaven and hell exist but are, nevertheless, "within us"; 6) The abode of the members of the sect in Bongabon, Nueva Écija is the New Jerusalem or Paradise; 7) the caves in Bongabon are the dwelling place of Jehovah or God; and 8) there are four persons in God: God, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Mother. *Adarnistas* believe that God must have a Mother and that is the Virgin Mary.

The Sacraments. The sacraments have been, and are still conducted to simulate those of the Catholic Church, at least in outward appearances. 1) Baptism, as performed by Danny Sibat, a pastor of the sect, is "similar" to the Aglipayan ritual; 2) Confirmation is administered by Candida Balantac; 3) Marriage is also administered by Balantac; 4) as is also confession; 5) and the last rites of the dead are performed by an Aglipayan priest invited to do so.

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53 *Vide* "Kasaysayan" ng "Bathalismo" O, "Santa Iglesia Filipina" "Samahang Esritual Katahimikan May Kasarinlan" in *Bathalismo,* p. 37.

54 Compare this with a similar belief of Wagan and his followers. *Vide* p. 60 of this paper.

Regular worship consists in a two-hour ceremony held each Wednesday and Sunday morning from seven o'clock. Gavina says that this is a "mass"; as there is no sacrifice, it would be more proper to call it simply "a religious ceremony." During fiestas, i.e. on Rizal's birthday and death anniversaries, the raising of the Filipino flag precedes the ceremony. The religious ceremony consists in the recitation of prayers led by the officiating pastor, the singing of hymns in honor of God and of Rizal,[55] and ends with the pastor advising his flock to practise love of God and of neighbor "through the merits of Rizal."

These prayers and hymns may be offered in the home of the pastor, or, as is the case of the Olivete, Bongabon congregation, in caves. If the small chapel in the house where Salvador is presently staying may be considered typical of the chapels of this sect, then one can say that in *Adarnista* chapels may be seen an altar crowded with the crucifix, statues and pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, and of Lourdes, in the center of which is prominently displayed a picture of Rizal, and beside which may also be seen the pictures of heroes (i.e. Luna, Burgos, del Pilar, Mabini, Bonifacio, etc.)

However, in Olivete their "temples or chapels stand on the rocky mountain top, about 200 meters apart. The cave is the repository of their sublimest prayer and the shrine of their spiritual worship . . . Each day, (the *Adarnistas*) go to the cave to offer prayers. They leave their jewelry, money and shoes outside before entering the dark 'church'. One of them kneels at the mouth of the cave, murmurs his prayers, and those behind second their prayers.[56]

Hierarchy. Candida Balantac is the head of the sect, with Alfredo Salvador, Felipe Baldonado and Danny Bibat as her right hand men.

Membership. Gavina says that Balantac claims 10,000 followers in La Union, Isabela, Pangasinan, Nueva Écija, and Baguio City. Salvador, on the other hand told this writer, that the sect now has 20,000 followers in Gerona, Tarlac, San José, Nueva Écija, Aritao, and Bayombong in Nueva Vizcaya, Rosales, Pangasinan, Bongabon, Nueva Écija, Zambales, Ilocos Sur, and even in Manila. Inasmuch as presently there is no way of checking these figures, they are given here for what they may be worth.

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[55] For samples of these prayers and hymns see the Appendix B.
[56] Gavina, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

A six-foot painting found at the Watawat church outside Calamba, Laguna.

From the *Adarnista* sect, another sect was formed: the "Kaama-amahan ng Ama at Kaina-inahan ng Ina, Inc."[57] (*Father of Fathers and Mother of Mothers, Inc.*). The chieftain is a widow and sister-in-law of Balantac, Laureta Dion Balantac, widow of the late Alfonso Balantac (elder brother of Candida Balantac). Laureta, 60, succeeded to the leadership after the death of Alfonso and secession of their group from Candida.[58]

4. The Iglesia Sagrada Filifina ng Sinco Vucales y Virtudes Tierra Santa de Jerusalem (The Sacred Philippine Church of the Five Vowels and Virtues Holy Land of Jerusalem)

We first saw Macario Mercado, a diminutive, bearded, ascetic looking seventy year old, with an air of mystery around him at the Rizal Shrine in Calamba, Laguna during the Rizal Day celebrations on June 19, 1960. Like us, he was impatiently waiting for the parade to begin. What struck us as equally mysterious was the banner which he was carrying. Made to simulate the Philippine flag, the banner carried the following inscriptions:

IKAW ang
T.I.B.O. 5-15-59
B. O. S.
IGLESIA SAGRADA FILIFINA (sic) NG
SINCO (sic) VUCALES (sic) SIETE VIRTUDES
TIERRA SANTA DE JERUSALEM
Bayang Banal
Candelaria, Quezon
(a key)
Ito MGA ANAK ANG IKALABING-TATLONG SUSI
NG INYONG HINAHANAP

which may be translated as follows: "YOU ARE the/ T.I.B.O./ B.O.S./ PHILIPPINE SACRED CHURCH of/ FIVE VOWELS SEVEN VIRTUES/ HOLY LAND OF JERUSALEM/ Holy Town/ Candelaria, Quezon/ (between the above inscriptions and what follows is the figure of a key)/ This MY CHILDREN IS THE THIRTEENTH KEY/ WHICH YOU ARE LOOKING FOR/"[59]

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[57] Incorporation papers of this new sect are not found in the Securities and Exchange Commission.

[58] Gavina, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[59] Even with our insistent urging, Mercado was rather evasive when we requested him to decipher for us the cryptic message (?) of these words. Are they magic words not to be shared with outsiders? Or could it be that they stand for nothing in particular?

We knew then and there that the ascetic looking old man was a member of still another cult in honor of Rizal. We were not mistaken. After the parade, in a house of one of the members of the *Watawat ng Lahi* [60] at Lechería, Calamba, Laguna we saw Mercado again and were able to interview him about the cult of which he is presently the leader. To say the least, this share-cropper, who joined the cult in 1953, and who is now a resident of Pitogo, Quezon, was very cooperative. He patiently answered all our questions and went even as far as to give us a notebook which contained, in longhand, hymns and prayers of his cult. This interview with him, together with that with Quirino Quiban, a thirty year old member of the sect, from Lepanto St., Bernard, Leyte, but presently employed by the Bureau of Public Works in San Pablo, Laguna, is the basis of this short account of the sect.[61]

Establishment of the sect. As far as can be ascertained, the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina* [62] was founded in 1926 in Candelaria, Quezon by Purificación and Severo Aviela of the same town. Nothing much is known of the Avielas, except that they were humble peasant folk known to have preoccupied themselves with "things of religion and of the spirit." Now both dead, it would be impossible to determine their reasons for establishing this sect. Mercado himself states that he would not know of any reason why this sect was established.

Beliefs. The beliefs of this sect may be summed up in the following:

1. There are four persons in God: God the Father, the Mother (St. Mary), the Son (Christ), and the Holy Spirit. God the Mother is the Blessed Virgin Mary but it is the Blessed Virgin who is in Heaven, not to be confused with the Blessed Virgin who was born on earth and who became the earthly Mother of Christ. There are two Blessed Virgins!

2. Rizal is god: he is the second Christ. Rizal is alive. He is everywhere in the same manner that Christ, as God, is everywhere. After the second coming of Christ, Rizal will be His successor and Rizal will do the functions of Christ.[63]

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[60] Cf. *infra*.

[61] Henceforth the sect shall be cited as *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina,* for short. Also, this account shall avoid expressions like "Mercado says," "Quiban states" and the like to avoid a cumbersome tone of the narrative. Inasmuch as it would not add to the significance of the narrative, this account shall also avoid citing which parts of the narrative were gathered from Mercado or from Quiban.

[62] This sect is not registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

[63] Compare this with a similar belief of the *Bathalismo* and *Adarnista* sect.

3. Man is composed of body and soul. When man dies, the body dies, but the spirit goes up to heaven.

4. There is no hell, the sufferings of this world may be considered as the "hell".

5. Mt. Banahaw is the New Jerusalem. Christ spent his penance there (*nagpepenitensiya si Kristo diyan*).

Sacraments and Rituals. This sect believes in a form of baptism. At baptism the one baptized is clothed in white to signify purity. Water is not used in this ceremony, only the imposition of the hands of the "chief" or leader.

None of the other sacraments of the Catholic Church are found in this sect; hence, the cult has no confirmation, no confession, no communion, no extreme unction, no holy orders, not even the sacrament of matrimony. (Members, it may be presumed, may be married by civil authorities).

What differentiates this sect from the other sects studied so far is the absence of churches or chapels of the sect. Services twice a month (on the fifteenth, for no special reason, and on the thirtieth, to commemorate the death of Rizal) are held in the homes of the members. On these occasions prayers are said and hymns sung.[64]

Ministers. There are no ministers, as such, within the sect; only the late founders, Purificación and Severo Aviela, were ever the ministers of this sect. However, Macario Mercado, is the "present chief" of the sect.

Membership. There are at present five to six hundred members of the sect to be found only in Candelaria, Quezon.

5. The Watawat ng Lahi

In the outskirts of Calamba, Laguna, stands a hill overlooking the town. On top of this hill, aptly called Lechería by the Spanish friars who lived in the nearby Dominican hacienda many years ago—for it was here where they kept cows and goats for milking purposes—is a modernistic house, the residence of the present head of the *Watawat ng Lahi,* a large, though still unfinished church, and an assembly hall which also serves as the central office of the sect. Nearby, on the slope facing the Laguna de Bay, may be seen the cemetery beside which is a monument of Bonifacio in the characteristic pose of brandishing a bolo, while not far away, in a prominent

[64] For samples of these prayers and hymns, see the Appendix C.

place on a levelled spot fronting these buildings, stands a monument of a brooding Rizal dressed in a heavy overcoat. Farther away, at the foot of the hill, facing Mt. Makiling, is the cluster of homes of some members of the sect; most are simple one-room affairs, others relatively imposing.

Here, members of the sect relate, the boy Rizal used to romp around; now on big celebrations of the sect, such as the birthday anniversary of Rizal, members of the sect from various parts of the country congregate. As house guests of the members who reside in Lechería, these members make this yearly pilgrimage not only to take part in the traditional Rizal day celebrations in town, to have their children baptized, or, if newly converted themselves, to become formally members of the sect, but also to hear their leaders exhort them on their duties, and to attend religious observances which have become an integral part of the festivities.

Although this sect is still not as large as other Philippine sects like the *Iglesia ni Kristo,*[65] for instance, nor as affluent, this sect can now count on members found in all parts of the archipelago. There seems to be little doubt that the *Watawat ng Lahi,* among all the other sects which consider Rizal a god, has the greatest number of members and is perhaps the most prosperous.

Some observers have marvelled at the rapid growth of this sect and have asserted that the present state of the *Watawat ng Lahi* is a far cry from what it was several years ago.

Establishment of the sect.[66] Accounts of the foundation of this sect are vague, if not altogether confusing. For instance, José B. Baricanosa, the present head, states: "This organization was founded in Masbate in 1914 by the heroes... This was later transfered to Pulong Ginto or Lechería in 1936."[67] Elsewhere, Baricanosa has also stated: "Our great hero, Dr. José P. Rizal is the

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[65] For a study of the Iglesia ni Kristo, *vide:* Julita Reyes-Sta. Romana, "The Iglesia Ni Kristo: A Study" in *The University of Manila JOURNAL OF EAST ASIATIC STUDIES,* IV, 3 (July, 1955) 329-437.

[66] This account of the foundation of the sect, whose name may be translated as "Banner of the Race" as well as the discussion of its beliefs, rituals, and hierarchy, are based on the following: 1) our interviews with Mr. José Baricanosa and other leaders of the sect in Lechería, Calamba, Laguna on May 16, 1960 and June 19, 1960; 2) a booklet published by the sect, *Dasalan ng Watawat ng Lahi* (Prayerbook of the *Watawat ng Lahi*) Calamba, Laguna: n.p., n.d., 117 p. 3) a typescript of Mr. Baricanosa's "Isang Maiksing Kasaysayan ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi" (A Short History of the *Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi*) dated March 16, 1952. This writer would like to thank Mr. Baricanosa for the courtesies extended to him during these interviews and also for the material which Mr. Baricanosa so generously put at his disposal.

[67] Baricanosa, "Isang Maiksing Kasaysayan ng Watawat ng Lahi" typescript. Henceforth, this work shall be cited as *Maiksing Kasaysayan.*

leader and founder of this organization."[68] This may be a little difficult to follow when one remembers that Rizal was executed on December 30, 1896 and, therefore, he could not have founded a sect in 1914. However, as shall be seen later, in the belief of this sect, Rizal is not dead.

As if that were not enough confusion, Baricanosa also told this writer in an interview: "The 'Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi' was founded by Arsenio de Guzman" although he failed to make mention of the date when de Guzman was supposed to have established the sect.[69] Of the three different accounts by Mr. Baricanosa, the last one seems to be the most plausible although, as shall be seen below, this is related to the second account (i.e. that Rizal established the sect).

Of Arsenio de Guzman very little is known by outsiders although there are still some members of the sect who claim to have known him very well, among whom may be mentioned Juan Daop.

Juan Daop, 72, who calls himself a "landowner from Kabuyao, Laguna," and decidedly one of the trusted members of the sect, at the urging of Baricanosa, volunteered to this writer some facts about de Guzman.[70]

"I have known Arsenio de Guzman quite well. De Guzman came from Calamba. He was charged with the murder of a certain Dr. David in 1909, and was subsequently imprisoned. This was obviously a frame-up (*pinagbintangan nila*) and soon de Guzman was acquitted. He left prison in 1910," Daop began.

"De Guzman had the power to change his figure," Daop continued. "It was clear that he had supernatural powers; why, he could even pass *through* closed doors. This was not surprising for he was no other than Dr. José Rizal himself."

Could this be the reason why Rizal is considered as the founder of the sect?

The sect's belief in "voices" may also help explain the establishment of the *Watawat ng Lahi*.

"It was the voice of the angel of the Lord that commanded Adam and Eve to eat all the fruits of the trees of Paradise except

The Tagalog text: "Ng taong 1914 sa pulo ñg Masbate ay itinatag ñg mga bayani . . . añg Simulaing ito."

[68] *Dasalan ng Watawat ng Lahi*. Kalamba, Laguna: n.p., n.d., p. 5. Henceforth, this work shall be cited as *Dasalan*.

The Tagalog text: "(Ang) ating dakilang bayani na si Gat. Dr. Jose P. Rizal na siyang patnugot at nagtatag ng Simulaing ito."

[69] Interview with Baricanosa (Lechería, Calamba, Laguna), May 16, 1960.

[70] Interview with Juan Daop (Lechería, Calamba, Laguna), June 19, 1960.

the apple which was forbidden by God,"[71] Baricanosa says. "... It was also a voice which commanded Moses to free the Israelites from the enslavement of King Pharaon (?) and now it is also the voice of the messenger of God which commands and teaches every good for all the members of the *Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.* In the "Last Farewell," our great hero (i.e. Rizal) said:

> Pagpitaganan mo ang hiwagang lihim [72]
> At mapapakingan ang tinig marahil
> Ng isang salterio ito nga ay ako rin
> Inaawitan ka ng isang pag-giliw

which re-translated into English would be:

> Safeguard the mysterious secret
> And perhaps *you shall hear a voice*
> Of a psalter which is I myself
> Singing to you a song of love
> (italics supplied)

Compare this with the best known English translation of the poem by Charles E. Derbyshire:[73]

> And when the dark night wraps the graveyard around
> With only the dead in their vigil to see;
> Break not my repose of the mystery profound,
> 'Tis I, O my country, raising a song unto thee.

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[71] *Dasalan,* p. 6. The Tagalog text: "Tinig ng sugo ng Dios ang nag-utos kay Adan at Eva na ang lahat na bunga ng kahoy sa Paraiso ay maaaring kanin matangi sa bunga ng mansanas na ipinagbawal ng Dios."

[72] *Ibid.,* pp. 7-8. The Tagalog text: "Tinig din ang nag-utos kay Santong Moises upang iligtas niya ang mga Islaielitas (sic) sa pagkaalipin ng haring Faraon at ngayon ang tinig ding iyan na sugo ng Dios ang siyang nag-uutos at nangangaral ng pawang kabutihan sa lahat ng mga kasapi ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. Sa huling Paalam ng ating dakilang bayani ay sinabi ang ganitong mga kataga sa isang pangkat: Pagpitaganan mo ang hiwagang lihim/ at mapapakingan ang tinig marahil/ Ng isang salterio ito nga ay ako rin/ Inaawitan ka ng isang pag-giliw./"

There have been various translations into Tagalog of Rizal's "Mi Último Adiós," the earliest known translation being that of Andres Bonifacio at the time of the Katipunan. Not long ago the Institute of National Language published a booklet which contains translations by fourteen Tagalog writers, among whom may be mentioned, Andres Bonifacio, Pascual H. Poblete, José Corazón de Jesus, and José Villa Panganiban. *Vide Mga Salin Sa Tagalog ng Último Adios ni Dr. José Rizal.* (Paper No. 16, Publications of the Institute of National Language) Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1958. 37 p.

The text cited here is taken from the translation of José Gatmaytan and that of Pascual H. Poblete which, except for the orthography and for some punctuation marks, are identical. There is, however, a slight variation of these versions from that cited by the *Watawat ng Lahi,* and this consists in the use of "isang" in the *Watawat* version, whereas "aking" is used in the last line of both the Poblete and Gatmaytan versions. (*Vide* p. 8 and p. 15 of the booklet cited above).

[73] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Jose Rizal Life, Works and Writings.* Manila: Villanueva Book Store, c1957. (295p) p. 207.

or with the Spanish original of Rizal:[74]

> Y cuando, en noche oscura, se envuelva el cementerio,
> Y solos sólo muertos queden velando allí,
> No turbes su reposo, no turbes el misterio:
> Tal vez acordes oigas de cítara o salterio:
> Soy yo, querida Patria, yo que te canto a ti.

As can be seen, the Tagalog version is not as faithful to the Spanish original as it could have been. The idea "You shall hear a voice" which seems to be the main point in Baricanosa's argument in favor of "voices" is not present in the Spanish original.

Be that as it may, Baricanosa adds: "What is the mysterious voice which comes to the *Watawat ng Lahi*? It is the voice of the great hero (Rizal) and of his followers. Because he it was who established this organization and it is also he who commands each member to do his duty.[75]

"It is this same voice which commanded Mateo Alcuran and Alfredo Benedicto, a lawyer, both of whom were then living in a house at Galas, near Manila, to go to the hill on Lichería (sic) to look for two men who were no other than Gaudioso Parabuac and Jovito Salgado," Baricanosa continues. "This they did on December 24, 1936 . . . . Every Saturday afternoon the holy voice taught them at the Lichería (sic) hill . . . Judge Cirilo Lavadia from Sariaya, Quezon and Lorenzo Chacon, a lawyer from Surigao, Mindanao, were also with them (at these sessions)."[76]

To the list of these individuals who first listened to the "holy voice" were added the names of Buenaventura Lazian, Lázaro Ocampo, Rosendo Salgado, Tomasa Banaybanay, Felipe Velásquez, and Juan Canicosa. "The voice ordered that an organization to be called 'Samahang Watawat ñg Lahi' be formed."[77] The first head of the organization was Gaudioso Parabuac.

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[74] *Poesias de Rizal. Con Un Estudio de la Personalidad de Rizal por el Mismo.* Jaime de Veyra, compiler. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1946. p. 70.

[75] *Dasalan,* p. 8. The Tagalog text: "Alin ang mahiwagang tinig na dumarating sa Watawat ng Lahi? Ang tinig ng dakilang bayani at ng kaniyang mga alagad. Sapagka't siya ang nagtatag ng Simulaing ito kung kaya siya rin ang naguutos kung ano ang dapat isagawa ng bawat isang kasapi."

[76] *Maiksing Kasaysayan,* pp. 1-2. The Tagalog text: "Añg tinig ding iyan añg siyang nagutos kay G. Mateo Alcuran at Alfredo Benedicto isang mananangol ñg sila ay nasa isang bahay sa Galas, malapit sa Maynila na magsadiya sila sa burol ñg Licheria (sic) upang hanapin añg dalawang tao na dili iba't sina G. Gaudioso Parabuac at Jovito Salgado. Sila ay pinagtakpo (sic) roon ñg ika 24 ñg Diciembre, 1936 . . . Sa tuing raw (sic) ñg Sabado ñg hapon sila ay pinangañgaralan ñg banal na tinig sa burol ñg Licheria (sic) . . . Nakasama nila roon si Hukom Cirilo Lavadia na taga Saryaya, Quezon at si G. Lorenzo at si G. Lorenzo Chacon isang mananangol na tiga Surigao, Mindanao."

[77] *Ibid.,* p. 2. The Tagalog text: "Añg tinig añg nagsabi na magtayo ñg isang Simulain at pamagatang 'Samahang Watawat ñg Lahi'."

With this assertion of Baricanosa, one may well ask: After all, how does Arsenio de Guzman and Rizal, for that matter, fit into the establishment of the sect? Are the

As time went by many more would join the group. In August, 1941, José Baricanosa, Jacinta Amido and Agapito Samson joined the group. But the work of the group was hampered during the Japanese occupation. Some members, among whom Gaudioso Parabuac, first head of the group, were imprisoned at the Japanese garrison in Calamba but were later released. It was during the Japanese occupation, however, (May, 1944) that the organization was registered with the Bureau of Commerce under the name "Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi." As it appears in the incorporation papers the following were the members of the Board of Directors: José Baricanosa, chairman, Rosendo Salgado, vice chairman, Jovito Salgado, secretary, Felisa Ocdamia, Treasurer, Alfredo Benedicto, Gaudioso Paraboac (sic), Eleuterio San Pedro, Lorenzo Ybuan, and Trinidad Banatin, members. In the same year, the organization saw its first branches established in Sinalhan, Sta. Rosa, Laguna, and Bigaa, Cabuyao, Laguna.

The liberation from the enemy by the American forces saw the renewed activity of the organization. In April, 1945, new members joined the group, among whom were men who would eventually become some of its most trusted leaders: Sotero Makairog, presently the secretary; Crispin M. Penid, now the vice president of the organization. In this same year was established the branch of the sect in Tabon and Pinagdilawan, Binañgonan, Rizal. This year also saw the move to spread the movement throughout the archipelago. By 1949, the sect had spread and more members have been accepted. The approximately 5,000 members of the sect who took part in the Rizal day parade in Calamba on June 19, 1949 show that the organization had already grown by leaps and bounds. Presently, the organization has, in Mr. Baricanosa's estimate, about 100,000 members to be found in all parts of the country.

The basis of the beliefs of the sect, cited by Baricanosa, may be found in Isaias, 2:1-5: "The word that Isaias the son of Amos saw, concerning Juda and Jerusalem. 2. And in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. 3. And many people shall go, and say: Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us in his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. 4. And he shall judge the Gentiles and rebuke many people: and they shall turn their swords

names of Rizal and de Guzman thrown into this obvious fiasco with no purpose in mind but to mystify gullible members?

into ploughshares and their spears into sickles: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they be exercised any more to war. 5. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

Although these passages from the Bible would not, in any way, show that God ordained Rizal to be the founder of the sect, nor would they indicate "voices" to be heeded, nevertheless they would explain why the sect has a predilection for establishing its centers in mountains, hills, and heavily wooded areas.

However, Baricanosa has an interesting explanation of these passages in his attempt to show the relevance of the quotation to his sect: "According to the voice, the house of the Lord which has been constructed on top of the mountains can be seen (*ay mamamalas*) on Mt. Makiling before the town of Kalamba; from the said mountain will spring up the new world and here shall be seen the new Jerusalem . . . after the Armageddon in the new world."[78]

Aims. The aims of the sect may be stated succinctly as follows: 1) to love God above all things; 2) to love one's fellowman as one loves himself; and 3) to love the motherland and to respect and venerate the heroes of the race especially the martyr of Bagumbayan, Dr. José Rizal; to follow, to spread, and to support (*itaguyod*) their right teachings; and to serve the country with one's whole heart towards its order, progress, and peace.[79]

Beliefs. As gathered from various authorities of the sect in interviews with them in Lechería, Calamba, Laguna headquarters of the sect on May 16, 1960 and June 19, 1960, the following are the beliefs of the sect.[80]

1. The teachings of the sect are based on the commands of the Holy Moses, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the teachings of Dr. José Rizal culled from his writings. (See also pp. 32-33 of this paper.)

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[78] *Dasalan,* p. 11. The Tagalog text: "Ayon sa tinig ang bahay ng Panginoon na matatatag sa taluktok ng mga bundok ay mamamalas sa bundok ng Makiling na nakaharap sa bayan ng Kalamba, ang nasabing bundok ay bubuka sa bagong daigdig at dito makikita ang bagong Jerusalem . . . pagkatapos ng Armagedon sa bagong daigdig."

[79] *Vide Patakaran* 1 p., also *Dasalan,* pp. 34-37. The Tagalog text: "Na, ang unang alituntunin na dapat sundin ng bawa't kasapi ay IBIGIN ANG DIYOS NANG LALO SA LAHAT, ang ikalawa ay IBIGIN ANG KAPUWA KATULAD NG PAGIBIG SA SARILI at ang ikatlo ay IBIGIN ANG BAYANG TINUBUAN; dakilain at igalang ang mga bayani ng lahi lalo't higit ang martir ng Bagumbayan, Gat. Dr. Jose Rizal; sundin, paunlarin at itaguyod ang kanilang mga makatarungang simulain; at kailangan ding buong pusong maglingkod nang tapat sa bayan sa ikaayos, ika-uunlad at ika-papayapa." (*capitals in the original*)

[80] Unless specified, the section of this paper is based on our interviews with Mr. José B. Baricanosa, present head of the sect. If the data is taken from interviews with other officials of the sect, this will be subsequently mentioned in footnotes.

2. Christians believe in the Trinity: the power of the Father was given to Moses; the power of the Son, given to Jesus Christ; and this sect believes that the power of the Holy Ghost was given to Dr. José Rizal.

3. Jesus Christ is embodied in Dr. Jose Rizal and hence, Dr. Rizal is at once a god and a man.

4. Rizal is not dead; he is alive and is physically and materially present in the New Jerusalem which is presently hidden in the site extending from Mt. Makiling to Mt. Banahaw.

5. It is the voice of Rizal which commands the officials and the members what to do; this voice is heard in the weekly meetings. However, an invoker in the person of Gaudioso Parabuac, is needed to ask Rizal to come and talk to the members.[81]

6. If the third World War breaks out, numberless peoples will be killed by atomic weapons. But after the war, Dr. Rizal will make an appearance to the new world, and he will lead the army of God.

7. Man has a soul, but a soul that is different from the soul of Dr. Rizal, for Rizal is god. Three days after his death and if he was holy in life; i.e., if he followed the commandments of God, man will rise again and his soul will proceed to the New Jerusalem (see number 4, *supra*). If he did not fulfill the commandments of God, the soul is not to be punished in hell (for there is no hell) but will be made to work in a place opposite the New Jerusalem.

8. There is a particular judgment (the soul is judged three days after death) and the last judgment (when all the creatures will be judged).

Rituals. The church of the sect in Lechería, Calamba, Laguna, which may be typical of the sect, follows closely the physical appearance of a Catholic church. There is, for instance, the main altar with its image of the Risen Christ. However, a bigger statue of Rizal with a winged angel hovering over him, is also to be found there, which would tell the onlooker that he is in a church other

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[81] In a tour of the different buildings of the sect in Lechería, Calamba, Laguna, on May 16, 1960, graciously guided by Mr. Baricanosa himself, this writer was brought to the assembly hall used for the weekly meetings of the members of the sect. At the farther end of the rectangular building this writer saw what appeared to be a conference room complete with upholstered chairs and a round table. Near this room is a smaller room in which may be seen a bed and a harp. When this writer inquired who used the room, Mr. Baricanosa, without batting an eyelash, said in all seriousness: "Why, Dr. Rizal stays here to rest when he comes to talk to us. There are also times when he (Dr. Rizal) plays the harp." Mr. Baricanosa appears to this writer to be normal in all respects, except for a marked limp caused by arthritis.

than a Roman Catholic one. There are two side altars in this church. On the side altar to the right is seen a crucifix, a picture of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, and a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; on the side altar to the left are statues of Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal, of St. Therese, and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. On the walls of the church are also to be seen the Stations of the Cross, in a manner no different from that of the Catholic Church.

Luis F. Fabregar,[82] otherwise known as the Supreme Bishop of the sect, was most helpful in acquainting this writer with the rituals and sacraments as practiced within the sect.[83]

Fabregar's life seems to be as colorful as the robes of a bishop (no different from those worn by Catholic bishops), complete with red sash and pectoral cross, which he has seen fit to wear. According to him, he was born in Concepción, Romblon, on June 21, 1914. He was born a Roman Catholic; in fact, as he stated in our interview, he studied for the Catholic priesthood in the Seminario de San Carlos de Cebu where he said he spent six and a half years studying philosophy among other subjects.[84] But his was a restless spirit and from Catholicism he joined the *Philippine (Aglipayan) Independent Church* of which he was a member for two months, and later the *Iglesia de Cristo* of which he was a member for two months, and later the *Iglesia Filipina Cristiana* which he also left after six months. In 1936 he founded his own sect the *Universa Dei Ecclesia* and for ten years (1936-1946) headed this sect. At one time, his sect had a following of one thousand. In 1947, however, he joined the *Watawat ng Lahi* of which he is now the supreme bishop.[85]

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[82] On a calling card, given to this writer by Fabregar himself, the following appears: "Mons. Luis F. Fabregar/Obispo Supremo/Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi/ Burol ng Lecheria/ Calamba, Laguna/" However, on p. 32 of the *Dasalan* is an article written by Fr. Luis Fabragar(?) and on p. 38 of the same prayerbook under the heading *Lupong Pamunuan* (Supreme Council) among the members of the council listed is Fr. Luis Fabrigar. In both instances, the *Fr.* prefixed to Fabregar's name may be taken to mean "Father." Fabragar and Fabrigar, although the latter spelling recurs in other places, are obviously misspelled.

In the interview with this writer in Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, held on June 19, 1960, Fabregar evaded questions on his consecration as "bishop."

[83] The office of "supreme bishop" must not be confused with that of "president" of the sect. While the president, José Baricanosa, takes charge of the administration of the sect, the "supreme bishop" is charged with the religious aspects like administering baptism, confirmation, training of priests, etc.

[84] This writer has written to the Chancellor of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cebu inquiring about this aspect of Fabregar's life but up to now has received no reply.

[85] Interview with Fabregar, Lechería, Calamba, Laguna, June 19, 1960. Aside from the Philippine Independent Church, the other sects are not registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The Sacraments. The sacraments of this sect, according to Fabregar, are "similar to those of the Catholic Church," a statement which, of course, must be taken with utmost caution. These are the following:

1. Baptism in which water is used by aspersion but is for infants only. Mature persons who are converted to the sect are not baptized. They are "sworn in" before God.[86]

2. Confirmation is performed by Fabregar and other bishops of the sect.

3. Matrimony is performed according to rites similar to those of the Catholic faith.

4. The same thing is true of extreme unction. (*vide supra 3*)

5. There is no Holy Communion, as such. The sect believes that there is no transubstantiation at Mass. The communion is only a "symbol" of the last suppér. In this connection, something must be mentioned about the "mass" of the sect. Although this writer did not actually witness a "mass" said by Fabregar, it may be presumed that Fabregar follows the Catholic mass. In support of this contention, it must be mentioned here that Fabregar uses a Roman Catholic missal (to be more specific, the *Missale Romanum* published by Benziger Brothers, Inc.) when he says mass.[87]

However, other priests of the sect use a missal in the vernacular dialect of the particular region which they serve.

6. There is no confession in the sect.

7. Holy orders are administered by Fabregar to seminarians (presently, according to Fabregar, there are ten seminarians from the Bicol, Ilocos, and Bisayan regions being trained by Fabregar in the Calamba headquarters of the sect). These seminarians, Fabregar adds, are trained for a period of five years before they may be ordained. This may, however, be a little exaggerated; when asked for a course of study of the seminarians, Fabregar evaded the issue.[88] The ordination ceremonies, according to Fabregar are similar to those of the Aglipayan sect.

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[86] In the baptismal ceremonies performed by Fabregar personally witnessed by this writer, the ritual was conducted in Latin, a fact which may be partly explained by Fabregar's alleged background in a Catholic seminary. Later, this writer also saw a couple in their fifties who were "sworn in" before God. The formula of this last mentioned ceremony may be seen in Appendix D.

[87] In an interview with Fabregar, Lecheria, June 19, 1960, Fabregar showed this writer this said missal and told him that it is the missal he uses when he "says Mass."

[88] In our interview with Baricanosa, Lechería, May 16, 1960, this writer was told that the ministers (i.e. priests) are trained in Lechería, Calamba, Laguna *for two years* before they are ordained. It is quite evident that the testimonies of these two officials of the sect do not tally with each other. As there is no other way of checking the facts for the present, this writer will just leave the reader to form his conclusions from the foregoing.

Hierarchy. The hierarchy of the sect may be divided into two sections: the officers of the organization who look after the temporal welfare of the sect; and the bishops and priests who look after the spiritual needs of their flock.

Of the first group, may be mentioned the following:[89] who form the Supreme Council (*Lupong Pamunuan*):

José Baricanosa, president
Crispin M. Penid, vice president
Sotero Macairog, general secretary
Gaudioso Parabuac, adviser
Mateo Alcuran, assistant adviser
Felicidad Lapitan, general treasurer
Eleuterio San Pedro, investigator
Trinidad Banatin, member
Leandro Diasanta, member
Fr. Luis Fabrigar (?), member
Moises Canta, member
Herminigildo Ercia, member

Of the second group, may be mentioned:[90]

Luis Fabregar, supreme bishop
Eusebio Rodriguez, bishop of Legaspi
Aurelio Marvida, bishop of Zaragoza, Nueva Écija
Felipe Marticio, bishop of Lupao, Nueva Écija

To the above list of bishops, Fabregar added the following names:[91]

Aurelio Marvida, bishop of Tarlac (*vide supra*)
Eusebio Rodriguez, bishop of Bicol
Felipe Martecio, missionary bishop (*vide supra*)
Gonzalo Imperial, also bishop of Bicol

These bishops, Fabregar pointed out, have been named by the Board of Directors of the sect, and are in charge of the supervision of the thirty two priests of the sect.

Membership. As has already been pointed out by Baricanosa, the head of the sect, the Watawat ng Lahi can now count on about 100,000 members scattered all over the archipelago. If the banners carried by the members of the sect who participated in the Rizal Day celebrations in Calamba (June 19, 1960) are any indication, these members are to be found in Manila, Caloocan, Quezon City, Lupao, Guimba, and Caranglan, Nueva Écija; Solano, Nueva Vizcaya, Sta. Rosa, Laguna; Baler, Dipaculao, and

89 *Dasalan*, p. 38.
90 Interview with Baricanosa, May 16, 1960.
91 Interview with Fabregar, June 19, 1960.

Aurora, Quezon; San Mateo, and Callang, Isabela; Natividad, Asingan, Balungao, Binalonan, Bautista, Rosales, all in Pangasinan; Claveria, Cagayan; Daet, Camarines Norte; Albay; Camarines Sur; Visayas, and Mindanao.

III

RIZAL'S PLACE IN THE CULTS IN HIS HONOR

In his monumental work on the use and development of magic, customs, social practices and religion among primitive peoples, Sir James G. Frazer,[92] has this to say:

"The notion of a man-god, or of a human being endowed with divine or supernatural powers, belongs essentially to that earlier period of religious history in which gods and men are still viewed as being of much the same order, and before they are divided by the impassable gulf which, to later thought, opens out between them."

"Strange, therefore, as may seem to us the idea of a god incarnate in human form," Sir James continues, "it has nothing very startling for early man, who sees in a man-god or a god-man only a higher degree of the same supernatural powers which he arrogates in perfect good faith to himself."[93]

The concept of the man-god is the natural outcome, the evolution, as it were, of the animistic beliefs of primitive peoples in the course of their socio-religious development.

For instance, although the ancient Sumerians did not succeed in developing a very exalted religion, they nevertheless conceived of their gods as being anthropomorphic. They believed in a number of gods and goddesses, each a distinct personality with human attributes.[94]

Even a cursory study of the Homeric gods would yield the fact that the ancient Greek looked up to his gods as magnified human beings. As it were, the Greek endowed these gods and goddesses "with attributes similar to his own—with human bodies and human weaknesses and wants. He imagined the great company of divinities as frequently quarreling with one another, needing food and sleep, mingling freely with men . . ."[95]

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[92] James George Frazar, *The Golden Bough A Study in Magic and Religion.* I Volume, Abridged Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. p. 106.

[93] *Loc. cit.*

[94] Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations Their History and Their Culture.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 3rd Edition, c1949. p. 49.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

It cannot be denied that the Jewish religion may be considered more perfect than the two religions mentioned above. As such, it may be understood why students of comparative religions would expect the Judaic concept of God (Jehovah or Jahweh) to have been more perfect; i.e. that God is pure spirit. And yet during "the time of Moses and for two or three centuries thereafter Yahweh was a somewhat peculiar deity. He was conceived almost exclusively in anthropomorphic terms. He possessed a physical body, to say nothing of the emotional qualities of man."[96]

From the foregoing, it can clearly be seen that anthropomorphism or the attribution of human form, or the character or qualities of humanity, to objects believed to be above humanity in the scale of being, and in particular to God or the gods[97] is as old as humanity itself.

As has already been shown in the accounts of some of the cults in his honor, Rizal is considered a god, endowed with divine qualities and powers. To be able to study this phase of Philippine religious movements better, however, it might be necessary to view it from the background of the religious movements in the Philippines in the distant past, however brief this view might be. As such, it may not be too difficult to see that, in the apotheosis of Rizal, a thread runs all the way from pre-Magellanic Philippines even to the Philippines of today, more specifically to the simple folks who believe Rizal to be a god.

Historians who have studied Philippine religious movements with special emphasis on the pre-Magellanic are agreed that the ancient Filipino, except if he was converted to Islamism before the coming of the Spaniards, professed animistic beliefs. We are told, for instance, that the pre-Hispanic Filipino "found gods in plants, in birds, in quadrupeds, in cliffs, in caves, and in the reefs of the sea."[98]

That the ancient Filipino also worshiped his dead ancestors has also been shown many times before. Perhaps it might not be stretching the imagination too far to say that this must have been the origin of his anthropomorphic beliefs. In worshiping his ancestors as some kind of gods, he must have given them qualities of the divinity, and in due time the concept of the man-god would emerge.

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96 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

97 *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* II. Chicago, London, Toronto: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1957. p. 59.

98 Paper XX, "Religion" in *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President,* Vol. IV. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901. p. 95.

It may be presumed that with the more than three centuries of Spanish rule and with the subsequent spread of Catholicism by dedicated Spanish missionaries, these animistic beliefs would be erased completely and replaced by the Catholic faith. And yet in 1905, the scholar T. H. Pardo de Tavera could still say: "All of their ancient fears of the mysterious and occult powers which were supposed to bring ill health or misfortune, to reward with victories or punish with defeats, were preserved by these people (i.e. the Filipinos)."[99]

Half a century later and with the widespread education of the country, one would suppose that these beliefs had been finally eradicated. And yet as late as 1959, in bewailing the fact that education and religious instruction had been denied to the mountain peoples, and by extension, those who live in far-flung areas, Fr. Richard Arens, S.V.D., has implied that due to lack of education and religious instruction, traces of animistic belief still remain, especially among the uneducated classes.[100]

These simple souls, by nature credulous, timid, and easily led, to use the words of Pardo de Tavera, do not seem to have completely forgotten their beliefs in animism, or in a kind of anthropomorphism, as may be specifically shown in those who believe Rizal to be a god.

The belief of these sects that Rizal is a god is expressed in various ways. However, it would seem that this may be more effectively shown in the prayers directed to Rizal in his capacity as a god, and in the hymns sung in his honor.

The following excerpt of prayers of the followers of *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga, Inc.)* may illustrate this point.

> Receive, Oh God, the sacrifice which we are offering to Your Majesty, in honor of Our Father Rizal, the Christ of the Tagalog region.[101]

or still another excerpt from another prayer of the same sect:

> ...Rizal is the Christ of the Tagalog region. He is the Lord of the whole world. He is the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords. Because in Him is given by the Holy Bible the Spirit of God Almighty.[102]

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[99] *Census of the Philippine Islands. Vol. 1: Geography, History and Population.* Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905. p. 335.

[100] Richard Arens, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[101] The Tagalog text: "Tanggapin mo (Oh Bathala) ang sacripisio na nakagagaling na alay na inihahandog namin sa iyong Kadakilaan sa karangalan ng pangalan ng Ama naming Rizal na Cristo sa Katagalugan.

[102] ...Ang Cristo ng Katagalugan ay si Dr. Jose Rizal. Ang Panginoon ng lahat dito sa Sanglibutan. Hari ng mga Hari, Panginoon ng mga Panginoon. Sapagkat siya ang pinagkalooban ng banal na Tipan ng espiritu Santong Bathalang Maykapangyarihan.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the followers of *Bathalismo (Inang Mahiwaga, Inc.)* are not the only ones who have found basis for comparing Rizal with

Statues which can be found at the main altar of the Watawat chapel in Laguna.

Not all the sects studied have hymns exalting the divinity of Rizal. However, the followers of the *Adarnista* sect sing the following hymn in honor of Rizal during their religious services:

Oh Father Creator of ours
Who is in Calamba
My heart do I give to You
Your name is honored.[103]

The following is another portion of the same hymn:

Dr. Rizal is god and man
The most learned physician
He is the god who rules
He is king of all the world.[104]

In these lines may be summed up the beliefs of these sects: that Rizal is a god, the creator of the world, the king of kings, the lord of lords.

However, a closer scrutiny of these beliefs is in order.

Rizal is the "Christ," the "Son of Bathala" in the same manner that most Christian religions believe that Christ is the "Son of God" (*Sambahang Rizal*). Rizal is true god and true man. (*Adarnista* and *Bathalismo*) Or to phrase it differently, Jesus Christ is embodied in Dr. Rizal and hence, Dr. Rizal is at once a god and a man (*Watawat ng Lahi*). He is the reincarnation of Christ. Rizal, therefore, is god. (*Bathalismo*) Or again, to put it differently, Rizal is god: he is the second Christ. (*Iglesia Sagrada Filifina*)

And yet although all the sects profess the belief that Rizal is god, they never seem to bother to prove their claims. No authority is invoked, no passage from the Bible or from any other sources quoted to support the claim that Rizal is a god. Their idea of God is vague indeed and decidedly confusing. This confusion is further augmented by the notions of the sects about the Divine Persons. The *Watawat ng Lahi* would seem to profess a belief, however unorthodox, of some kind of Trinity. This sect teaches that the power of God the Father was given to Moses; the power of the Son, given to Jesus Christ; and the power of the Holy Ghost, given to Dr. José Rizal. This claim is indeed confusing when one recalls the other belief of the same sect that Rizal is the reincarnation of Christ.

Christ. Scholars like Rafael Palma and Salvador P. López, and religious leaders like Gregorio Aglipay have, at various times, also made this same comparison. *Vide* our study, *The Canonization of Rizal,* already cited.

103 The Iloko text: "Oh ama mi nga namarsua/ nga adda sadi Calamba/ toy pusoc yawatco kenca/ nagan mot dayawenda/"

104 The Iloko text: "Dios ken tao ni Dr. Rizal/ mangagas a casiriban/ Iso ti Dios nga agturay/ nga ari ti sangalubongan/"

However, two other sects (the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina* and the *Adarnista*) have gone even farther. These two sects teach the belief that there are four persons in one God! The *Adarnista* doctrine is that there are four persons in God: the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Mother. This is certainly unorthodox, and is explained thus: God the Son had a Father: He certainly must have had a Mother and that is the Virgin Mary. Although the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina* also professes this same belief (i.e. there are four persons in one God) their explanation for the existence of God the Mother may be even more unorthodox than that of the *Adarnista* sect. God the Mother, in the belief of the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina,* is the Blessed Virgin Mary but it is the Blessed Virgin who is in heaven, not to be confused with the Blessed Virgin who was born on earth and who became the earthly Mother of Christ. There are two Blessed Virgins! However, it is evident here that these two sects did not show how Rizal would fit in into their doctrine of four persons in one God.

Be that as it may, at least one sect (*Sambahang Rizal*) taught that Rizal was appointed by Bathala to redeem his race and his people. Rizal, in the belief of this sect, offered up his life to save mankind. At this point, it may be well to ask: redeem his race from whom? This has not been explained by this sect. However, we may conjecture as to what form that redemption might possibly take by studying the other beliefs of the sects. The *Watawat ng Lahi* advances the following: If the third World War breaks out, numberless people will be killed by atomic weapons. But after the war, Dr. Rizal will appear to the new world, and he will lead the army of God. The *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina,* on the other hand, adds that after the second coming of Christ, Rizal will be His successor and Rizal will do the functions of Christ. Again, what these functions will be is not made clear. At any rate, is this what is possibly meant when Rizal is said to have redeemed his people and his race?

All the sects studied also share the common belief that Rizal is not dead. For instance, *Bathalismo* teaches that Rizal was not killed when he was "supposedly" (?) shot at Bagumbayan in 1896. In the belief of this sect, Rizal before the execution, disguised himself as a Chinaman and took a boat for China, eluding the authorities. How Rizal could possibly have done this and how he later returned to his country are not explained although the *Watawat ng Lahi* assures us that Rizal is alive and is physically and materially present in the New Jerusalem which is presently hidden at the site between Mt. Makiling and Mt. Banahaw.

The last belief might have been the reason, among others, why the *Watawat ng Lahi* insists that it was Rizal who founded this sect. The *Watawat ng Lahi* also teaches that it is the voice of Rizal which commands the officials and the members what to do: this is the voice of Rizal, the sect affirms, that speaks to the members in the weekly meetings at Lechería, Calamba, Laguna. Again, this sect also states that its teachings are based on the commands of Moses, Jesus Christ, and the teachings of Dr. Rizal culled from his writings, a characteristic which it holds in common with the defunct *Sambahang Rizal* which considered Rizal's novels, the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo* as the "Bible" of the sect.

In short, Rizal's place in these sects may be summed up in the words of Venancio P. Wagan, founder of the *Bathalismo* sect, when he said: "Without any reservation whatsoever, we say that the said Dr. José Rizal of the Philippines is the all powerful Bathala (i.e. God) of this world."

IV

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The concept of the man-god is as old as humanity itself and is common among primitive peoples even to this day. The ancient Sumerians and the Greeks, and even the Jews at the time of Moses, envisioned gods who were, we might say, magnified human beings, with human bodies, and human wants and needs.

Thus, it may be said that the belief that Rizal is a god may be considered as an extension of the anthropomorphic belief of the ancient Filipinos. In spite of the more than three centuries of Catholicism in the country, fears of mysterious and occult powers, especially among the poor unlettered folk, have remained. The concept of the man-god, on the other hand, might have originated from the ancestor worship of the ancient Filipinos. It seems clear from our study that this idea has remained in our midst, especially among the illiterate peasants living in mountain areas and far-flung barrios which education, secular and religious, has not yet reached, or at least, affected.

These sects which consider Rizal as a god are centered, as may be expected, in rural areas where poor peasant folk live. Most of their members, we may be sure, were barely, if ever, instructed in the religion of their forefathers, and, as such, seem to have identified religion with superstition. Indeed, the many super-

stitious beliefs that characterize these sects may have appealed to their imagination and must have been greatly instrumental in winning them over to these sects.

Most leaders of the sects also come from the peasant class and have had the minimum of schooling, if any at all. There are, however, other leaders who profess to have come from the "educated" class. For instance, José B. Baricanosa, present head of the *Watawat ng Lahi,* claims to be a B. S. graduate from a Chicago college, while among other leaders, Alfredo Benedicto is a lawyer, and Crispin M. Penid was formerly a college student in a Manila university.

All the sects studied appeal to the sense of patriotism. As has been seen, these sects consider love of country and reverence for the national heroes as among their most important principles. In the intent to preach this "doctrine," however, at least one sect (i.e. *Bathalismo*) has included among its principal tenets the belief that the Philippines is for Filipinos only. There is here the subtle, if effective, way to preach hatred against the foreigners. The reason for this may not be too hard to seek. Even though their leaders profess love for fellowmen (which doubtless includes foreigners, too) still they would identify the Catholic Church with the "whites." In some of their pronouncements, many leaders of the sects still find it convenient to harp on what they call the abuses of the Spanish friars, a thing of the distant past. Thus, in preaching against the foreigners, it is felt that they also preach against the Catholic Church which is considered a common enemy. This line has also been followed by the early Aglipayan Church and owing to the peculiar conditions at the church's establishment, it greatly helped attract many members. As subsequent events turned out, however, this appeal to the patriotic sense eventually subsided and did not prevent members of the Aglipayan sect from drifting away to other religions. It may be safe to predict here that given time, this may yet hold true for the sects in honor of Rizal.

Closely allied to the appeal to the patriotic sense is what may be considered the principal doctrine of these sects. As has been noted in the preceding division of this paper, these sects profess the belief that Rizal is a god, that he is the savior of his race and of his people, that he did not die, and that he is present everywhere in the same manner that God is present everywhere.

In attributing divinity and, consequently, divine powers to Rizal, these sects went much farther than the Aglipayan Church which only canonized Rizal about sixty years ago. The feeling of identi-

fication, as psychologists would tell us, is very strong in individuals. Did the founders of these sects, perhaps, believe that in the apotheosis of Rizal, many would be attracted to these sects, if only for a subconscious identification with one of their race, one who would embody all the aspirations, and hopes of the Filipino people?

The remark of Julita Reyes-Sta. Romana in her study of the *Iglesia Ni Kristo* may be pertinent here.[105]

"What could be more interesting, appealing and elating to the common *tao* than to know and to believe that a Filipino is an angel (i.e. Felix Manalo, founder of this sect, is considered an angel by his followers) sent by God," Mrs. Sta. Romana says. "There has never been a Filipino saint or angel, and here comes a man bold and audacious enough to claim that he is an angel in human form. Who would not welcome such an assumption for a change? . . . To the common *tao* this is good enough."

Indeed if the claim that a Filipino is an angel is that interesting, appealing, and elating to the common *tao* member of the *Iglesia Ni Kristo* who, needless to state, would certainly welcome such an assumption for a change, one can well imagine the great impact of the belief that Rizal is a god has on the poor unlettered members of these sects in Rizal's honor.

Closely linked to the apotheosis of Rizal are the elements of mystery that are common to all these sects. There is in the *Watawat ng Lahi* and *Bathalismo,* for instance, the belief in the so-called "voices" which speak to the members and instruct them in their obligations and duties as members. This element may also be seen in the account about Obispa (!) María Loreta V. García, the "Mysterious Mother" (*Inang Mahiwaga)* of the *Bathalismo* sect, who was supposed to have been born under the most mysterious and fantastic conditions imaginable. Again, this same element is to be seen in the *Adarnista* belief that their foundress, Candida Balantac, is endowed with supernatural powers. Were these beliefs included to attract the poor unlettered folk who would mistake superstition for religion?

There is also the intent of the sects to merge religious practices with traditional Catholic practices. That the Filipino is at heart a religious person easily moved by picturesque rituals and ceremonies has been pointed out many times before. By way of parenthesis, when the late founder of the Aglipayan church wanted to do away with the Mass and other rituals borrowed from the Catholic Church, many of his leaders opposed his plan alleging that these

[105] Reyes-Sta. Romana, *op. cit.,* p. 407.

rituals and ceremonies were part of the religious experience of the Filipino and doing away with them would certainly drive many members away from the sect. And contrary to the intentions of Aglipay, his sect continued these Catholic ceremonies, as indeed it still does today. Were the founders of the sects under study impressed by this same fact when they found it expedient to include in their rituals, ceremonies that are Catholic in origin? Obviously so, for, indeed, the members accustomed to such ceremonies for years would certainly find something lacking if such ceremonies should be done away with. And if this is done, the ceremonies would lose their meaning to the poor unlettered folk who might then say that these sects are not "churches" after all and most possibly would not be attracted to them. Except the *Iglesia Sagrada Filifina,* all the other sects have found these ceremonies and rituals necessary in their set-up.

This intent to merge weird religious practices with traditional Catholicism is also manifested in other ways. In the chapel of the *Adarnistas* and in the church of the *Watawat ng Lahi* are prominently displayed statues of the Blessed Virgin and of other Catholic saints side by side with a statue of Rizal and pictures of other Philippine heroes. This intent is also seen in the weird prayers said by members of these sects, prayers with a hodge-podge of Latin, Hebrew, Tagalog, and Iloko, prayers which have assumed magical proportions, no different from the incantations of primitive religions. For instance, some of these prayers are recommended to ward off typhoons, earthquakes, and evil spirits.

There is also the tendency for members of these sects to retreat to heavily wooded areas, forests, and mountains. Their preoccupation with the existence of the New Jerusalem in the Philippines is also very evident. To give a sense of immediacy, some of these sects have found it imperative to talk to their followers about the imminence of a nuclear war, and that, as members of these sects, they by their implicit faith would be among the few who would be saved in the event of such a war. Psychological reasons may perhaps be advanced to explain this characteristic. Is this tendency to retreat to mountains, far from bustling city or progressive town, a reaction against a materialism which these sects have obviously not approved of? Or is it symbolic of the collective feeling of the members' insecurity and the uncertainty of the times?

As a natural consequence of the tendency cited above is the evidence of a communism akin to the communism practised by the early Christians. The *Adarnistas,* among others, may be said

to be living a community life in Olivete, Bongabon, Nueva Écija. Again, the intent of the *Watawat ng Lahi* to have the members live on Lechería Hill in Calamba may also be indicative of this tendency. However, the belief of *Bathalismo,* i.e. "There are no rich or poor in this world; and every one shall be equal" may not be in accordance with the brand of communism just mentioned; this seems close to the Marxist theory of classless society. However, this line of thought must be mentioned with utmost caution.

What would pass for the "theology" of these sects is confused, and unsystematized. It is actually a potpourri of various religious, political, and what may even be called, patriotic, beliefs. Religious beliefs like "There are four persons in God: the Father, the Mother, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" are forced on the members without any attempt to explain this belief except for a scanty: "God the Son had a Father, He certainly must have had a Mother." However, it would seem that the poor peasant members do not care much about the theology preached. If the members of the *Watawat ng Lahi* interviewed by this writer are any indication, some members are not even aware of the principal belief that these sects are supposed to profess, i.e. that Rizal is a god.

At this point it may be prudent to presume that the members joined these sects in good faith. It is interesting to note that these sects have flourished in places inaccessible to priests and where, doubtless, a dismal ignorance of the Catholic faith has proven to be a fertile ground for them to thrive.

It must also be stated that the credulity of these simple folk is such that they may easily be swayed to beliefs which may in time assume the proportions of fanaticism. One can well imagine what unscrupulous leaders can do with such a fanatical following. Recent developments in Philippine history have shown, as in the case of the "colorums" and the "pulahanes," that such religious fanaticism may even lead to disastrous results. Fortunately, up to the present time, there has been no instance, to the knowledge of this writer, when leaders and followers of the sects studied have taken part in uprisings against the government.

The main problem would not be to suppress such movements as the religious sects we have studied; for indeed to do so would be considered a curtailment of the freedom of worship as is provided for by the Philippine constitution. There should be the move to help such people living in mountain barrios and far-flung places, however, who are primarily the targets of these religious movements. Such help could be in the form of education, not only

in its secular aspects, but what is perhaps even more important, in its religious phases.

We fully agree with Fr. Richard Arens when he says: "The government, whose concern ought to be the welfare of the people, should be aware of this need. And it is hoped that the time is not so far off when the public school teacher who is generally the only well-educated person in the mountain barrios will be permitted to give religious instruction. For a predominantly Catholic nation that should be no difficulty; for minority groups special arrangements could be made."[106]

How long would these sects survive? Already, at least one sect (the *Sambahang Rizal*) is now defunct, and there seems to be no indication to show that it will be revived. Another sect (the *Adarnista*) has already divided into two factions. Division into splinter sects may indeed contribute to their eventual dissolution. Certainly the number of the members of these sects may still not have reached such proportions as to cause alarm, but we may be sure that in places where poor, unlettered folk, prone to superstition, are found these sects would surely thrive.

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[106] Arens, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-369.

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APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS, PRAYERS AND HYMNS OF THE "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) SECT

ARTÍCULOS DE INCORPORACIÓN DE LA "SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN"

SEPAN CUANTOS VIEREN Y LEYEREN:

Que nosotros, todos naturales y residentes de las Islas Filipinas, voluntariamente nos hemos reunido es este día con el fin de formar una Corporación fraternal bajo las leyes vigentes de las Islas Filipinas.

Y por la presente certificamos:

PRIMERA: Que dicha Corporación fraternal se conocerá con el nombre de "SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN."

SEGUNDA: Quel los fines por los cuales dicha corporación se ha formado son:

AMAR A LA PATRIA Y ROGAR A DIOS POR SU LIBERTAD EN REUNIONES PÚBLICAS Y PRIVADAS QUE CELEBRARÁN SUS AFILIADOS Y SIMPATIZADORES EN LAS PROVINCIAS, PUEBLOS Y BARRIOS, Y HASTA LOS MAS RECÓNDITOS LUGARES DE ESTA HERMOSA REGIÓN DEL ORIENTE.

TERCERA: Que la residencia y oficina de la Corporación estará establecida en el sitio Kinabuhayan, Municipio de Dolores, Provincia de Tayabas, I. F.

CUARTA: Que la vida de esta fraternidad durará el espacio de tiempo de diez (10) años desde la fecha de la incorporación.

QUINTA: Que los nombres y residencias de los incorporadores de esta fraternidad son los siguientes:

Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna, Filipino
Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Hospicio Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Demetrio Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Victor Bundos, Lian, Batangas, "
Sergio Montealegre, Lian, Batangas, "
Alejo Rodriguez, Tuy, Batangas, "
Gaudencio de la Rosa, Luntal, Tuy, Batangas, "
Servillano Jotamares, Yawe, Padre Burgos, Tayabas, "
Francisco Abellera, Leang, Batangas "
Francisco Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Pedro Llagan, Mogpog, Marinduque, "

SEXTA: Que el número de Directores de dicha Corporación son cinco (5), y que los nombres y residencias de los mismos, que actuarán como tales hasta que sus sucesores sean elegidos y cualificados, conforme a las disposiciones de la Ley de Corporaciones son los siguientes:

1. Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna
2. Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija
3. Victor Bundoc, Lian, Batangas
4. Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas
5. Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija.

SEPTIMA: Que esta corporación es una Hermandad Nacional Filipina, consagrada solo a los anhelos del pueblo, y por esta razón, no tiene Capital alguno, ni establece quota alguna obligatoria para sus afiliados y simpatizadores.

En testimonio de todo lo aqui consignado, firmamos el presente en Manila, a 23 de Noviembre, de 1938.

(SGD.) AGAPITO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
(SGD.) SEVERINO APASAN	(SGD.) HOSPICIO APASAN
(SGD.) DEMETRIO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) JUAN A. NAGANIO
(SGD.) VICTOR BUNDOC	(SGD.) SERGIO MONTEALEGRE
(SGD.) ALEJO RODRIGUEZ	(SGD.) GAUDENCIO DE LA ROSA
(SGD.) SERVILLANO JOTAMARES	(SGD.) PEDRO LAGAN
(SGD.) FRANCISCO ABELLERA	(SGD.) FRANCISCO ILUSTRICIMO

(SGD.) MELCHOR REYES

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES) S.S.
CITY OF MANILA)

On this 23 day of November, 1938, in the City of Manila, Philippines, personally appeared before me Agapito Ilustricimo, Venancio P. Wagan, Severino Apasan, Hospicio Apasan, Demetrio Ilustricimo, Juan A. Naganio, Victor Bundoc, Sergio Montealegre, Alejo Rodriguez, Gaudencio de la Rosa, Servillano Jotamares, Pedro Lagan, Francisco Abellera, Francisco Ilustricino and, all known to me and to me known to be the same persons who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged that the same was their own free and voluntary act.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and notarial seal, in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 23 day of November, 1938.

(SGD.) FELIPE RELUCIO, JR.
Notary Public
My commission expires Dec. 31, 1939

Doc. Reg. No. 349
Page No. 78
Book I
Series of 1938

(Affixed one 20¢ documentary stamp and the seal of the Notary Public)

TRANSLATION:

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF THE "SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATION, PEACE WITH INDEPENDENCE"

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, all natives and residents of the Philippine Islands, voluntarily have met on this day with the purpose of forming a fraternal corporation under the laws in force in the Philippine Islands.

And we hereby certify:

FIRST: That said fraternal Corporation shall be known by the name "SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATION, PEACE WITH INDEPENDENCE."

SECOND: That the aims for which the said corporation has been formed are:

TO LOVE THE COUNTRY AND PRAY TO GOD FOR HER LIBERTY IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GATHERINGS WHICH ITS MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS SHALL HOLD IN THE PROVINCES, TOWNS AND BARRIOS, AND EVEN IN THE MOST UNKNOWN PLACES OF THIS BEAUTIFUL REGION OF THE ORIENT.

THIRD: That the residence and office of the Corporation shall be established in the village of Kinabuhayan, Town of Dolores, Province of Tayabas, P. I.

FOURTH: That the duration of this fraternity shall last for ten (10) years from the date of its incorporation.

FIFTH: That the names and the addresses of the incorporators of this fraternity are the following:

Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna, Filipino
Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Hospicio Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Demetrio Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Victor Bundos, Lian, Batangas, "
Sergio Montealegre, Lian, Batangas, "
Alejo Rodriguez, Tuy, Batangas, "
Gaudencio de la Rosa, Luntal, Tuy, Batangas, "
Servillano Jotamares, Yawe, Padre Burgos, Tayabas, "
Francisco Abellera, Leang, Batangas "
Francisco Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Pedro Llagan, Mogpog, Marinduque, "

SIXTH: That the number of the Directors of the said Corporation shall be five (5) and the names and addresses of the same, who shall act as such until their successors shall be elected and qualified, according to the conditions set by the law of Corporations are the following:

1. Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna
2. Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija
3. Victor Bundoc, Lian, Batangas
4. Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas
5. Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija.

SEVENTH: That this corporation is a Philippine National Fraternity, consecrated only to the desires of the people, and for this reason, has no capital whatsoever, nor does it establish any obligatory quota for its members and sympathizers.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands the 23rd day of November, 1938 in Manila.

(SGD.) AGAPITO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
(SGD.) SEVERINO APASAN	(SGD.) HOSPICIO APASAN
(SGD.) DEMETRIO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) JUAN A. NAGANIO
(SGD.) VICTOR BUNDOC	(SGD.) SERGIO MONTEALEGRE
(SGD.) ALEJO RODRIGUEZ	(SGD.) GAUDENCIO DE LA ROSA
(SGD.) SERVILLANO JOTAMARES	(SGD.) PEDRO LAGAN
(SGD.) FRANCISCO ABELLERA	(SGD.) FRANCISCO ILUSTRICIMO

(SGD.) MELCHOR REYES

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES) S.S.
CITY OF MANILA)

On this 23 day of November, 1938, in the City of Manila, Philippines, personally appeared before me Agapito Ilustricimo, Venancio P. Wagan, Severino Apasan, Hospicio Apasan, Demetrio Ilustricimo, Juan A. Naganio, Victor Bundoc, Sergio Montealegre, Alejo Rodriguez, Gaudencio de la Rosa, Servillano Jotamares, Pedro Lagan, Francisco Abellera, Francisco Ilustricino and, all known to me and to me known to be the same persons who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged that the same was their own free and voluntary act.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and notarial seal, in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 23 day of November, 1938.

(SGD.) FELIPE RELUCIO, JR.
Notary Public
My commission expires Dec. 31, 1939

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(Affixed one 20¢ documentary stamp and the seal of the Notary Public)

PALATUNTUNAN NG "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA)

I KABANATA

TUNTUNING 1. — Ang Samahang ito ay magkakaroon ng pangalang "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA).

TUNTUNING 3. — Ang kalagayan at oficina ng Samahang ito ay ang lugar na MAMBANGNAN, SAN LEONARDO, lalawigan ng NUEVA ECIJA, ISLAS FILIPINAS.

TUNTUNING 4. — Ang itatagal ng BUHAY ng Samahang ito ay sampung taon mula sa araw ng pagkakatatag.

II KABANATA

TUNTUNING 5. — Ang Samahang ito ay walang anomang puhunan o salaping iiñgatan, at hindi naman hihiñgi ng anomang abuloy o iilak kaya sa kanyang mga kasapi o hindi man, maliban na lamang kung may dapat na pagbayarang anomang halaga sa pamahalaan.

III KABANATA

TUNTUNING 6. — Ang Samahang ito ay bubuin ng mga tatawaging pamunuan o ng mga may tungkulin at ng kasapi o ng mga walang tungkulin.

TUNTUNING 7. — Ang pamunuan ay bubuin ng limang (5) directores na sasaad sa escritura de incorporacion ng samahan, na sa limang ito manggagaling ang ihahalal na Pangulo at Pangalawang-Pangulo ng Samahan, bagaman at ang Kalihim ay maaaring piliin sa mga kasapi.

TUNTUNING 8. — Ang Pamunuan ng Samahan ay magkakaroon ng pulong o magdadaos sa lugar na itatawag ng Pangulo at ang mga pulong na ito'y tatawaging pangkaraniwan at hindi pangkaraniwan. Ang pangkaraniwan ay gagawin tuing unang buwan, at ang hindi pangkaraniwan ay maaaring gawin kahit kailang panahon, na sa mga pulong na ito'y pawang kabutihan lamang ng Samahan ang dapat pagusapan.

TUNTUNING 9. — Ang Samahang ito ay magkakaroon din naman ng pangkalahatan, na maaaring idaos minsan sa isang taon, sa lugar nang Mambangnan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, upang pagusapan ang buhay at ikalulusog ng SAMAHAN.

TUNTUNING 10. — Ang pamunuan ng samahang ito ay hindi maaaring halinhan sa habang panahon, maliban na kung tunay na kailangan ang bagay na ito. Ang paghahalili ay maaari lamang gawing, kung ito ay kailangan, sa isang pulong na pangkalahatan na itatawag ng mga sampong kasapi sa SAMAHAN.

TUNTUNING 11. — Upang ang pulong ng Pamunuan ay madaos at makapagtibay ng anomang kapasyahan, ay sapat ng kaharap sa pulong ang tatlo sa mga directores; at ang pulong na pangkalahatan, ay sapat ng kaharap ang katatagang dami ng mga kasapi, upang makapagdaos ng pulong at makapagtibay ng anomang kapasiyahan.

TUNTUNING 12. — Ang Pangulo ng Pamunuan ay siya ring kikilalaning Pangulo ng pulong pangkalahatan ng Samahan.

TUNTUNING 13. — Ang Samahan ay magkakaroon ng tatawaging GRAN MAESTRO, na itoy pipiliin sa mga kasapi.

IV KABANATA

TUNTUNING 14. — Tungkulin ng Gran Maestro ang magturo ng mga bagay-bagay na ikabubuti ng lahat ng mga kasapi o hindi man, at ang magpaliwanag ng nauukol sa ipinaguutos ng espiritu. Tungkulin ng Gran Maestro ang ....
....

TUNTUNING 15. — Tungkulin ng Pangulo ang pangungulo sa lahat ng pulong ng pamunuan at pangkalahatan, isa ayos ito at pilitin maghari ang katahimikan at tumulong sa lahat ng ikapagtatagumpay ng Samahan; tungkulin ng Pangulo ang humalili sa lahat ng dapat na ganapin ng Pangulo, sakaling ito ay may kadahilanan; tungkulin ng mga ibang directores at ng mga kasapi ang dumalo sa lahat ng pupong na itawag ng Pangulo o ng sampong kasapi, at gayon din naman, ang magbalak ng anomang bagay na ikabubuti ng Samahan, at tutulong at makiisa sa gawaing ng Pangulo. Tungkulin ng Pangulo ang gumanap sa gawain ng Gran Maestro sa ....
....

V KABANATA

TUNTUNING 16. — Maaaring tangaping kasapi sa Samahan ito ang sino- kailangan pa ang magkaroon ng tanging kakayahan (cualificacion), at hindi rin kailangan pa ang isang tanging paraan upang maisagawa ang pagtangap sa kanya.

TUNTUNING 17. — Ang mga kasapi sa bawat bayan o nayon ay maaaring pumili ng kanikanilang pinakakatawan para maging bibig nila sa kanilang mga nais at kahilingan sa Pamunuan ng Samahang ito.

TUNTUNING 18. — Ang sinomang kasapi ay may karapatang tumiwalag sa Samahan kailan mang panahon na kanyang ibiguin, na walang gagamitin tanging paraan sa kanyang pagtiwalag na ito, ni walang ano pa mang magiging kapanagutan sa gagawing ito.

VI KABANATA

TUNTUNING 19. — Kung sumapit na ang tadhanang haba ng buhay ng Samahan at itoy pagkaisahan pa ng mga kasapi na magpanibago sa pamamagitan ng hakbang na kinakailangan, ang mga datihang Pamunuan ay magpapatuloy sa kanilang mga tungkulin hangang sa silay mahalinhan sa paraang itinakda ng palatuntunang bago.

VII KABANATA

TUNTUNING 20. — Ang samahan ay hindi magkakaroon ng sariling tatak para sa Samahan, ngunit kung nanaisin ang siyay magkaroon, ang tatak na ito ay magiging katulad ng kanyang watawat.

VIII KABANATA

TUNTUNING 21. — Ang mga patakarang ito ay magkakabisa sa mga sandaling pagtibaying, at maaaring baguhin, susugan o pawalang kabuluhan sa alin mang pulong pangkalahatan na ipagaanyaya para sa bagay naito.

ALAMIN NANG LAHAT:

Na kaming mga nagalagda sa ibaba nito, na Pangulo, Kalihim at mga kagawad nang lupong Pamunuan ng "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) ay nagpaptunay na ang ALINTUNTUNING nabangit sa itaas nito ay iniharap sa pulong nga mga kasapi nang nasabing samahan noon ika 18 ng Septiembre, 1947; na ang mga kasaping dumalo ay higit sa kalahati at ang nabanggit na ALINTUNTUNING ay sinangayunan at pinagtibay nilang lahat; at pinatutunayan din namin na ito ang umiiral na ALINTUTUNING ngayon nang samahan.

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

(SGD.) MELCHOR MAÑGAHAS
Director

(SGD.) ERNESTO E. MENDOZA
Director

(SGD.) ARCADIO BALOTE
Director

(SGD.) PABLO BACUMGAN
Director

PINATUTUNAYAN

(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
Pangulo

(SGD.) MARIA LORETO GARCIA
Kalihim

TRANSLATION:

CONSTITUTION OF "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA)

FIRST CHAPTER

RULE 1. — This Organization shall be called "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) ("MYSTERIOUS MOTHER").

RULE 2. — (has been crossed out in the original papers of incorporation.)

RULE 3. — The headquarters or the office of this organization is found in MAMBANGNAN, SAN LEONARDO, province of NUEVA ECIJA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

RULE 4. — This Organization shall last for a duration of ten years from the day of its establishment.

SECOND CHAPTER

RULE 5. — This Organization has no capital or funds, and it shall not ask for whatever help nor shall it solicit funds from members or non-members, except when it is necessary to pay its obligations to the government.

THIRD CHAPTER

RULE 6. — This Organization shall be formed by the so-called leaders or those having the duty or the members or those without any position.

RULE 7. — The board of directors shall be formed by five directors as provided for by the papers of incorporation of the organization, from five members among whom shall be elected the President and the Vice-President of the Organization, while the Secretary may be selected from among the members.

RULE 8. — The Board of Directors ("Pamunuan") of the Organization shall hold a meeting at a place designated by the President and these meetings may be ordinary or special. The ordinary meetings shall be held every first month, and the special meetings may be held at any time, and during these meetings only the matters pertaining to the good of the Organization shall be discussed.

RULE 9. — This Organization shall have its general meeting, which may be held once a year, in Mambangnan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, so that the growth and the progress of the Organization may be discussed.

RULE 10. — This Board of Directors may at no time be substituted, except when extremely necessary. Substitution may be done, only when necessary, at a general meeting called by ten members of the Organization.

RULE 11. — So that a meeting of the Board of Directors called may approve any decision, it is enough that three members of the board of directors attend such a meeting; at the general meeting, it is enough that the majority of members, that is, one-half of the general membership be present, so that the meeting called for may approve any decision.

RULE 12. — The President of the Board of Directors shall also be recognized as the President of the general meeting of the Organization.

RULE 13. — The Organization shall have one to be called the Great Teacher ("Gran Maestro") who shall be elected by the members.

FOURTH CHAPTER

RULE 14. — It shall be the duty of the Great Teacher to teach things which shall redound to the good of the members or non-members, and to explain spiritual things. It shall be the duty of the Great Teacher (*the rest of the sentence stricken off in original papers of incorporation*).

RULE 15. — It shall be the duty of the President to act as chairman of the meetings of the board of directors and the general assembly, to see to it that these are conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner and to help everyone in the success of the Organization; it shall be the duty of the Vice President to assist the President in every function, if necessary; it shall be the duty of the other directors and the members to attend each meeting called by the President of ten members, and also to plan anything for the good of the Organization, and to help and cooperate with the work of the President. It shall be the duty of the President to perform the work of the Great Teacher in (*other words in the original papers of incorporation stricken off*).

FIFTH CHAPTER

RULE 16. — Anyone may be admitted as members of this Organization, whoever possesses special qualification, no other means necessary in order that he may be accepted as member of the same.

RULE 17. — Members from each town or barrio may elect their own representative to act as their mouthpiece in their wishes and desires in dealing with the Board of Directors of this Organization.

RULE 18. — Any member shall have the right to resign from the Organization at any time he wishes, and there shall be no special manner by which he shall make his resignation, and he shall not answer for anything in this.

SIXTH CHAPTER

RULE 19. — When the terms for the charter of this Organization expire and new ones have still to be approved by the members, according to the necessary steps, the former Board of Directors shall continue discharging their duties until they are changed according to the manner established by the new constitution.

SEVENTH CHAPTER

RULE 20. — The Organization shall not have its own seal but if (the members) so desire it, this seal shall be similar to its flag.

EIGHTH CHAPTER

RULE 21. — These provisions shall take effect at the instance of approval, and they may be amended, revised or abrogated in a general meeting called for this purpose.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we who have placed our signatures below, the President, Secretary and the members of the Board of Directors of "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) approved the provisions mentioned above and presented (them) to the meeting of the members of the said organization on the 18th of September, 1947; and that more than one-half of the members were in attendance and that the said provisions were approved and ratified by them all; and we also certify that these are now the existing provisions applicable to this Organization.

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

(SGD.) MELCHOR MAÑGAHAS
Director

(SGD.) ERNESTO E. MENDOZA
Director

(SGD.) ARCADIO BALOTE
Director

(SGD.) PABLO BACUMGAN
Director

APPROVED

(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
President

(SGD.) MARIA LORETO GARCIA
Secretary

Republic of the Philippines)
City of Manila) S. S.

AFFIDAVIT

I, Venancio P. Wagan, of legal age, Filipino citizen, resident of and with postal address in the Municipality of San Leonardo, Province of Nueva Ecija, after having been duly sworn according to laws, despose and say:

1. That I am the President of the "SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN," a corporation duly organized and existing under the laws of the Philippines;

2. That the "SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN" was organized on November 23, 1938 and its articles of incorporation were registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission on November 25, 1938;

3. That said corporation is still existing and has never been dissolved;

4. That attached hereto is a true and correct copy of the articles of incorporation of the above corporation which was copied from the authentic copy thereof in my possession which, authentic copy was issued by the Bureau of Commerce on September 6, 1942, said articles of incorporation not having been amended up to the present time;

5. That a new code of by-laws will be adopted by the corporation and filed with this Commission after the reconstitution of the articles of incorporation.

6. That this reconstitution of corporate records is being done for the purpose of complying with the provisions of Republic Act No. 62.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto signed this affidavit this 15th day of September, 1947, at Manila, Philippines.

(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN

SUBSCRIBED and sworn to before me this 15th day of September, 1947 at Manila, Philippines by Venancio P. Wagan who exhibited to me his Residence Certificate No. A-179298 issued at San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, on March 14, 1947.

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Notary Public
My Commission expires on December 31, 1948

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ESCRITURA SOCIAL ENMENDADA DE "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) ANTES (SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN)

SEPAN CUANTOS VIEREN Y LEYEREN:

Que nosotros, todos naturales y residentes de las Islas Filipinas, voluntariamente nos hemos reunido en este día con el fin de formar una Corporación fraternal bajo las leyes vigentes de las Islas Filipinas.

Y por la presente certificamos:

PRIMERA: Que dicha Corporación fraternal se conocerá con el nombre de "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA).

SEGUNDA: Que los fines por los cuales dicha corporación se ha formado son:

AMAR LA PATRIA Y ROGAR A DIOS POR SU LIBERTAD EN REUNIONES PÚBLICAS Y PRIVADAS QUE CELEBRARÁN SUS AFILIADOS Y SIMPATIZADORES EN LAS PROVINCIAS, PUEBLOS Y BARRIOS, Y HASTA LOS MAS RECÓNDITOS LUGRES DE ESTA HERMOSA REGIÓN DEL ORIENTE.

TERCERA: Que la residencia y oficina de la Corporación estará establecida en el Municipio de San Leonardo, Provincia de Nueva Ecija, I. F.

CUARTA: Que la vida de esta fraternidad durará el espacio de tiempo de diez (10) años desde la fecha de la incorporación.

QUINTA: Que los nombres y residencias de los incorporadores de esta fraternidad son los siguientes:

Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna, Filipino
Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Hospicio Apasan, Tuy, Batangas, "
Demetrio Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija, "
Victor Bundos, Lian, Batangas, "
Sergio Montealegre, Lian, Batangas, "
Gaudencio de la Rosa, Luntal, Tuy, Batangas, "
Servillano Jotamares, Yawe, Padre Burgos, Tayabas, "
Francisco Abellera, Leang, Batangas "
Francisco Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas, "
Pedro Llagan, Mogpog, Marinduque, "

SEXTA: Que el numero de Directores de dicha Corporación son cinco (5) y que los nombres y residencias de los mismos, que actuarán como tales hasta que sus sucesores sean elegidos y cualificados, conforme a las disposiciones de la ley de Corporaciones son los siguientes:

1. Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna
2. Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija
3. Victor Bundoc, Lian, Batangas
4. Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas
5. Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija.

SÉPTIMA: Que esta corporación es una Hermandad Nacional Filipina, consagrada solo a los anhelos del pueblo, y por esta razón, no tiene Capital alguno, ni establece quota alguna obligatoria para sus afiliados y simpatizadores.

En testimonio de todo lo aqui consignado, firmamos el presente en Manila, a 23 de Noviembre, de 1938.

(SGD.) AGAPITO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
(SGD.) SEVERINO APASAN	(SGD.) HOSPICIO APASAN
(SGD.) DEMETRIO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) JUAN A. NAGANIO
(SGD.) VICTOR BUNDOC	(SGD.) SERGIO MONTEALEGRE
(SGD.) ALEJO RODRIGUEZ	(SGD.) GAUDENCIO DE LA ROSA
(SGD.) SERVILLANO JOTAMARES	(SGD.) PEDRO LAGAN
(SGD.) FRANCISCO ABELLERA	(SGD.) FRANCISCO ILUSTRICIMO

(SGD.) MELCHOR REYES

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES) S. S.
CITY OF MANILA)

On this 23 day of November, 1938, in the city of Manila, Philippines, personally appeared before me Agapito Ilustricimo, Venancio P. Wagan, Severino Apasan, Hospicio Apasan, Demetrio Ilustricimo, Juan A. Naganio, Victor Bundoc, Sergio Montealegre, Alejo Rodriguez, Gaudencio de la Rosa, Servillano Jotamares, Pedro Lagan, Francisco Abellera, Francisco Ilustricimo and, all known to me and to me known to be the same persons who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged that the same was their own free and voluntary act.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and notarial seal, in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 23 day of November, 1938.

(SGD.) FELIPE RELUCIO, JR.
Notary Public
My commission expires Dec. 31, 1939

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(Affixed one 20¢ documentary stamp and the seal of the Notary Public)

TRANSLATION:

AMENDMENTS OF THE CORPORATE CONTRACT OF "BATHALISMO" (MYSTERIOUS MOTHER) FORMERLY "SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATION, PEACE WITH INDEPENDENCE"

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, all natives and residents of the Philippine Islands, voluntarily have met on this day with the purpose of forming a fraternal Corporation under the laws in force in the Philippine Islands.

And we hereby certify:

FIRST: That said fraternal Corporation shall be known by the name "BATHALISMO" (MYSTERIOUS MOTHER).

SECOND: That the aims for which the said corporation has been formed are:

TO LOVE THE COUNTRY AND PRAY TO GOD FOR HER LIBERTY IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GATHERINGS WHICH ITS MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS SHALL HOLD IN THE PROVINCES, TOWNS AND BARRIOS, AND EVEN TO THE MOST UNKNOWN PLACES OF THIS BEAUTIFUL REGION OF THE ORIENT.

THIRD: That the residence and office of the Corporation shall be established in the Municipality of San Leonardo, Province of Nueva Ecija, P. I.

FOURTH: That the duration of this fraternity shall last for ten (10) years from the date of its incorporation.

FIFTH: That the names and the addresses of the incorporators of this fraternity are the following:

Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna,	Filipino
Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija,	"
Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas,	"
Hospicio Apasan, Tuy, Batangas,	"
Demetrio Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas,	"
Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija,	"
Victor Bundos, Lian, Batangas,	"
Sergio Montealegre, Lian, Batangas,	"
Gaudencio de la Rosa, Luntal, Tuy, Batangas,	"
Servillano Jotamares, Yawe, Padre Burgos, Tayabas,	"
Francisco Abellera, Leang, Batangas	"
Francisco Ilustricimo, Balaytigue, Nasugbu, Batangas,	"
Pedro Llagan, Mogpog, Marinduque,	"

SIXTH: That the number of the Directors of the said Corporation shall be five (5) and the names and addresses of the same, who shall act as such until their successors shall be elected and qualified, according to the conditions set by the law of Corporations are the following:

1. Agapito Ilustricimo, Palakpakin, S. Pablo, Laguna
2. Venancio P. Wagan, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija
3. Victor Bundoc, Lian, Batangas
4. Severino Apasan, Tuy, Batangas
5. Juan A. Naganio, San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija.

SEVENTH: That this corporation is a Philippine National Fraternity, consecrated only to the desires of the people, and for this reason, has no capital whatsoever, nor does it establish any obligatory quota for its members and sympathizers.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands the 23rd day of November, 1938 in Manila.

(SGD.) AGAPITO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
(SGD.) SEVERINO APASAN	(SGD.) HOSPICIO APASAN
(SGD.) DEMETRIO ILUSTRICIMO	(SGD.) JUAN A. NAGANIO
(SGD.) VICTOR BUNDOC	(SGD.) SERGIO MONTEALEGRE
(SGD.) ALEJO RODRIGUEZ	(SGD.) GAUDENCIO DE LA ROSA
(SGD.) SERVILLANO JOTAMARES	(SGD.) PEDRO LAGAN
(SGD.) FRANCISCO ABELLERA	(SGD.) FRANCISCO ILUSTRICIMO

(SGD.) MELCHOR REYES

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES) S. S.
CITY OF MANILA)

On this 23 day of November, 1938, in the city of Manila, Philippines, personally appeared before me Agapito Ilustricimo, Venancio P. Wagan, Severino Apasan, Hospicio Apasan, Demetrio Ilustricimo, Juan A. Naganio, Victor Bundoc, Sergio Montealegre, Alejo Rodriguez, Gaudencio de la Rosa, Servillano Jotamares, Pedro Lagan, Francisco Abellera, Francisco Ilustricimo and, all known to me and to me known to be the same persons who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged that the same was their own free and voluntary act.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and notarial seal, in the City of Manila, Philippines, this 23 day of November, 1938.

(SGD.) FELIPE RELUCIO, JR.
Notary Public
My commission expires Dec. 31, 1939

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(Affixed one 20¢ documentary stamp and the seal of the Notary Public)

DIRECTOR'S CERTIFICATE

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, the undersigned, being the President, the Secretary, and a majority of the members of the board of directors of the "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA), do hereby certify:

That, at a special meeting of the members of the "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) duly called and held on the 18 day of September, 1947 at which meeting a majority of the members of the corporation was present, the following resolutions were passed by unanimous vote:

"RESOLVED, that the Articles of incorporation of SAMAHANG SPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN be amended by amending Article One thereof to read as follows:

"PRIMERA: Que dicha Corporación fraternal conocerá con el nombre "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA)"

"RESOLVED, further, that Article Three of said articles of incorporation be likewise amended to read as follows:

"TERCERA: Que la residencia y oficina de La Corporación estará establecida en el Municipio de San Leonardo, Provincia de Nueva Ecija, I. F."

And be it further

"RESOLVED, that the directors and officers of the corporation be, and they hereby are, authorized and instructed to take such steps as are necessary to carry out this resolution into effect."

That attached to this certificate is a true and exact copy of the amended articles of incorporation of the "BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA) as approved by the unanimous vote of the majority of the members present at said meeting.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands this 18 day of September, 1947.

(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
President
Director

(SGD.) MARIA LORETO GARCIA
Director
Secretary

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

(SGD.) MELCHOR MAÑGAHAS
Director

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

TRANSLATION:

DIRECTOR'S CERTIFICATE

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, the undersigned, being the President, the Secretary, and a majority of the members of the board of directors of the "BATHALISMO" (Mysterious Mother), do hereby certify:

That, at a special meeting of the members of the "BATHALISMO" (Mysterious Mother) duly called and held on the 18 day of September, 1947 at which meeting a majority of the members of the corporation was present, the following resolutions were passed by unanimous vote:

"RESOLVED, that the Articles of incorporation of SAMAHANG SPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN be amended by amending Article One thereof to read as follows:

"FIRST: That said fraternal Corporation shall be known by the name "BATHALISMO" (MYSTERIOUS MOTHER)."

"RESOLVED, further, that Article Three of said articles of incorporation be likewise amended to read as follows:

"THIRD: That the residence and office of the Corporation shall be established in the Municipality of San Leonardo, Province of Nueva Ecija, P. I."

And be it further

"RESOLVED, that the directors and officers of the corporation be, and they hereby are, authorized and instructed to take such steps as are necessary to carry out this resolution into effect."

That attached to this certificate is a true and exact copy of the amended articles of incorporation of the "BATHALISMO" (MYSTERIOUS MOTHER)

as approved by the unanimous vote of the majority of the members present at said meeting.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands this 18 day of September, 1947.

(SGD.) VENANCIO P. WAGAN
President
Director

(SGD.) MARIA LORETO GARCIA
Director
Secretary

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

(SGD.) MELCHOR MAÑGAHAS
Director

(SGD.) ILLEGIBLE
Director

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Justice
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
Manila

CERTIFICATE OF FILING OF AMENDED ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME, GREETINGS:

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that a copy of the amended articles of incorporation of the

SAMAHANG ESPIRITUAL, KATAHIMIKAN, MAY KASARINLAN
changing its name to
"BATHALISMO" (INANG MAHIWAGA)
and transferring its office

from Kinabuhayan, Dolores, Tayabas to San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members thereof on September 18, 1947, duly certified to be correct by the president, secretary and a majority of the Board of Directors, was filed in this Office on the twentieth day of September, 1947, pursuant to the provisions of Section 18 of the Corporation Law, Act 1459, as amended, and attached to the other papers pertaining to said Corporation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this Commission to be affixed at Manila, Philippines, this 20th day of September, in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic of the Philippines, the second.

(Sgd.) FILEMON COSIO
Commissioner

ASN/cse

PRAYERS AND HYMNS OF THE BATHALISMO (INANG MAHIWAGA) Inc.[1]

PRAYERS

Oh Makapangyarigan at walang hanggang Bathala at Espiritung mang-aaliw na tumubos sa amin. Lingapin mo nawa ang aming mga panata at kaawaang tanggapin mo ang sacripisio na nakagagaling na alay na inihahandog namin sa iyong Kadakilaan sa karangalan ng pangalan ng Ama naming Rizal na Kristo ng Lahim Katagalugan. Upang sa pamamagitan ng iyong biyaya ng ipinagkaloob sa amin na makilala namin ang kaniyang paghihirap ng pagtubos dahil sa amin ay maging dapat na ang aming pangalan ay mapasulat sa kalangitan bilang tagapagmana naming iyong mga anak. Siya Nawa.[2]

. . . Ang Cristo ng katagalugan ay si Dr. Jose Rizal. Ang Panginoon ng lahat dito sa Sanglibutan. Hari ng mga Hari, Panginoon ng mga Panginoon. Sapagka't siya ang pinagkaloban ng banal na Tipan ng espiritu Santong Bathalang Maykapangyarihan. Sapagkat siya ay inilagak lamang sa magasawang Teodora Alonso at siya rin ang Espiritu ng Panginoon kung kaya gayon na lamang ang Pagibig sa mga anak ng Bayan. Kaya't sa ikapitong buhay ay hindi na mamamatay at itinitinding ang kaniyang kapangyarihan at maniningil sa mga sukaban na hindi lumingon sa lupang tinubuan at iyan din ang Inang pinanggalingan ng gatas na malapot na ikinabubuhay.[3]

Opening prayer at Baptism

Sa pangalan nang Amamitam Inamitam, Jesum Humium na kung papaanong tumanggap at napabinyag kay San Juan Bautista ang ating Amang mananakop ay gayon din ang bawat nilikha sa sanglibutan ito.[4]

PRAYERS

Oh All-powerful and eternal Bathala and Comforter who redeemed us. Harken unto, and answer, our pleas, and mercifully deign to accept our worthwhile sacrifice to your greatness in honor of our Father Rizal who is the Christ of the Tagalan race. So that with your grace given to us that we may know his sacrifice for our redemption may make us your children worthy heirs of heaven. Amen.

. . . Rizal is the Christ of the Tagalog region. The Lord of the whole universe. King of Kings, Lord of Lords. Because the Almighty Bathala gave unto him the Holy Writ of the Holy Spirit. Because of His great love for the children of the country, the Holy Spirit decreed that Teodora Alonso should conceive him. Thus in the seventh life he will no longer die and he shall bring about his power and shall ask for the payment of the greed of those who ignore the gratitude of the motherland who is also the mother from whom comes our very life.

In the name of Amammitam Inamitam, Jesum Himium who received baptism at the hands of St. John the Baptist and our Lord Redeemer so also with every creature in this universe.

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[1] These prayers and hymns are taken from the book, BATHALISMO (Inang Mahiwaga), n.p., n.d. Footnotes will carry page citations from this said book.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

Addenda of Prayers of the *Bathalismo*

BASBAS, O, KUMPIL [5]

Sumaatin ang Pangalang ng Dakilang lumikha ng Sanglibutan.

Lumiwanag sa inyo ang Espiritu ng Kabanalan. Siya Nawa.

Ang Espiritu ng Pagkakawanggawa ng Katotohanan at ng KATUWIRAN ay sumainyo. Siya Nawa.

Ang Espiritu ng Karunungan at Kabaitan. Siya Nawa.

Ang Espiritu ng Pagpapakasakit at Pagtitiis. Siya Nawa.

CONFIRMATION

May the Name of the Great creator of the universe descend upon us.

May the Spirit of Holiness shine upon you. So be it.

May the Spirit of Charity and of Truth and of REASON descend upon you. So be it.

The Spirit of Wisdom and Goodness. So be it.

The Spirit of sacrifice and of suffering. So be it.

PANALANGIN [6]

Gawin mo OH! Panginoon na ang banal mo pong Kasulatan, o, mga aral ay aming matutuhan ang pagkamaawain mo ayon sa iyong pagka-amang mairugin at gayon din naman sa aming mga maliliit na mga anak na tunay na aming mga kapatid sa mga ikaliligtas alinsunod sa kasaysayan ng iyong mga aklat ng maukit sa kanilang puso, OH! Panginoon ng Cruz ng aming Pagka-kristiano na siyang tanging hiyas upang kanilang matutuhan ang pagdadalang lubos ng karangalan at Pagsalangsang sa mga hidwa nilang Kabuhayan, at upang matuklasan nila ang kaligayahang walang hanggan. Na siyang ipagbabago ng kanilang kabuhayan upang sa pakikipagsapalaran sa buhay, sa hidwang dadaanan at mga dawag ay tamuhin ng inyong Kaluwalhatian. Siya Nawa.

Kinukurusan kita, o, (kayo) ng banal na Lana At kinukumpilan kita, o, (kayo) sa pangalan nang ating Panginoong Jesucristo ng walang hanggang Biyaya ng walang hanggang Kapangyarihan ng Amang Mahabagin at ang pagpapala ng Espiritu Santo na siyang sumainyo ngayon at magpasa-walang hanggan. Siya Nawa.

PRAYER

Deign, Oh Lord, that your holy Writ, or the teachings that we have learned from your mercy according to your loving Fatherhood and also that our little children who are truly our brethren to save according to the story of your book may be engraved in their hearts, Oh, Lord, the Cross of our Christianity may become as jewels that they may learn to uphold honor and to combat the evil manner of their living, and that they may obtain eternal joy. That he may begin a new life that in the fight during life, along the evil way and amongst the evil they obtain your Glory. Amen.

I sign you with the Cross of the Holy oil and confirm you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ of endless grace of the Eternal Power of the Merciful Father and the blessing of the Holy Spirit which descends upon you now and forever. So be it.

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5 *Bathalismo*, p. 60.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

PANALANGIN SA KASAL[7]

OH! Bathala lumikha at nagiingat ng Sangkatauhang ipinagkaloob mo sa lalaki ang babae upang maging kasama sa aliw at katulong na hindi mawawalay sa kaniya. Itinuro mo na magmahalan tulad sa isang katawan na kailan man ay hindi mabuti ang magkahiwalay. Oh! Bathala na lumalang nang pagaasawa, o, Matrimonio upang magparami ng tao. Iniibig mo na ang babae ay sumalalaki. Tingnan mo na nga itong iyong mga lingkod at iyong ampunin upang ang mga pananim na ipinatong sa mga balikat nilang pagibig at katahimikan. Oh Bathala itulad mo sila sa mga banal, malinis, mapagtapat maibigan sa asaw at banal na Ina, iligtas mo ang mga anak at kasambahay sapagkat sa ganito lamang masusundan ang katiwasayan ng kanilang kamaganakan. Ipahintulot na sa kanilang magasawa sa kanilang lahi na datnin ang katahimikan at masayang katandaan. Siya Nawa.

PRAYER FOR MATRIMONY

Oh Bathala, creator and sustainer of the Universe; who intended that man and woman may be together in joy and that they may help each other as lifetime partners. Teach them to love each other as one that at no time is it good to be estranged from each other. Oh Bathala, who instituted marriage, or matrimony to increase mankind. It is your will that woman must belong to man. Look at these your servants and adopt them so that their vegetation placed on their shoulders may give them love and peace. Oh Bathala, make them as the holy, pure, trustworthy and loving wife and holy mother; safeguard your children and this couple because only in this manner can they follow the peace of their relationship. Grant that peace and happy old age may come to them and to their progeny. So be it.

BAGO BENDISIONAN

OH! BATHALA si Adan at si Eva at ang Sangkatauhan idinadalangin namin na yayamang pinagisang katawan mo itong iyong mga anak. Pagkalooban mo ng mapalad na pagkakaisa at kabanalan upang ang anak ay maging palaring magkamit ng iyong mahal na awa. Tulungan mo sa pagtataguyod ng kanilang mga tungkulin at mapaglabanan ang mga tukso. Mangagibigan at manirahan sa katahimikan at kasaganaan. Magkaisang tumupad nang iyong mga banal na kautusan.

BEFORE THE BLESSING

Oh Bathala, Adam and Eve and mankind, we pray that these your children whom you made as one may obtain riches. Grant them a fortunate union and holiness that the children may be as fortunate who will obtain your beloved mercy. Help them defend their rights and to fight temptations. That they may love each other and live in the midst of peace and prosperity. That they may be one in fulfilling your holy commandments. So be it.

II

BATIS BALUB FILIUM EN UM PARADISO HUM MEYOM AMAMEAM DOMINUM CRISTUM DEUS MEUS DOMINOS (Crusante Pater et Pater) SIYA NAWA.[8]

II

BATIS BALUB FILIUM EN UM PARADISO HUM MEYOM AMAMEAM DOMINUM CRISTUM DEUS MEUS DOMINOS (Crusante Pater et Pater) So be it.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

III

Panalangin [9]

OBRAIL CUATRO PILARES MIL DEME ALMA DEME CORAZON VIRGUM CRUZI CELELETARE HEME HEME AIT SUM AIT DELEDER AIT DOMINOM BENE BENE BEDOM BENE BENE LEKA AYP DOM EGUSUM MEYOM PEDEROM BENEDICTOM BENEDEC AMEN BENEDEC EGUSUM EGOSUM BECOBE CERYON PERYON BENEDICTOM BENEDEC AMEN BENEDEC EGUSUM CERYOM PELLABE DELOBO AYP DE ALMANADO CERYOM GUEL GUIRIT MILLONES MILLONEROS SEKGUE.

HYMNS

from *Nunong Noe* [10]

Ng si Rizal naman lumitaw sa mundo
Hindi rin kinilala ng lahat ng tao
Dinusta ng lahat minurang tutuo
Nagbabala siya para din si Kristo.

from *Amang Bathala*

At si Jose Rizal ikapitong pangkat
Na iginagalang Bansang Filipinas
Hinalukay niya ang utos na lahat
Sa Santa Doctrina at lagay ng sulat

Hindi rin nakita nitong ikapito
Boong kautusan ng Poong si Kristo
Siya'y nanalangin huminging saklolo
Ng makaaninaw ang lahat ng tao

Ang hirap ni Burgos at hirap ni Rizal
Ay dito nangyari sa katagalugan
Binitay si Burgos binaril si Rizal
Tinanggap na lahat at walang sinuway.

III

Prayer

OBRAIL CUATRO PILARES MIL DEME ALMA DEME CORAZON VIRGUM CRUZI CELELETARE HEME HEME AIT SUM AIT DELEDER AIT DOMINOM BENE BENE BEDOM BENE BENE LEKA AYP DOM EGUSUM MEYOM PEDEROM BENEDICTOM BENEDEC AMEN BENEDEC EGUSUM EGOSUM BECOBE CERYON PERYON BENEDICTOM BENEDEC AMEN BENEDEC EGUSUM CERYOM PELLABE DELOBO AYP DE ALMANADO CERYOM GUEL GUIRIT MILLONES MILLONEROS SEKGUE.

HYMNS

from *Noe*

When Rizal came to the world
All men recognized him not
He was truly scorned and slighted
He was threatened as Christ.

from *Father Bathala*

And Jose Rizal was the seventh group
Which the Philippine nation revered
He pored over the commands of everyone
In Holy Doctrine and holy writ.

This seven did not see
All the commandments of the Lord Christ
He prayed asking for help
To see through all men.

The sufferings of Burgos and the sufferings of Rizal
Occurred here in the Tagalan region
Burgos was hanged, Rizal was shot
They accepted their lot with nary a protest.

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[10] Ibid., p. 72.

Di baga maraming bayani sa mundo
Lumitaw humanap sa utos ng Kristo
Walang nakakita kahiman at sino
Kundi si Rizal naglibot sa Mundo.[11]

Is it not a fact that there are
many heroes in the world
Who came looking for the
commandments of Christ
No one even saw
Except Rizal who travelled around
the world.

Dapat na isipin ninyong kalahatan
Ang lahat kong sabi iyong tatandaan
Kayong nakakuha ng binhi kay Rizal
Kay Rizal din naman kayo mamatay.[12]

All of you must ponder on
And remember everything I said
You who received the seed of Rizal
You will also die in Rizal.

from *Simbahang Filipina*[13]

Kung gayon ay aba tayo
Lumakad na pasa Templo
Magpasiat managano
Sa Amang Rizal na Santo.

Kaya nga't aba tayo na
Lumakad na para para
Tayo ay magsama sama
Na sa kaniya'y pagkita

Mga kasama ko't giliw
Tayo'y lumakad na tambing
Pilitin nating hanapin
Si Rizal na maluningning.

from *Philippine Church*

If that is so, we are humble
Let us walk to the Temple
Let us render homage
To the saintly Father Rizal.

So that's why we are already humble
Let us walk together
Let us be united
Before his sight.

My dear brethren
Let us walk leisurely
Let us force ourselves to find
The brilliant Rizal.

from *Jose Jesus at Jehovas*[14]

Jose Rizal kang pinatay
Pagtubos sa kaalipinan
Bayani ka nga pong tunay
Kristo gn KABANTUGAN

Jose Jesus at Jehova
Kayong tatlo ay iisa
Ngala'y pinaibaiba
Upang hindi makilala

Jehova Jesus at Jose
Lumalang ng Buong Orbe
Bathalang makalawingi
Huwag mo po kaming iwaksi

Pinupuri kang walang tahan
Ng iyong mga hinirang
Amin pong inaasahan.

from *Jose Jesus and Jehovah*

You, Jose Rizal, were killed
In your redemption of our ensalvement
You are truly a hero
The Christ of Greatness

Jose Jesus and Jehovah
You three are one
Only you were differentiated
So you may not be recognized.

Jehovah Jesus and Jose
The Creator of the whole world
The Bathala, our protector,
Deign not to forsake us.

We esteem you beyond measure
Those which you have chosen
We keenly await.

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

from *Reyna ng Langit* [15]

Sa Reyna ng Langit
Na walang katulad
Pinopoon namin
Mistulang Busilak

Tugtugin ang Alpa
Putungan ng Rosas
Noo ng Mahal na Ina
Walang pagkupas

Aba Bunying Virgen
Sa langit ay ilaw
Maganda at maningning
Daig pay ang araw

Na sa Mundong Dagat
Ng kapighatian
Ikaw po ang siyang
Bituing sumilang

from *Queen of Heaven*

We idolize
The Queen of Heaven
Beyond compare
Likened to a cloud.

Pluck the harp
Crown with roses
The forehead of the Blessed Mother
Without fading.

The humble, glorified Virgin
Light of the heavens
Beautiful and brilliant
More glorious than the sun.

In the world and in the seas
Of sorrow
You are the star
Which arose from them.

from "SALMOS" [16]

Mater Purisima Mater Gratiam
Lusi Libradmi Ina ng kabanalan
Pinupuri nami't pinasasalamatan
Maawaing Ina at Reynang marangal.

Aleluya Aleluya purihing walang hanggan
Kataas-taasang Hari at Emperadora
Alang-alang na po sa Cetro't Corona

Rex Ati Angeli Propeta Patriarka.

from *Psalms*

Mater Purisima Mater Gratiam
Lusi Libradmi Mother of holiness
We venerate and give our thanks
To the merciful Mother and revered Queen.

Allelujah Allelujah honor unceasingly

The highest Queen and Empress
In memory of the Sceptre and the Crown

Rex Ati angeli Propeta Patriarka.

from "SALMOS" [17]

Inang Virheng masaklolo
Ina ng Divino Verbo
Kami pong mga anak mo
Sukuban ng iyong Manto.

At kung kami masukuban
Ng manto mo Inang mahal
Liliwanag ang isipan
Sa pagbabago ng buhay.

Kung lumiwanag na ang isip
Kaming lahat na magkakapatid
Magpupuri't magaawit
Sa hari ng lupa at langit.

from *Psalms*

Virgin Mother of succour
Mother of the Divine Word
Enfold us, your children,
With your mantle.

And when enfolded
With your mantle, dearest Mother,
Our minds will be made clearer
In order to change our lives.

And when the mind is at last clear
We all, brothers and sisters,
Shall honor and shall sing
To the king of heaven and earth.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[17] *Loc. cit.*, but this is from another hymn also entitled "SALMOS".

Magpupuri't magsasaya
Ang "BATHALISMO", o, Sta. Iglesia
Sa ngalan mo po Virheng Ina
Sa lupa't langit ay Reyna.

We shall happily honor
"Bathalismo" or Holy Church,
In your name, Virgin Mother,
Queen of heaven and earth.

from "SALMOS"[18]

Oh! Amang Bathalang Maykapangyarihan
Kaming mga anak mo ay nananawagan
Sa oras na ito kami po'y sukuban
Malabay mong pakpak at kapangyarihan.

At gayon din po naman Inomine Mater Tuam
Enbalioreyna Deing Kataas-taasan
Saclorode Saclorohore Deus Domine
Iligtas mo po kami Misererei.

. . .

Octeneyom Saludave Virgum Cruzi Celeletare
Rum Mater Mur Meom Salva mo Salva mi
Salvati Salvador Del Mundo
Iligtas mo po kami Amang Misererenobis.

from *PSALMS*

Oh, All-powerful Bathala

We your children call upon you

To enfold us in this hour
With your wide wings and power.

And thus Inomine Mater Tuam
Enbalioreyna Deing Greatest
Saclorode Saclorohore Deus Domine
Deliver us Misererei.

. . .

Octoneyom Saludave Virgum Cruzi Celeletare
Rum Mater Mur Meom Salva mo Salva mi
Salvati Salvador Del Mundo
Deliver us, Father Misererenobis.

BAYANG FILIPINA[19]

Oh bayan ko Filipinas magbangon ka
Hanapin sa ngayon ang pagkakaisa
Upang ang paglaya mithiin ng bawat isa
At sa atin nakikibata

Halina kayo mga kababayan
At ating itayo ang katuwiran
Upang makamit ang kalayaan

Kapayapaan, Kapayapaan
Mithiin namin, mithiin namin
Ayaw kami ng alipin
Mabuhay ang bayan natin Kapayapaan ay hanapin.

MOTHER PHILIPPINES

Oh, my country, the Philippines, arise
Seek now the unity
So that the freedom which everyone desires
And to each one of us who endure suffering.

Come, my countrymen,
And let us uphold reason
So that we may obtain freedom

Peace, Peace,
That is our desire, our desire,
We desire no ensalvement
Long live our country, let us seek Peace.

---

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

SA DULONG SILANGAN [20]

Sa dulong silangan
Mutyang pinapangarap
Katulad mo ay Reyna
Perlas ka sa dagat

Kayat naakit mo
Ang dayuhang lahat
Filipinas oh Bayan kong
Kulang palad

Oh Inang Bayang Filipinas
Nahahapis ako kung ikaw ay mamalas
Bakit ang mata mo'y may taling
lahat-lahat.

Halos bangkay kung aking malasin
Ang Inang Bayan lipos ng hilahil
Kaya Inang Bayang ginigiliw
Ang gapos mo'y aking kaka-lagin.

IN THE ORIENT

In the Orient
Muse of our dreams
You are as unto a Queen
You are the Pearl of the sea

Thus you attract
All the foreigners
Oh, my unfortunate country,
The Philippines.

Oh my mother country, the Philippines
I feel lonely when you behold
Why your eyes are darkened.

You are almost a corpse when
I gaze at you
Oh, Mother Country, filled with misery
That's why, beloved Mother Country
I will loosen the bonds which bind you.

---

[20] *Loc. cit.*

APPENDIX B

HYMNS AND PRAYERS OF THE "ADARNISTA" OR "IGLESIANG PILIPINA" SECT [1]

DESPENSA

I

Despensarenyo cacabsat dita sacop ti bianyo. Didacam babalawen tano siac ket rebbeng co diac masarkedanen ti sagabaen daytoy pusoc ta iyarig co ti Gloria toy balay nga ayantayo Gloria, Gloria cunac ti innac pangyarigan ti siodad ni Cresto nga mangisalacan masacsian diay langit nga linasudan diay init ken bulan nga iso silaw tayo aginganat ditay matay.

II

Daytoy pay langa langit ti awan pay mansana no dila betuwen ti adda nga naipinta ket sapay iti dios ket sapay cuma ta agnanayon to nga intay mai Gloria

III

Soldados cami iti cruz nga sumorsorot ken Jesus dicam agbuteng dicam agsanod ta iti nagan na cadacay iammoc Cacabosor nga nagcaado dicam aboteng nga sumango ta rigat tooc ibtorec ta ti Dois talecco

IV

Oh tomatayab nga adarna baletoc nga Incantadura a ma ingcanto amin tay agbuya biag nga agnanayon awan ti inggana.

V

Etin to di macalipat ti nagan na nga adarna bisin owao dinan to maric na inton oras ti aldaw nga casac bayan na.

EXCUSE

I

Excuse us, brethren. Don't blame us, for my part, I can't stand anymore what my heart suffers. For I would compare this house where we are to Glory. Glory, Glory, I say to compare the city of Christ, the Redeemer, who is in the heavens, where the sun and the moon are to be found; He is our light until we won't die (any longer).

II

This is the only heaven with no apple but only the star that is painted. May we all go to heaven.

III

We are soldiers of the cross who follow Jesus; We fear not, we falter not, because in his name, and we want it known to you, our many enemies, that we shall not fear to face hardship and suffering because in God we trust.

IV

Oh, Adarna bird, the golden enchanted one, who can enchant all those who see, life without end.

V

He who forgets not the name of *adarna,* will feel no hunger or thirst in the future.

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[1] Culled from a notebook which contains handwritten copies of hymns and prayers of the sect given to this writer by Alfredo Salvador, pastor of the *Iglesiang Pilipina* or the Adarnista sect, in an interview in Tagumbao, Gerona, Tarlak, April 28, 1960.

CARARAG

I

Eslacan nac apo dios cadaguiti iso amin nga cabosor toy bagic ti aglaw-law canyac adda cuma ti macanna-wanko ken macatiguid co acas maysa nga calasagco ti inaldaw ta igapom Apo ken Jesus nga anac mo nga apo Amen.

II

Agyamanac unay kenca apo ket diosco ta impalobos mo man apo nga nada-nonco daytoy nga uras castan tucad manin apo ti pannacadanonco ti rabii ken bigat nga agnanayon ta dinacam cad apo baybayan ta caasiam nacam cad amin apo nga sangcapada nga aga-ama, aguiina ken agcacabsat ket caasiam met amin apo daguiti partidoc ken caasiam met amin apo daguiti pa-dac nga tao ken daguiti gagayyem co nga nacautangac ti naimbag nga na-quem ken ayat.

III

Nangruna cad apo nga caasiam da-guiti bindita nga cararua ti intiro ti sangalubongan cararua pay met da-guiti natnatay nga awan ti basulna angelito ken angelita ket caasiam met daguiti balbalo ken ululila ken da-guiti adda pagladingetan na ited mo apo ti liwliwada daguiti adda nasac-saquitna paimbagem met amin Apo ida ta caasida tapno macapagsirbi da met kenca dacayo met a sasanto ken santa sadilanget ken ditoy daga nang-runa cayo nga debotos ken dibota oh santo angel nga casigod co santa nga casangayco dacay ti sariquedqued ken bantay co dicay cad ipalobos apo nga macaasedeg canyacon daguiti daques nga espiritu yadayo ida ta nalawa toy lubong nga papananda sica met inami a daga a manaptapaya cadacam day-daywaen daca oh ina ta sica ina ti naggapuan mi sica met laeng ti tung-palmi sica oh ina ti pagapuan ti agsirbi cadacami canen mi ken sidami ken lu-pot sica laeng oh ina nga maymaysa

PRAYER

I

Deign to protect me, Oh God, from all the enemies of my body, and those in my surroundings; may You be in my right and in my left; may you be my strength daily, through the merits of the Lord Jesus, Your Son. Amen.

II

I thank You, my lord and my God, for letting me reach this hour; May it also be thus, Lord, for me to reach night and morning everlasting, so you would not let us alone, and may You shower Your mercy upon our family, and also be merciful unto my brethren and also upon my fellowmen and upon all my friends and benefactors.

III

Especially, Lord, have mercy upon the blessed souls of the entire world, also the souls of the dead who left this world without sin, the angels; have mercy also upon the widows and the orphans; console the afflicted, and give health to those who are sick so that they can serve You; and you, saints of heaven and of the earth, especially those devoted, Oh holy guardian angel, my holy patron, you are my strength and my guardian, deign not to let the bad spirits come near me; bring them away inasmuch as this world is wide into which they may roam; and you, our mother earth, sustain us; we re-vere you, oh mother, because you are the mother from whence we come and you also are our end; you, oh mother, are the source of our sustenance, our food and our clothing; You alone, oh mother, carried all that is in this wide world, deign that we be not hungry; oh mother, when we are lazy to go looking for food, we shall then be

ti nagamit ken nagcarga ti iso met nga adda ditoy lubong nga nalawa dicaman ipalobos ina nga mabisbisinan conamiman oh inano nasadut cam nga mapan agala capilitan nga mabisinancami ta dica met yawaten cadacami ngem iti cad dawdawatec kenca oh ina tulongan nacami tapno busogen nacami ti santa nga gracia nga quired ti bagui ken cararuami mangan camiman ken saan no awanto ti canenmi dicamin tulacoma mabisbisinanen di nacam dusaen oh inami ita naiduma unay nga panagluclucsaomo ket dinacam met ucumen ita naiduma unay nga panagpongtotmo ta dicaman ina paganano daguiti adu nga quita ti quina magbasol daguiti anac mo no diket iti talyawen kenca ilalaem daguiti ado nga rigrigat ti bogbogtong nga anac mo, dicamet ipalobos ina nga maabac cami ti paggubatan ta igapom apo iti santa nga cruz nga awawiten mi nga nacaisoratan ti napateg nga nagan ni Jesus nga ari ti intero ti sangalubongan bandira ken estandarti igam mi met nga maicari panagbotngan panglisi cadaguiti dimonyo nga mangriri ta daytan tula panangisarang mi dagus danto langa umadayo agsipod ta pannacabalinmo nga itedmo nga tulong cadacami ta iccatem ti sipod na ken gapo ti nacabasolanmi kenca ken casta met ti capada mi nga tao ta laglaguipem Apo laglaguepem diosco ti binalicas ti napateg nga bibigmo nga ti umawag kenca isa lacan mo ti mamati kenca iso ti taraonam bitibiten nacam ita imam a macanawan mo ti quinalinteg ket dayta met imam a macatiguid mo ti agnanayon amang bitibit cadacami nga mangiragpat ita ingca insagana nga balay nga balitoc nga ingcam pagtitiponan nga ingcam pagraragsacan nga iso ti gloria nga biag nga agnanayon awan ti ingana sapay cuma.

forced to be hungry because then you would not just hand in to us (the food); but may we ask you, oh mother, to help us so that we may be made full by your holy grace which is the strength of our body and soul; even though we may eat or not when food we have not; may we not be made hungry; punish us not, oh mother, because yours is an unusual anger, and judge us not by your extraordinary anger, because you would not have anything to do with the many kinds of sin of your children, but deign to direct your gaze on them because of the many sufferings of your only Son; let us not, oh Mother, be conquered in the field of battle due to the merits of the holy cross which we carry and upon which is written the dear name of Jesus who is king of the whole world; our standard and our weapon, and which causes the fear of the demons which trouble us, because only when we confront them with it, shall they immediately go away because of your power which you gave to us as aid, because you take away the cause of our sin against You, and also of the sins of our fellowmen; remember, oh Lord and God, what you have said when you said that you would save those who call on you, who believe in you, you shall give him food, may your right hand guide us into the path of righteousness and may your left hand be always our guide to reach the house of gold which you have prepared for us and in which we shall be united and where we shall enjoy the glory of life everlasting. Amen.

DR. JOSE RIZAL

Dayawentay nga siraragsac
Ni Jose Rizal nga napnowaan ti gasat
Agyaman tay nga di agrissat
Ken Jose Rizal a nanobbot toy Filipinas
Ni Rizal idi ubing capay nga bassit
nga maladaga
Idi damdamo ti agbasa
Iti saririt mo ket nagwarnosda
Ket daguiti tao nagsidsidawan daca
Oh Rizal nga agparongbo ti kina
singpet ken kina anosmo
Ta inted ken inyawatmo
Dayta baguim cararwam
cadaguiti cabosormo.

DR. JOSE RIZAL

Let us respect joyfully
Jose Rizal full of luck
Let us thank unceasingly
Jose Rizal, the saviour of the Philippines.
Rizal, when yet a little child,
when first you began to read
your wisdom was made known far and wide
and the people were amazed at you
Oh Rizal, they were amazed at
your piety and your patience.
Because you offered
your body and your soul
to your enemy.

NI JESUS

Ni Jesus idiay langit
Napan innatayisaganaan
Ti nasayacsac nga lugar
ket saquit sadiay awan

Eti daytoy nga lugar
Awanto ti iti patay
Sang-sangit taraon ti bingay
Ragsac talna omapay

Esonto ti nasayacsac
Ta ruangan nanto pirlas
Balitoc pay nga nasilap
Daguiti calcalsadas

Ruangan nanto maloctan
Nga awan iti sarday
Ti danom pay nga pagbiagan
Ket agayos to pay sadiay

Ni Jesus asidegen
Nga umay natay alain
Dita lugar nga naraem
Daguiti nasingpeten

JESUS

Jesus went to heaven
To prepare for us
A happy place
Where disease is no more.

In this place
Death shall be no more
No cries and hunger
And joy and peace will reign

It will be a happy place
Its doors made of pearls
And of glittering gold
The roads will be

Its doors will be opened
Unceasingly
Life giving waters
Will flow from there unceasingly

Jesus is at hand
To come to fetch us
To bring us to that happy place
Of the just.

PARAISO

Oh paraiso nga cawesco
omayca itoy bangcayco
ta sica caniac di agdongdongngo
awan bisin quen owaoco

PARADISE

Oh paradise which is my garb,
come to this, my corpse,
because you value me
I no longer hunger nor thirst.

Olivete nga pagragragsacan
Ti dagop amin nga manongpal
maiccat ti guita ni patay

O tumatayab nga adarna
Balitoc nga incantadora
Sicat silaw ti gloria
Biag nga agnanayon awan ti inggana

INCAMIN

Incamin Oh ina mi
Oh ina nga mannangigaga
Nadongngo unay nga Vergen
Vergen Maria

Daguiti puspuso mi
Ibati mi quenca
Quet ta pamindession mo
Balonen mi met cuma.

NAGASAT

Nagasat daytoy nga balay
nga tinaudan ti bullalayaw
nga cassabong nga ingget lasbang
nga naiduma ti anaraar

Ni babai nga Candida
nga tomaytayab nga adarna
nga balitoc nga incatadura
Amaingcanto amin tay agbuya

Casagayayos nga diro
ken nabanglo nga sampaga
nga saysayupen daguiti tao
ket amen nga nasion agrocbab danto

Adda ayos nga mangsibog
ti nasudi nga ili ti dios
ayat ragsac nga di mabobos
ken agnanayon nga borayoc

Daytoy ayos nga masarita
Isot sao ti dios nga nangina
tured talna itden na
ti mangted pigsa toy cararua

Oray agdackel ti ririboc
Puso minto di agpolcoc
oray agdacquel ti allon
awanto boteng mi apolos

Olivete where all partake of joy
All those who follow (it)
The power of death is taken away

Oh Adarna bird
the golden enchantress
You are the light of glory
Life everlasting, without end.

GOODBYE

Goodbye, O our mother,
Oh Mother, who cares for us,
The most loving Virgin
Virgin Mary.

We leave our hearts
To you
And may we bring with us
Your blessing.

LUCKY

Lucky is this house
From which a rainbow originated
Which is unto a fragrant flower
fairer than the rays.

The lady Candida
the bird Adarna
the golden enchantress
which enchants all those who witness her.

As unto a river of honey
and the fragrant *sampaga* flower
whose perfume the people inhale
and all the nations will honor her

There is a spring which will water
the beautiful town of God
unending love and joy
and everlasting spring

This spring which is mentioned
is the precious word of God
It gives courage and peace
it gives strength to the soul

Even if the troubles increase
Our hearts wont be heavy
even if the waves are huge
we wont fear

Ta iti ari iso iti amac ta rina met iti inac ta napnuwanac ti gasat ta dongngo da ti malacamac	Because the king is my father and the queen is my mother because I am full of luck and I partake of their love
Silao na mangsilnag caniac kencuana di innac masarac ta ubbog na met anabiag ti macaagas toy cararuac.	Its light shines on me which I find in him and his life giving springs soothe my soul.
PILIPINAS	**PHILIPPINES**
Oh ama mi nga namarsua nga adda sadi Calamba toy pusoc yawatco kenca nagan mot dayawenda	Oh Our Father Creator Who is in Calamba My heart I give unto you Your name they revere.
Dumtengen nga agturay daydi martir a naisagoday Dios ken tao ni Dr. Rizal mangagas a casiriban	He has come to reign The extraordinary martyr God and man is Dr. Rizal The wisest physician
Standarti nga agparang Victoria ni Dr. Rizal Iso ti Dios nga agturay nga ari ti sangalubungan . . .	A standard that appears the victory of Dr. Rizal He is the god who reigns the king of the whole world . . .
Viva, viva agvictoria ti kinatanoc a kinadiosna mangabac ti iglesia na ti amen a nacion ditoy daga.	Hail, hail, it will be victorious: his majesty, his divinity his church will win over all the nations on earth.
Cuyugen na camin to ina a dumatag ita altar na ni Dr. Rizal sadi Calamba Ama ti biag a natanoc.	You shall accompany us, mother, to approach his altar the altar of Dr. Rizal in Calamba Father of respectable life.

APPENDIX C

HYMNS AND PRAYERS OF THE "IGLESIA SAGRADA FILIFINA NG SINCO VUCALES Y VIRTUDES TIERRA SANTA DE JERUSALEM"[1]

AVE MARIA PURISEMA

Sagot: Simpicado conciveda
Sa capangyarihan at cabagcikan
ng apat na Personas
sa pangalan ng Dios ama
at ng Dios Ina at ng Dios anac
at Dios espirito santo
siya nawa amen Jesus.
Ave Kriste Jesukirste;
Dios meus Dios meus!
(4 bisis oolitin)
Santos Dios. Santos Purtis
Santos inmortales, meseririnobis
(4 bisis oolitin)
Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(4 bisis oolitin)
Santos Dios. Santos Purtis
Santos inmortales miseririnobes
(4 bisis oolitin)

Translation:

AVE MARIA PURISEMA

Answer: — Simpicado conciveda
With the powers and strength
of the four Persons
in the name of God the Father
and of God the Mother and of God the Son
and of the Holy Ghost
so be it, Amen Jesus.
Ave Kriste Jesukirste;
Dios meus Dios meus!
(repeat four times)
Santos Dios. Santos Purtis
Santos inmortales, meseririnobis
(repeat four times)
Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(repeat four times)

[1] Culled from a notebook containing prayers and hymns in handwritten form, given to the writer by Macario Mercado, present head of the sect, in an interview on Lechería Hill, Calamba, Laguna, 19 June 1960.

Santos Dios. Santos Purtis
Santos inmortales miseririnobes
(repeat four times)

VERDADERO DIOS

Verdadero Dios Luminde Dumene
Kaawae kame vergo Mater Kriste
kaawan mo pong; kami'y patawarin
sa nagawang sala, na muntit malake

nakilala ko po amang darakila
na linikha mo po ang langit at lupa
kame ang halamang inyong inadhika
bigyan ng pakultad upang sumalaya

sa awa mo po at tolong amuroso Padre
el ijo salvador quenki es el hombre
ijo enkarnatos viente y la madre
sa mahal mo pong tiyan si Kristoy eniwe

Pripictira minte, actros meternalis
sinpicatoribos libiranos acte
auxcillia mustre mag pa hang-gang langit
encarnatos ka po amang iniibig
Sinkarne me Padre me Fellios menikos.
sicolorom nostrom et in venerable
sextavos cualit austre mentame
Inang Santisima kamiy kaawai

Inaka po naming mga bininyagan
inaka po namin sa mundong ibabaw
inaka pong tunay sa langit na bayan
inaka pong wagas ng kaliwanagan

Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(4 bisis oolitin)

Inmortales misirerenovis
(4 bisis oolitin)

Ave Maria Puricima;
Sagot: Simpikado consivida
(4 bisis oolitin)

TRANSLATION:

VERDADERO DIOS

Verdadero Dios Luminde Dumene
Kaawae kame vergo Mater Kriste
have mercy on us; forgive us
our sins, venial or mortal.
We know, Great Father,
that you created heaven and earth
we are the garden which you take care of
give us faculties to be free

In your mercy and help, loving Father
elijo salvador quenki es el hombre
in your precious bosom was Christ cared for

Pripictira minte, actos meternalis
sinpicatoribos libiranos acte
auxcillia mustre until heaven
you are incarnated, our beloved Father,

Sinkarne me Padre me Fellios menikos
sicolorom nostrom et in venerable
sextavos cualit austre mentame
Most Holy Mother, they're our enemies
You are our Mother, we the baptized ones
You are our Mother on earth
You are truly a Mother in the heavenly home
You are a Mother of complete enlightenment

Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(repeat four times)

Inmortales misirerenovis
(repeat four times)

Ave Maria Puricima;
Answer: Simpikado consivida
(repeat four times)

AMANG BATHALA

Oh amang Bathala ama naming lahat
Sa langit at lupay, Dios na mataas
Kaming dumaraieng sa iyo'y natawag
ang mga awa moy ikaw poy mahabag

ikaw po ang siyang unang tinatawagan
ng lahat ng tao sa mundong ibabaw
ang bagsic mo po at taas ay walang kapantay
ikaw po ang amang kamulamulaan

Camiy bigyan mo ng kapahintolotan
Gumamit magwica ng mahal mong pangalan
mga pintong saray agad mong bubocsan
dahil sa pag-gamit ng santon Pangalan

di bagay wica mo maawaing ama
tuncol makaalam ng mahal mong ngalan
kong kahi may malaki ang pacacasala
ay lalong malaki ang pagpapacincia

ito ngay ang araw na kagalanggalang
ng pagkakatipon sa sankalangitan
at dito sa lupa ay gayon din naman
dapat na magsaya tayong kalahatan

koronat impirial kinohat dinala
ang karboncong bato ng tatlong maria
agad iniabot sa tatlong persona
siya magpuputong sa Vergin Maria Santisima

ng maputungan nay ng tatlong Persona
capa man at guinto sa angel na dala
sa pitong namakas iniabot niya
siyang mag lalagay pagcat siya pita
Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(4 bisis olitin)
Santos Deus, Santos Purtes Santos
Inmortales, may siririnovis
(4 bisis olitin)
Ave Maria Puricima
sagot: Simpicado consivida

TRANSLATION:

FATHER BATHALA

Oh Father Bathala, father of us all,
In the heaven and on earth, Oh God Most high
We suplicate and call on you
For your mercy; take pity on us.

You are the first one
whom people on earth calls on
your strictness and your majesty incomparable
You are the father of all

Grant unto us the permission
To use, to call on your precious name
Open unto us doors that are closed
Because of the use of your holy Name.

Did you not say, merciful father
that those who recognize your holy name
though their offense be grave
your patience with them would be great.

This is the most respectable day
the whole of heaven brought together
and here on earth the same thing happens
and we must all be happy.

The imperial crown was taken and sent
The precious stones of the three Marys
Was given to the three persons
With which to crown the Most Holy Virgin Mary

When already crowned by the three Persons
the cape and gold which the angel brought
and given to the seven who saw
It was he who placed it
because he was most desired (to do so)
Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(repeat four times)
Santos Deus, Santos Purtes Santos
Inmortales, may siririnovis
(repeat four times)
Ave Maria Puricima
answer: Simpicado consivida

INANG ESPANIA

Oh inang Espania'y humihinging tawad
Kaming Pilipino na inyong inanac
sa panahon ngayon kami'y tumutopad
at nagsasarili nay itong Pilipinas

Kamiy nag pupuri inang Panginoon
Kaming Pilipinoy natupad na ngayon
ang armada namin si Jesus na poon
ipakikilala sa lahat ng nacion

Ang bandera namin ang amang lumalang
na sa boong mundo ay iguinagalang
may tatlong bitwin na nagkinangkinang
at sa guitna nitoy mahalagana araw

ang sandata namin ang santo at santa
ang divoto namin apat na persona
viva po kay ama at viba po kay ina
at viba po sa ating Bayan Pilipina

kaya ang wica coy mga kababayan
dapat intindihin ng pusong may damdam
bayang tierra santa sadyang inilaan
sa nagsisitupad inanac ni Adan

di bagay maraming bayani sa mundo
lumitaw humanap ng utos ni Kristo
walang nakakita kahiman at sino
cong hinde si Rizal naglibot ng mundo

at si Jose Rizal ikapitong pangcat
na iguinagalang bayang Pilipinas
hinalongcat niya ang utos na lahat
sa santa doctrina at leye ng sulat.

sapagca at siya'y hustong ikapito
tumimbang sa bilang at grado ng mundo
at gayon din naman ang grado ng tao
bininya-gat hinde mga catulico

ang hirap ni Borgos at hirap ni Rizal
ay dito nangyari sa catagalogan
Binitay si Borgos binaril si Rizal
tinangap na lahat hinde senuay

at katawan guinawang dantayan
na muhunan siya pitong kamatayan
libac at pagcutya ay gayon din naman
ipinakikilala itong cautusan

sa pagca-at siyay tunay na naghirap
at ang canyang buhay ay dito nautas
sampung kabuhayay nag kawatac-watac
dahil sa pagusig tunay na liwanag

At biva cay Borgos, at biva cay Rizal.
at biva sa ating bayang tinobuan
bivang hogpong hogpong bivang walang humpay
at biva sa ating tierra santang Bayang.
May pasa walang hang-gan

Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(4 bisis olitin)

Santos Deus, Santos purtes, santos
inmortales maysirerenovis
(4 bisis olitin)

Ave Maria purisima
Sagot: Cimpicado concivida

TRANSLATION:

MOTHER SPAIN

Oh Mother Spain, we Filipinos born of you,
ask for forgiveness
In these years are already fulfilled
and the Philippines is already independent.

We honor, Oh Queen-Mother,
We Filipinos have already fulfilled
And our army led by the Lord Jesus
is known to all nations.

Our banner, Oh Father Creator,
which is respected by the whole world
has three brilliant stars
and amidst them, the precious sun.

Our weapon, the saints
We are devoted to the four persons
hail to the father
hail to the mother
and hail also to the Philippines.

that's why I say, my countrymen,
we must understand the heart with feeling
intended for the holy land
for those followers, children of Adam

Is it not a fact that there are many heroes in the world [2]
who came looking for the commandments of Christ
No one even saw
Except Rizal who travelled around the world.

And Jose Rizal was the seventh group [3]
which the Philippine nation revered
he pored over the commands of everyone
in holy doctrine and holy writ.

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[2] This is actually the fourth stanza of the hymn, "Amang Bathala" of the *Bathalismo* sect. Cf. "Prayers and Hymns" of the said sect.

[3] This is the first stanza of the hymn mentioned above.

Because he is really the seventh
to balance the number and grade of the world
and this also the grade of man
he was baptized non-Catholic

The sufferings of Burgos and the sufferings of Rizal [4]
Occurred here in the Tagalan region
Burgos was hanged, Rizal was shot
They accepted their lot with nary a protest.

And the body was made to lean on
he capitalized on the seven deaths
he was defamed and slandered (as he is) even now
these orders are made known.

because he truly suffered
and his life was ended here
ten lives were shattered
because of his search of the true light

And hail to Burgos, and hail to Rizal.
and hail to the land of our birth
all hail without end, all hail unceasingly
and hail to our country and holy land.
Forever and ever.

Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(repeat four times)

Santos Deus, Santos purtes, santos
inmortales maysirerenovis
(repeat four times)

Ave Maria purisima
Answer: Cimpicado concivida

ANG AMA NAMIN

Ama namin sumasalangit ca
mapasa amin ang awa mo, sumasampalataya
po naman kami, at nagpupuri sa mahal
pong pangalan, nakahi manawari poy mapakisonod
at mapakisama po kami, sa mga santos arcangeles
na nag pupuri po sainyo!

Sagot: gawaran mo na po kami ng kamahal-mahalan
mo pong santong bindicion, santong capayapaan,
na mapagbigay biyaya, laganapin mo na po sa araw,
at gabi, ang ikinabubuhay ng aming calulua at catawan
dito sa lupang ibabaw, at iligtas mo kami sa tukso
at sa dilang masasama. Siya nawa.

Panginoon naming lahat, nag katawa tao
siya nilalang ng Poong Dios Espirito, Santo, nanaog
ca po dito sa mundo; na kipanayam ca po sa amin,
tinobos mo po kami sa kaalipinan, namuhunan ca po

[4] This is the third stanza of the hymn mentioned above.

ng di gagaanong hirap, puyat, gutom, sampung uhaw, tiniis mo po ang lahat ng bagay, upang kami poy maligtas sa dusang walang hang-gan.

Sumasampalataya po naman aco sa mahal na poong Dios Espirito na lumiliwanag at pumapatnogot, at nagaakay sa aming lahat, na may casamahan ng mga santos at santang nakawawala ng casalanan ng mga nabubuhay na tao at may buhay na walang hang-gan. Siya nawa.

Translation:

THE OUR FATHER

Our Father, who are in heaven, may your mercy descend upon us; we believe in, and we reverence your holy name, may we follow and belong to the company of the holy archangels who shall reverence you.

Answer: Bestow upon us your most blessed and holy benediction, holy peace, that gives mercy, grant unto us, night and day, the livelihood of our soul and body here on earth, and defend us from temptation and the evil tongue. So be it.

Oh Lord of us all, who assumed the body of man, created by the Lord God the Holy Spirit, you came down to this earth; you mixed with us, stayed amidst us, you saved us from enslavement, you suffered great hardship, sleeplessness, hunger, thirst; you suffered all things, that we may be saved from eternal damnation.

I believe in the Lord God the Spirit who gives light and who directs, and leads us all, who have for company the saints and the sinless persons alive and who will have everlasting life. So be it.

BULAKLAK NG ROSARIO

Oh Bulaclac ng Rosario sa halamanan ng misterio
Virgen sa langit ca poy sumamiyo, sa
amin poy iyong dapyo.
Sagot: Oh Bulaclac ng liwanag, Virgen sa calangitan
ka poy sumikat, saiyo po kamiy tumawag
Patawarin mo po kaming lahat.

Ave Maria Puricima
Sagot: Cimpicado consivida

Kriye eleson kriste eleson
(4 na bisis olitin)

Santos Deus, santos Purtes santos
inmurtales, maysiririnovis
(4 na bisis olitin)

TRANSLATION:

FLOWER OF THE ROSARY

Oh Flower of the Rosary, in the garden of
mystery; Virgin, heaven is yours
give it unto us also.

Answer: Oh Flower of light, Virgin who shines
in the heavens, we call on you
Forgive us all.

Ave Maria Puricima
Answer: Cimpicado consivida

Kirye eleson kriste eleson
(repeat four times)

Santos Deus, santos Purtes santos
inmurtales, maysiririnovis
(repeat four times)

BAYANG PINILI

Bayang pinili mo upang paglagakan
ng Banal na Lupa na Kagalang-galang
Lupang inilihim malaong na naparam
ngayon ay sa hiwaga natagpuan

Paghanapin nating lahat
ang Paraisong inilihim
doon ay walang gutom, at walang uhaw
doon ay walang dilim, at kalungcutan
doon ay lubusang kaliwanagan
si Jesus ang siyang laguing tinatawagan.

TRANSLATION:

CHOSEN COUNTRY

Land which you chose so it may be a depository
of the most respected and holy land
secret country which had been forgotten long ago
now the mystery has been discovered.

Let us all look for
the hidden Paradise
there is no hunger there, no thirst
there is no darkness, no sorrow
there is always brilliant light
Jesus is unceasingly invoked.

APPENDIX D

DOCUMENTS,
PRAYERS AND HYMNS OF THE "WATAWAT NG LAHI" SECT
ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE"

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

1. That the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" is a religious organization which was founded and organized in the Barrio of Lecheria, Municipality of Calamba, Province of Laguna, since the year 1941;

2. That by a vote of at least two-thirds (2/3) of the members of the said religious organization, in a meeting held in the Barrio of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 19, 1944, the incorporation of the said religious organization in accordance with the Corporation Law of the Philippines was unanimously approved;

3. That the principal aims and purposes of the said religious organization are as follows:

(a) To love and serve the Lord God, our fellowmen and our native land;

(b) To unite, cooperate and mutually help each other for the common benefit and welfare of the members and of the community in which they live; and,

(c) To respect and obey the existing laws and the constituted authorities.

4. That the incorporation of this "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" is not forbidden by competent authorities, or by the constitution, rules, regulation and discipline of the said organization;

5. That the religious organization of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" desires to incorporate itself for the administration of its temporalities or the management of its properties or estates;

6. That the place where the principal office of the corporation is to be established and located is in the Barrio of Lecheria, Municipality of Calamba, Province of Laguna;

7. That the names and residences of the board of directors elected by the members of the said religious organization, the registration of which is hereby sought, to serve as long as they live in accordance with the by-laws of the organization, are as follows:

Name	*Residence*
Jose B. Baricanosa	Calamba, Laguna
Rosendo E. Salgado	" "

Alfredo E. Benedicto	Calamba, Laguna
Gaudioso Parabuac	" "
Jovito E. Salgado	" "
Eleuterio San Pedro	" "
Lorenzo Ibuan	" "
Felisa Ocdamia	" "
Trinidad Banatin	" "

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, JOSE B. BARICANOSA, Presiding Elder of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE" do hereby certify under oath that the foregoing articles of incorporation are true and correct as the express will of the members of the organization.

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA

Subscribed and sworn to before me this — 29th — day of May, 1944. Affiant exhibited to me his Residence Certificate No. A-0648656, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on January 10, 1944.

(SGD.) BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
My commission expires
on Dec. 31, 1945.

Doc. No. 391
Page No. 80
Book No. II
Series of 1944.

A-F-F-I-D-A-V-I-T

I, JOSE B. BARCANOSA, Presiding Elder of the "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE," a religious organization with followers from various parts of the Philippines, upon oath, states that in a meeting of the members of the said organization in Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, on May 19, 1944, wherein over two-thirds (2/3) of all the members of the said organization were present, approved the incorporation of the said organization and the registration of the same in the Bureau of Commerce and Industries; that the affiant was, in said meeting elected Member of the Board of Directors together with Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, Eleuterio San Pedro, Lorenzo Ibuan, Feliza Cadamia, and Trinidad Banatin; that in a meeting of the members of the board of directors held in the same place on May 29, 1944, he was elected Presiding Elder and that Rosendo E. Salgado, Alfredo E. Benedicto, Gaudioso Parabuac, Jovito E. Salgado, and Miss Feliza Ocdamia, were elected Second Presiding Elder, Auditor and Legal Adviser, Spiritual Adviser, Secretary and Treasurer, respectively; that in the said meeting of the members of the association of May 19, 1944, about 160 members, representing at least 2/3 of the members of the said religious organization were present; and that affiant submits herewith a copy of the minutes of May 19, 1944, and of May 20, 1944, signed by the affiant, Jose B. Baricanosa and Jovita E. Salgado, Secretary.

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of May, 1944, in the City of Manila, Philippines, affiant exhibited to me his Residence Tax Certificate No. A-0648656 issued at Calamba, Laguna, on January 10, 1944.

(Sgd.) BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
My commission expires
on Dec. 31, 1945

Doc. No. 392
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No. 1267

Republika ng Pilipinas
Kagawarang-Bansa sa mga Suliraning Pangkabuhayan
KAWANIHAN NG PANGANGALAKAL AT HANAPBUHAY
Maynila

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME, GREETINGS:

WHEREAS, Articles of Incorporation duly signed and acknowledged for the organization of the CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE — Calamba, Laguna — under and in accordance with the provisions of Act of the Philippine Commission Numbered Fourteen hundred and fifty nine, enacted March first, nineteen hundred and six, as amended by Acts of the Philippine Legislature, Numbered Fifteen hundred and six, Fifteen hundred and sixty-five, Sixteen hundred and thirty, Seventeen hundred and forty-four, Eighteen hundred and thirty-four, Eighteen hundred and ninety-five, Twenty hundred and three, Twenty hundred and twelve, twenty hundred and thirty seven, Twenty hundred and ninety-two, twenty-one hundred, twenty-one hundred and thirty-five, Twenty-four hundred and fifty-two, Twenty-seven hundred and twenty-eight, Twenty-seven hundred and ninety-two, Twenty-nine hundred, Twenty-nine hundred and ninety-four, Thirty-five hundred and eighteen, Thirty-six hundred and ten, Thirty-seven hundred and forty-one, Thirty-eight hundred and forty-nine and Thirty-eight hundred and fifty, and Commonwealth Acts Numbered Two hundred and eighty-seven and Four hundred and thirty-seven, were presented for filing in this Bureau on May 29, 1944 and a copy of which said articles is hereto attached:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the powers and duties vested in me by law, I do hereby certify that the said Articles of Incorporation were duly registered in this Bureau of Commerce and Industries on the twenty-ninth day of May nineteen hundred and forty-four.

Doc. Stamp ₱0.20

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand at the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May nineteen hundred and forty-four.

(Sgd.) CORNELIO BALMACEDA
Director of Commerce and Industries

APPENDIX "B"

PATAKARAN NG IGLESIA NG WATAWAT NG LAHI, INC.

Ang Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, Inc., ay itinatag sa Nayon ng Lecheria, bayan ng Calamba, provincia ng Laguna, ngayon ika 20 ng buan ng Mayo ng taong 1944.

Kaming siyam na kagawad ng "Junta Directiva," na pinagkaisahang ilagay ng mga kasapi ng nasabing Iglesia ayon sa kapulungan ng pinagtibay ng ika 19 ng Mayo ng taong 1944, ay nagkaisang gumawa ng patakaran na siyang dapat sundin ng lahat ng kasapi.

1. Na ang unang patakaran na dapat sundin ng bawat kasapi ay ibigin ang Dios ng lalo sa lahat, ikalawa ibigin ang kapua tao para ng pagibig sa sarili at ang ika tatlo ay ibigin ang bayang tinubuan at buong pusong naglingkod sa bayan sa ika ayos, ika uunlad at ika papayapa ng bayan sa kabutihan.

2. Na kailangang sumunod, tumupad at igalang ang lahat ng batas ng pamahalaang "Republica Filipina," at tangkiliking ang mga kalahi. Ang Iglesia ay walang pananagutan sa sino mang kasapi na lalabag sa batas ng pamahalaan.

3. Na ang sino mang lalake, o babae na may 18 taong gulang na may matibay na pananampalataya sa Dios, manmalinis na pamumuhay, at may mabuting gawain at tatangaping kasapi ng Iglesia pagkatapos na masuri ng mga kagawad ng "Junta Directiva".

4. Na ang lahat ng kasapi sa Iglesia ay kailangang dumalo sa araw ng pagpupulong na itinakda ng "Junta Directiva"; matangi ang kasapi na may karandaman.

5. Ang lahat ng kasapi ay kailangang sumunod sa sampung utos ng Dios na nasa Santong Kasulatan, Biblia, na siyang saligang pinagbatayan ng Iglesia tungkol sa pananampalataya sa Dios, sa pagibig sa kapua tao at sa bayan.

6. Na kailangang magkaroon ng isang tunay na pagdadamayan, pagtatangkilikan at tunay na pagmamahalang parang magkakapatid ang lahat ng magkakasapi sa pag gawa ng pawang kabutihan sa ikauunlad ng Iglesia at ika papayapa ng bayan.

7. Kailangang igalang ang lahat ng mga matatanda at mga kababahian ng lahi at magkaroon ng isang tunay pagkakawang gawa sa lahat ng mga maralita ng nangangailangan ng tulong sa abut ng makakaya.

8. Na ang Iglesia ay walang karapatan humingi ng abuluyan sa mga kasapi matangi kung ang isang kasapi ay mamatay o may karamdaman na dapat abuluyan ng lahat ng kasapi ayon sa kanilang makakaya.

9. Na mahigpit na iipinagbabawal sa lahat ng kasapi ang anomang uri ng Juego, kagaya ng pagsusugal, sabong, mah-jong, kara y cruz, etc. at ipinagbabawal din ang nag sinungaling o maglilinglang sa kapua tao.

10. Na ang lahat ng patakaran na pinagkaisahan ng "Junta Directiva" na nabangit sa unang pahina ay kailangang isagawa ng buong puso, tiyaga, sikap at pagtitiis ng lahat ng kasapi.

At bilang katibayan sa mga patakarang binangit ay inilagda namin ang aming mga pangalan sa ibaba nito ng walang anomang pasubali.

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

(SGD.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

(SGD.) ROSENDO SALGADO
Board Member

(SGD.) ALFREDO E. BENEDICTO
Board Member

(SGD.) GAUDIOSO PARABUAC
Board Member

(SGD.) FELIZA OCDAMIA
Board Member

(SGD.) ELEUTERIO SAN PEDRO
Board Member

(SGD.) LORENZO IBUAN
Board Member

(SGD.) TRINIDAD BANATIN
Board Member

I HEREBY CERTIFY to the correctness of the above.

(SGD.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

TRANSLATION:

APPENDIX "B"

CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE, INC.

The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, Inc. (Church of the Banner, Inc.) was established in barrio Lecheria, town of Calamba, province of Laguna, now on the 20th of the month of May in the year 1944.

We the nine members of the Board of Directors, who were unanimously elected by the members of the said Church according to a meeting called on the 19th of May of the year 1944, were unanimous in adopting a constitution which all the members have to follow.

1. That the first principle which each member has to follow is to love God above everything; second, to love one's fellowman as one loves oneself; and third, to love one's motherland and to heartily serve the country towards order, progress and peace of the country in goodness.

2. That it is necessary to follow, to fulfill and to respect all the laws of the Republic of the Philippines, to protect one's countryman. The Church shall not be responsible to any member who breaks the law of the government.

3. That any man, or woman, eighteen years old, who has a strong faith in God, who leads a moral life, and who has a reputable livelihood may be taken in as member of the Church after he is investigated by the Board of Directors.

4. That each member of the Church has to attend the meetings prescribed by the Board of Directors; except for sufficient reason.

5. Each member has to follow the ten commandments of God to be found in Holy Writ, the Bible, which is the basis of the Church with regard to belief in God, and love of one's fellowman and country.

6. That it is necessary to have mutual sympathy and help, to patronize and to truly love each member as a brother in the exercise of charity for the progress of the Church and for the peace of the country.

7. The old and the women must be respected and true charity must be practised towards the poor and those in need within one's means.

8. That the Church has no right to ask for help from each member except when a member dies or is sick when all the members have to help him according to their means.

9. Gambling in all its forms, like games of chance, cock-fighting, mahjong, "kara y cruz," etc. is strictly prohibited of each member, as are also lying and deceiving one's fellowman.

10. That each principle approved by the Board of Directors referred to in the first page must be carried out wholeheartedly, patiently, persistently and assiduously by all members.

And in witness to our approval of the principles referred to we have signed our names below without any reservation.

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

(SGD.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

(SGD.) ROSENDO SALGADO
Board Member

(SGD.) ALFREDO E. BENEDICTO
Board Member

(SGD.) GAUDIOSO PARABUAC
Board Member

(SGD.) FELIZA OCDAMIA
Board Member

(SGD.) ELEUTERIO SAN PEDRO
Board Member

(SGD.) LORENZO IBUAN
Board Member

(SGD.) TRINIDAD BANATIN
Board Member

I HEREBY CERTIFY to the correctness of the above.

(SGD.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

RULES GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE "CHURCH OF THE "BANNER OF THE RACE"

1. IBIGIN MO ANG POONG DIOS, upang ikaw ay makinabang sa anomang mangyayari.
2. IBIGIN MO ANG KAPUWA TAO, upang tumagal ang buhay mo; ibigin mo siya katulad ng pag-ibig mo saiyong sarili.
3. MAGTULUNGAN, upang maisagawa ang lahat ng layunin.
4. MAGSUNURAN, upang magkaisa sa alin mang bagay.
5. MAGDAMAYAN, upang magtagumpay sa alin mang layunin.
6. MAGKAISA, upang mabuo ang alin mang gawain.

7. MASAMA ANG SUGALAN, sapagka't ito'y nagdudulog ng kahihiyaan at kapahamakan.
8. ANG KAYABANGAN, ay masama sapagka't ito'y nagbibigay sa kapuwa ng pagka-walang pitagan.
9. ANG MANG-BABAE, ay masama sapagka't ito'y kapahamakan at kamatayan.
10. ANG SAMAAN NG LOOB, ay masama sapagka't ito'y nagbubunga ng matinding kapahamakan.

I HEREBY CERTIFY to the correctness of the above:

(Sgd.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(Sgd.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me, a Notary Public, in and for the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May, 1944, Affiant, JOVITO E. SALGADO, exhibited to me his Residence Tax Certificate No. D-0757662, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on February 8, 1944.

(Sgd.) BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
My commission expires on
Dec. 31, 1945.

Doc. No. 395
Page No. 80
Book No. II
Series of 1944.

Translation:

RULES GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE "CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE"

1. Love God, so that you will benefit from any event.
2. Love your fellowman, so that you may have a long life; love him as you would love yourself.
3. Cooperate, so that every project may be accomplished.
4. Cooperate, so that every thing may be done together.
5. Help one another, so that each project may be successful.
6. Be united, so that any work may be attained.
7. Gambling is bad, because it is fraught with shame and dangers.
8. Pride is bad, because this gives disrespect to one's fellowman.
9. Adultery is bad because this is disaster and death.
10. Ill feeling is bad because this is the fruit of intense disaster.

I HEREBY CERTIFY to the correctness of the above:

(Sgd.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(Sgd.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me, a Notary Public, in and for the City of Manila, Philippines, this 29th day of May, 1944, Affiant, JOVITO E. SALGADO, exhibited to me his Residence Tax Certificate No. D-0757662, issued at Calamba, Laguna, on February 8, 1944.

(SGD.) BENJAMIN T. LIGOT
Notary Public
My commission expires on
Dec. 31, 1945

Doc. No. 395
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APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH "BANNER OF THE RACE," INC. AND ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF DOCTRINES

By ALFREDO N. BENEDICTO

During the middle part of the year 1939, at the eastern base of the lonely hill in the Barrio of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, about two kilometers' distance from the town proper, an informal "nucleus" of the Church known as the "Banner of the Race" came into existence, and the founders of this movement are the following: Gaudioso Parabuac, Leader, Jovito E. Salgado, Second Leader, Lazaro Ocampo, Treasurer, Tomasa Banaybanay, Foster-mother of the "nucleus" church, Rosendo E. Salgado and Julio Parabuac, all of Calamba, Atty. Alfredo E. Benedicto, Fellow of the Mystic Brotherhood, as Adviser, Judge Cirilo G. Lavadia of Mauban, Tayabas, Atty. Antonio A. Chacon, from the University of Madrid, of Cagayan, Oriental Misamis, and Mateo Alcuran, Master-carpenter, of Cabuyao, Laguna.

As time rolled on, and sometimes in 1940, various persons of good standing joined the movement in search for more light and truth. They were: Regina and Rufino Habilagon, and Manuel Banatin, all of Aplaya, Calamba, and two sisters Paulina and Eufrosina Magnaye, of Mayapa, Nestor Aguilar and Felipe Velasquez, also of Calamba. And later, two respectable families from Aplaya also entered the ranks namely Jose B. Baricanosa, an alumnus of the University of Chicago and La Salle University, and his wife Mrs. Carmen Herbosa de Baricanosa, a public school teacher; and Severo San Pedro, farmer, and his daughters Julia and Mercedes San Pedro, and his sons Eleuterio, Pedro (now deceased), Narciso and Alfonso San Pedro, including his son-in-law Wenceslao Gillaco. Thru the hearty cooperation and assiduous labors of these members, the movement has grown and progressed considerably in many ways. In the midst of this progress, it was found necessary to choose a new leader, while the First Leader (Gaudioso Parabuac) was shifted to spiritual affairs of the work. The results were Eliseo R. Hidalgo, or Malabon, Rizal, was chosen leader, Jovito E. Salgado, remained as Second Leader, and Luis Sison, as Secretary (now deceased). The treasurer was the same.

It may be said that the organization was rather affected by the war and critical times. Most of the members were busy adjusting themselves to the new situation and living conditions. The chosen leader (Hidalgo) had returned to Malabon and could not stay in Calamba to lead the movement.

And so in May, 1941, a new election was held to suit the attending circumstances, and the officers chosen were: Jose B. Baricanosa, Presiding Elder, Rosendo E. Salgado, Second Presiding Elder, Jovito E. Salgado, Secretary, Feliza Ocdamia, Treasurer. By reason of the increase in membership numbering more than 200 now, and to give them a chance in the voting, a formal election was held on May 29, 1944, at the home of Adviser Benedicto, Lecheria, Calamba. As a reward of their faithful and satisfactory services, the same officers were reelected to their respective posts. Finally, it was unanimously decided to incorporate the organization; and on May 29, 1944, the same was registered in the Bureau of Commerce and Industry thru the initiative and untiring efforts of Atty. Francisco Hernandez who has also been a member thereof since 1941.

The principal aims or purposes of the organization may be stated as follows:

(a) To love and serve the Lord God, our fellowmen and our native land;

(b) To unite, cooperate and mutually help each other for the common benefit and welfare of the members and of the community in which they live; and

(c) To respect and obey the existing law and constituted authorities.

First Principles: The primordial aims of the founders are to simplify the mode of worship to God and service to our fellowmen without any formalities or ostentations whatsoever, and to inculcate thru faith and obedience of the Lord's commandments which should be exemplified thru conduct and behaviour.

Second Principle: Unity, cooperation and mutual help among the members are emphasized and encouraged so as to help in maintaining peace and order in their place of abode. The main object is to foster a fraternal brotherhood, and thus uniting them into one family or race without discrimination or partisanship, either in religion or politics.

Third Principle: This is an important factor to be impressed upon the followers of the church. By faithfully complying with the existing laws, it is believed there would be less crimes and troubles in the community in which they reside. Exemplary behaviour resulting from moral discipline and fear of God inculcated will undoubtedly lead them to live happily and contentedly as law-abiding citizens of our Republic.

I HEREBY CERTIFY to the correctness of the above:

(SGD.) JOVITO E. SALGADO
Secretary

ATTESTED:

(SGD.) JOSE B. BARICANOSA
Presiding Elder

IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI
TANGGAPANG PANGKALAHATAN
Kalamba, Laguna
Kapuluang Pilipinas

PANUNUMPA

Sa pangalan ng Dios Ama, Dios Anak at Dios Espiritu Santo, akong si ______________________, ay buong puso at taimtim na nanunumpa na aking tutuparin ang tatlong Gintong simulain ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, na ang una ay "IBIGIN ANG DIOS LALO SA LAHAT"; ikalawa ay "IBIGIN ANG KAPUWA TAO KATULAD NG PAG-IBIG SA SARILI"; at ang ikatlo ay "IBIGIN ANG BAYANG TINUBUAN"; at ito'y tutuparin ko nang walang pasubali sa ilalim ng pangangasiwa ng Iglesiang nabanggit sa itaas.

Ako ay umanib at nanumpang kusang loob at walang sino mang pumilit sa akin. At ang panunumpa kong ito sa ngalan ng Dios ay siya kong katibayan sa pagka-anib sa Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi.

Bilang kaanib sa nasabing Iglesia ay tungkulin ko na sa buhay o kamatayan ang itaguyod ang Tatlong Gintong Simulain na siyang tanging landas sa ikatitiwasay, pagkakabigkis-bigkis at pagdadamayan ng lahat ng tao sa isang tumpak na pananampalataya at paggawa ng pawang kabutihan.

At bilang patibay sa panunumpa kong ito ay inilagda ko sa ibaba nito ang tunay kong pangalan at idiniit ko ang hinlalaki ng aking kanang kamay sa harap ng dalawang saksi na siyang nagpapatotoo na ako'y hindi magtataksil sa Iglesiang ito na inaniban ko habang ko'y nabubuhay.

(Diit)

______________________ ______________________
(Saksi) (Lagda ng nanumpa)

______________________ ______________________
(Saksi) (Tirahan)

Sinuri at nanumpa sa ngalan ng Dios na hinarapan ko ngayong ika______ ng ______________, taon 19______ dito sa ______________ Bayan ng ______________, lalawigan ng ______________, Kapuluang Filipinas.

____
(Pangulo)

TRANSLATION:

CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Calamba, Laguna
Philippines

OATH

In the name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, I ______________________, whole-heartedly and sincerely swear that I will fulfill the three Golden principles of the Church of the Banner

of the Race, the first of which is "TO LOVE GOD ABOVE EVERYTHING"; second "TO LOVE ONE'S FELLOWMAN AS ONE LOVES HIMSELF"; and third "TO LOVE THE MOTHERLAND"; and I will fulfill this without any reservations under the admonition of the Church mentioned above.

I affiliate myself and freely take this oath with no pressure from anyone. And this my oath in the name of God is proof of my membership of the Church of the Banner of the Race.

As member of the said Church, it is my duty in life and in death to defend the Three Golden Principles which shall always be the path towards peace, unity and cooperation of all people in one true faith and to accomplish all goodness.

In witness to this my promise I have set forth my signature below with my real name and my right thumb mark before two witnesses who can testify that I will never turn traitor to this church of which I shall be a member until death.

(thumb mark)

_______________	_______________
(Witness)	(Signature of one taking the oath)
_______________	_______________
(Witness)	(Address)

Subscribed and sworn to God before me this ______ day of __________, in the year ________ here at ______________ Town of ______________ province of ______________________, Philippines.

____

(Head)

PRAYERS AND HYMNS OF THE "WATAWAT NG LAHI"

Panalangin

Namumuno: Oh! Kalinis-linisang Maria. (3 ulit)

Sagot: Na di nagmana ng kasalanan. (3 ulit)

Prayer

Leader: O, Most Pure Mary. (3 times)

Answer: Conceived without sin. (3 times)

Santong Espirito
(*lahat*)

Santong Espiritu halina po't dalawin ang potencias namin na Inyong alipin sa saklolo Mo po'y pasaganain, kaluluwa po namin sa grasya's gayon din. Tagapagtanggol Ka po aliw at tahimik.

Espiritu Ka pong laganap sa dikit; sa saya'y sagana at walang kaparis sa boong dilag ng masayang langit.

Holy Spirit
(*All*)

Come, Holy Spirit, and visit our beings, we who are your servants; within Your bosom enrich us, and our souls enrich with Your grace. You are the defender of comfort and peace.

You are Spirit of incomparable brilliance; happiness and riches beyond compare in encompassing brilliance of the heavens.

Sa mga ligaya doon kumikinang ang lagda ng Amang Makapangyarihan;

Ikaw po ang lunas, Ikaw po ang ilaw nasa aming dila'y umaalalay.

Iyo pong pailagin ang lilong kaaway at ang katahimikan sa ami'y panguna-han sa lahat ng sakuna upang maiwa-san.

Ilaw Ka po ang liwanag ng sintidos namin at ang aming puso'y mag-alab gumiliw;

Ikaw na Espiritu'y laging sambitlain sampalatayanang walang hinto't tigil.

Naghandog sa Ama ng boong luwal-hati at Ikaw ang Anak, kapantay, kauri; na nagwagayway, nabuhay na muli sa Espiritu Santo tambing na namalagi.

Espiritu Ka po Dios na tunay
Espiritu Ka pong walang katapusan
Espiritu ka pong wagas ng kaliwanagan
Espiritu Santo magpasawalang
hanggan.

In happiness there shines the symbol of the Almighty Father.

You are the panacea, You are the light which guides our tongues.

And lead us not into the clutches of the treacherous enemy, and let peace be with us before anything else so that we may avoid disasters.

You are the light of our senses and You enkindle our hearts to love;

We always invoke Your name, O Spirit; we adore You without end;

You offered to the Father all the happiness and You are the Son, equal and of the same kind; Who emerged victorious, lived again with the Holy Spirit and beside whom You always live.

You are Spirit, O true God,
You are Spirit, without end
You are Spirit, of pure light
You are Spirit, without end.

Sumasampalataya
(lahat)

Sumasampalataya po kami sa Dios Amang Makapangyayari sa lahat, na may gawa ng langit at lupa. Suma-sampalataya po naman kami kay Jesu-kristo iisang Anak ng Dios Panginoon nating lahat; nagkatwang tao Siya, lalang ng Dios Espiritu Santo, ipina-nganak ni Santa Mariang Virgen; pinapagkasakit ni Poncio Pilato, pina-kuan sa Krus, namatay ibinaon, na-naog sa Limbo ng may ikatlong araw nabuhay na maguli, umakyat sa la-ngit at lumiklok sa kanan ng Dios Amang Makapangyarihan sa lahat, doon magmumula, paririto't sasaklolo at bebendisyon sa mga nabubuhay at nangamatay na tao, Sumasampalataya po naman ako sa Dios Espiritu Santo, na may Santa IGLESIA WATAWAT NG LAHI, na may kasamahan na mga BAYANI at SANTOS; na siyang may ikawawala ng kasalanan at ma-bubuhay ding mag-uli ang mga nanga-

The Credo
(All)

We believe in God the Father Al-mighty, creator of heaven and earth. We believe in Jesus Christ the only Son of God the Lord of us all; he became man, conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Holy Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, nailed to the Cross, died and was buried, He ascended into Limbo the third day he became alive again, he ascended into heaven and seated on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from there he shall come to help and bless the living and the dead. We believe in God the Holy Spirit, who has the Holy CHURCH OF THE BANNER OF THE RACE, whose members may be counted the HE-ROES and the SAINTS; who shall be free from sin and those who died shall be made alive again and they shall have everlasting life. So be it.

matay na tao at may buhay na walang hanggan. Siya Nawa.

Aba Ginoong Maria
(lahat)

Aba Ginoong Maria, napupuno Ka po ng grasya ang Panginoong Dios ang sumasa Iyo, bukod Ka pong pinagpala sa babaing lahat, at pinagpala Ka po naman ng Iyong Anak na si Jesus, Santa Mariang Ina ni Jesus, nananalangin po kamnig (sic) mga makasalanan na iligtas Mo na po kaming sa mga kapanganiban habang kami'y nabubuhay. Siya nawa.

Oración contra los enemigos visibles Y invisibles

ELIAS † ELOHIM † ELOAH † LEON † JAH † ESCERCHEL † AGLA † SADAY † ADONAY † AGIOS † OTHEOS † ISCHYROS † ATHANATOS † ELEISON Señor Gran Dios Santo Poderoso inmortal socorred me (pangalan) a un cuando en digno librad me de todo peligro de la muerte del alma y de la del cuerpo y de las asechanzas de mis enemigos Visibles y invisibles; JEHOJAH † SABAOTH † EMMANUEL † SOTHER † TETRAGRAMMATON † OMUZIOS † EHEYE † ALPHA Y OMEGA.

Via Veritas et Vita que por Vuestros Santos nombres sean pro be chosos a mi (pangalan) que soy el servidor de Dios quien habeis dicho este es mi cuerpo desid tambien que me ame y Vuestro amor hara un milagro no menos grande de la conversion y la salvacion de un alma el des encadenamientus de las fuerzas meleficas en cadenadas contra me en el Nombre del Padre † del Hijo † y del Espiritu, Santo, asi sea, asi sea, asi sea.

Santo Glavatura Dapat dasalin kung nabagya at malakas ang hangin

Pater Noster; Kyrieleison, Kriste Eleison (3 ulit) Hum Santong Gla-

Hail Mary
(All)

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with You, blessed are thou among all women, and blessed also is your Son Jesus, Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus, pray for us sinners and safeguard us from dangers while we live. So be it.

Prayer against the enemy, visible and invisible

ELIAS † ELOHIM † ELOAH † LEON † JAH † ESCERCHEL † AGLA † SADAY † ADONAY † AGIOS † OTHEOS † ISCHYROS † ATHANATOS † ELEISON Señor Gran Dios Santo Poderoso inmortal socorred me (name) a un cuando en digno librad me de todo peligro de la muerte del alma y de la del cuerpo y de las asechanzas de mis enemigos Visibles y invisibles; JOHJAH † SABAOTH † EMMANUEL † SOTHER † TETRAGRAMMATON † OMUZIOS † EHEYE † ALPHA Y OMEGA.

Via Veritas et Vita que por Vuestros Santos nombres sean pro be chosos a mi (name) que soy el servidor de Dios quien habeis dicho este es mi cuerpo desid tambien que me ame y Vuestro amor hara un milagro no menos grande de la conversion y la salvacion de un alma el des encadenamientus de las fuerzas meleficas en cadenadas contra me en el Nombre del Padre † del Hijo † y del Espiritu, Santo, asi sea, asi sea, asi sea.

Santo Glavatura which is necessary to pray when there is a typhoon and when the wind is strong

Pater Noster; Kyrieleison, Kriste Eleison (3 times) Hum Santong Gla-

vatura indicit in animamea, Pater Leus Deus Domine Sancte alistate Alitate Kristo Sanctom Salvador del Mundo.

Pater Noster, Ecleleo lulante sanay-sanay anonay Sancto Esule Esule Ania tus Deus Eleleorun Kyrieleson, Itulot ng cado por toda la eternidad, asi Dios na Poon sandatang mahabang panahon; ang Christe Eleison namang ito itulot ng Dios sa tao ang saklolo ni Jesukristo.

Ang Orapronobis pampaurong ng tubig; ang misererenobis hangin at panginorin sa himpapawid; ang Pater Noster payapang hulog ng langit na kung magdilim man itong sangtinak-pan, Ikaw po ang Bandera at ilaw sa aming pagdaraanan Domine Lecsit Sancto Deus ang mga silahis na dito'y lilitaw sa sakuna nitong aking puso at dibdib, ay Reyna sa kalangitan nitong sandaigdig.

Arajulom sa Gloria ng langit ang mga hima na dito'y lilitaw sa balat ng mundo na ibig paibabaw, hayop na mabangis at mga blangaw, sa di-lim na ito na kapanglawpanglaw, di man makabuhay apoy, man ito ang Angile Sancte Reside Inang Gelora lunas na kapayapaan. Alewale yu, manipudiat de Jesus Sancte Deus, kup-kop kami po'y kupkop. Siya nawa.

vatura indicit in animamea, Pater Leus Deus Domine Sancte alistate Alitate Kristo Sanctom Salvador del Mundo.

Pater Noster, Ecleleo lulante sanay-sanay anonay Sancto Esule Esule Ania tus Deus Eleleorun Kyrieleson, offer us the "cado" for all eternity, thus God who is the weapon for all ages; May the Christe Eleison be granted by God to man, as well as the help of Jesus Christ.

The Orapronobis is cause of the recession of water; the misererenobis is the wind in the clouds of the universe; the Pater Noster, the peace from heaven when darkness descends upon this earth, You are the Standard and light on our way Domine Lecsit Sancto Deus the rays which shall come from danger of this my heart and breast, the Queen of the heavens of this world.

Arajulom in Glory of heaven the chant which shall appear on the skin of the world which shall want to come to the surface, the ferocious beasts and winged creatures, in the pathetic darkness, it is not a life-giving fire, neither is it cleanliness and peace. Alewale yu, Angile Sancte Reside Inang Gelora manipudiat de Jesus Sancte Deus, protect us, please pro-tect us. Amen.

Ocropseum
(Sa namumuno)

Ocropseum Aclara Mijitana, Mikita-na, Leopror Santo Ecleccermeo, Mor-nojo Santo Mosear, Amang Santo Anima Sola Lepreserjes Amadam. Kami po ay ipagsanggalang sa lahat ng kapanganiban ng aming kaluluwa at katawan dito sa lupang ibabaw, Grupsomo dejele Mindeye libre jele-mentate preserle mite perculom min-delete, iadya Mo po kami sa peste, sa guerra at sa salot ipangkandili, Acmammar preserle legintate, Mirme, Cris me meor meus Satos meus, Ang pagtawag po naming mataos ding-gin Mo po at kupkop, iadya Mo po

Ocropseum
(To the Leader)

Ocropseum Aclara Mijitana, Mikita-na, Leopror Santo Ecleccermeo, Mor-nojo Santo Mosear, Amang Santo Anima Sola Lepreserjes Amadam. Keep us away from all dangers of our soul and body here on earth, Grupsomo dejele Mindeye libre jele-mentale preserle mite perculom min-delete, protect us from pestilence, war and from pestilence fortify ourselves, Acmammar preserle legintate, Mirme, Cris me meor meus Satos meus, hearken unto our plea and protect us, shield us from future dangers, Agnus Meus prusor mutus Miseleletornum

kami sa daraang signos, Agnus Meus Deus prusor mutus Miseleletornum mundum salutor guem caram dignatus Agnus Deus sa daraang signos iyadya Mo po kami Panginoon naming Dios kupkop Mo po kami'y kupkop.

Ama Namin
(awit)

Ama namin na sa langit Ka
Sambahin ang Iyong Pangalan
Dalangin namin ay pakinggan
Ang biyaya Mo po ay Pakamtan

koro

Oh! Dios sa kalangitan
Awa Mo po'y ipatnubay
Magkaisa, ng layunin
Itong aming gintong simulain.

Ama Namin
(awit sa lahat)

Ama namin, nasa langit
sambahin nang Iyong dikit
Ang biyaya Mo po ay ilapit
at ang awa Mo po'y huwag
ikati sa nagpapakasakit

koro

Oh! Dios sa kalangitan
Kami po ay kaawaan
Nawa po kami ay magtagumpay
sa aming mga pinagsumpaanan
na magka isang tunay
habang kami'y may buhay.

Pilipinong Tunay

Kami'y Pilipinong tunay
sa Pilipinas kami'y sumilang
Ang aming dugo at kulay
kapurihan ng silangan
Kami'y Pilipino ngayon
Bukas sa habang panahon
Matibay ang aming layon
Sa Republika ay pagtulong.

koro

Kami'y Pilipinong lantay
Kalahi ng mga Rizal
Walang takot na mamatay
Sa ngalan ng Inang Bayan,
Kami'y Pilipinong wagas
Na marangal at matapat
Ang tunay naming hangad
Mabuhay ang Pilipinas.

mundum salutor guem caram dignatus Agnus Deus from future dangers shield us, O Lord God, protect us, please protect us.

Our Father
(solo)

Our Father who is in heaven
May your name be revered
Hearken unto our prayer
Your grace to obtain.

chorus

Oh! God in the heavens
May your mercy guide us
To be one in our aim
In these our golden principles.

Our Father
(to be sung by all)

Our Father who is in heaven
May your brilliance be reverenced
And may you grant us your blessing
And deprive not with your mercy
Those who are suffering.

chorus

Oh God, who is in heaven
Grant us your mercy
May we be successful
In carrying out all our vows
That truly we may be united
As long as we live.

True Filipinos

We are truly Filipinos
In the Philippines born
Our blood and our race
The honor of the Orient
We are Filipinos now
Yesterday and days to come
Our intense aim is
To help our Republic.

chorus

We are truly Filipinos
The brethren of the Rizals
Unafraid to die
In the name of the Motherland,
We are pure Filipinos
Honorable and true
Our sincerest wish is
May the Philippines endure.

RARE PICTURE OF RIZAL TAKEN ON DEC. 30, 1896

This photograph, taken by a certain Laporta, appeared in the Madrid periodical *"La Ilustración Española"* on February 15, 1897, p. 105, and is one of the two pictures taken of the hero that fateful morning of December 30, 1896. Rizal, wearing a bowler hat and dark suit, was accompanied by a Jesuit priest and surrounded by a squad of soldiers. This scene was probably taken at the Malecon drive just before reaching Bagumbayan, the place of execution. (Courtesy, Domingo Abella.)

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF RIZAL

Domingo Abella

The author of this collection of Madrid newspaper clippings is a physician by profession and a historian by avocation. Piqued by oral examiners for his master's thesis, he spent four years at his own expense in the archives of the Vatican, Seville, Madrid, Pastrana and elsewhere to support his conclusions; with the result that he has become the authority on Philippine ecclesiastical succession. He is the president of the International Association of Historians of Asia which was founded in Manila more than a year ago. A veteran of Bataan, Dr. Abella is the grandson of the Bicol patriot by that name who was shot by the Spaniards shortly after Rizal's execution.

It was August 21, 1896. The Spanish law-making body, the Cortes, was in session in Madrid's Palacio del Congreso. At the rostrum was its President, Señor Pidal, and making use of the floor was one of its most respected *diputados,* Señor Puigcerver, who was assailing one of the special measures presented by the administration for congressional approval.

Suddenly, there was a rush into the session hall of all the *diputados* and lobbyists who were forming groups and circles along the corridors; the half-empty galleries assigned to the public were crowded in a short time as all available space was occupied. The air had become tense.

It was all caused by the unexpected presence of Señor Castellano, the Ministro de Ultramar (or Secretary of Overseas Possessions), in the congressional chamber; everyone had seen him enter the hall and occupy his seat in the *banco azul* destined for Cabinet members only. He must have come with some emergency message from the Throne, or, maybe, very significant news on the development of the revolution in Cuba, which had been raging for several years. Everyone—congressman, newsman and mere *politico* —was agog with expectation. What was new?

The answer was not long in coming. The presidential bell was soon heard to ring, imposing silence upon the assemblage, interrupting Puigcerver's peroration. It was about 7:00 in the evening. The chair, after a brief introduction, gave the floor to Señor Castellano.

He had come, the *Ministro* said, to report that a shocking cablegram had been received from the Governor General of the Philippines informing of the discovery in Manila of an extensive conspiracy against the Spanish rule in the Islands. He read it before the Cortes as follows:

"Manila, August 21. The Governor General to the Ministro de Ultramar.

"Discovered vast organization secret societies with anti-national tendencies. Arrested 22 persons, among them members of the Gran Oriente de Filipinas and others of significance. Confiscated many and interesting documents and credentials of the conspiracy. Am proceeding with caution and will designate special judge to expedite proceedings. Will keep your Excellency posted on the course of events. Feel it my duty to extoll to your Excellency the extraordinary zeal and intelligence displayed by the Guardia Civil Veterana.—BLANCO."

That the official news, when read, fell like a bolt from the blue upon the Spanish legislators and the public, goes without saying. It was never expected that the *Indios* of the Philippines could at any time think of taking up arms against Mother Spain. They had been taken for granted all along. They were not like the Cubans who were, by and large, full-blooded Spaniards—the so-called Creoles. The Creoles, experience showed, were the recalcitrant element in the colonies. They had led and were responsible for the uprising and eventual secession of the Hispanic republics in the American mainland from the throne of Isabella and Ferdinand. Bolivar the Liberator, Sucre, San Martin, Hidalgo, Morelos, were all Creoles, and in Cuba the great hero of the rebels, José Martí, was a Creole.

In the Philippines the Creole population was negligible. The great bulk of its population was made up of *Indios* not many of whom had received more than an elementary education. How could they think of independence? the Spaniards asked themselves. In the Americas the *Indios* were on the whole passive in the independence movement. The fight there, it was the consensus of historians, was a Civil War, Creoles versus Peninsulars, Spaniards all. How then could there be in the far-flung Oriental colony a "vast or-

ganization with anti-national tendencies"? Unbelievable. However, if true, Spain's mailed fist would soon make itself felt.

Offhand there was an outburst of patriotic fervor on the floor of the Cortes expressed in speeches, long and eloquent—as only Spaniards know how—energetically condemning the *"intento criminal de los enemigos de España contra la integridad del territorio patrio"* (criminal intent of the enemies of Spain against the territorial integrity of the motherland). All political parties laid aside for a while their differences, took turns in expressing unconditional support of the Throne. Minority congressmen like Moret of the Liberals, Sanz of the Carlists, and Villaverde of the Silvelists, stood up one after the other to pledge adhesion to a mailed-fist policy against the *Indio* rebels in the Philippines. The speechmaking was closed by Señor Pidal himself, the presiding officer, who, in no less patriotic terms, announced the Government's determination to subdue the revolt in the Pacific colony.

The cablegram of Governor Ramon Blanco put the Philippines on the map, so to say, before the Spanish public. It put the islands in the headlines the following day, and on the front pages of the metropolitan papers for months. Where before our country had received scant attention, if at all, from officials and the public, henceforth Filipinas together with Cuba constituted the news in Spain. The Philippines and the Filipino *Indios* became the subjects of study and commentary everywhere in the Peninsula. Day by day the cable burned with dispatches from Manila on clashes with the bolo-armed *Tagalos,* the punitive expeditions of the Government forces, and the executions of captured *ilustrados* and *insurrectos.*

Such was the importance of the events transpiring in the Philippines that the more significant dailies of Madrid sent their own editor-correspondents ("redactor-corresponsál") to Manila for on-the-spot reports about the Philippine rebellion. From Madrid came Don Manuel Alhama for the influential *El Imparcial,* and Don Santiago Mataix, representing the highly regarded *El Heraldo de Madrid.*

This writer was lucky to have purchased from an antique dealer in Spain a collection of clippings from the aforesaid two metropolitan dailies, in addition to others, of matters concerning the Philippine Revolution, from 1896 to 1897, in four volumes.

There are always two sides to every question, two points of view. Our armed conflict with Spain at the end of the last century is no exception. It will always be of interest to us, now and in

the future, to know what the other side, "the enemy," thought, said and wrote about our people and about our leaders, and how they viewed the various episodes of our struggle for freedom.

One of the most significant phases of that racial struggle was the execution of José Rizal. Rizal protested at the trial, according to the news reporter, against his being called a *mestizo*. "I am a pure Indio," he declared.

The following on-the-spot dispatches were published by *El Imparcial* and the *Heraldo de Madrid* and readers are warned that in many details they are neither exact nor accurate. A sister of Rizal was wrongly called Agueda, while Josephine Bracken was called Irene and made a Canadian; some of the statements supposedly uttered by Rizal might have been fabrications by the writers, and this refers particularly to the allegations about Rizal and Fray Nozaleda, for we have no record that the former knew personally, and much less talked to, the latter. The reports were mailed to Hongkong to evade the government censorship and sent by cable to Madrid, which accounts for the delay of two or more days in their date of publication. True, half-true or false, the pertinent passages are reproduced hereunder for whatever may be their worth.

* * *

El Imparcial, *Manila, Dec. 3, 1896.*

Rizal has appeared before the Council of War. He has declared his participation in the current events. As all the world remembers, he was sent to Spain with no other penalty than exile, and this has given rise to new criticisms caused by the improvisation and weakness of General Blanco. An important and effective offensive in Cavite is expected as soon as the reinforcements arrive.

Manila, Dec. 19.

Next week the court martial to try Rizal will be convened. He is trying all means to defend himself, but it is sure that he will be sentenced to death.

MANUEL ALHAMA

El Heraldo, *Manila, Dec. 26 (2:45 p.m.)*

At 8 o'clock in the morning, after hearing the Mass of the Holy Ghost, there has been formed the Court Martial which will hear the case against the celebrated Filipino doctor, Rizal.

For this purpose one of the dormitories in the Cuartel de España has been readied. The place is spacious and lends itself appropriately to such acts which have been held there.

The presidency of the court has been given to the lieutenant colonel of cavalry, Don José Togores. The members, according to orders, were six captains from different branches of the service.

Among the well-known Spaniards of Manila, there were present more than those who had left attending them. Among the population a very great curiosity existed to see the end of the case filed against Rizal. Many persons were not able to satisfy their curiosity from within and had to wait in the galleries or in the vicinity of headquarters. I have also seen among the public some natives, but these are very few.

The public, waiting for the appearance before the court of the Filipino physician, fixed its eyes on two women who formed part of the group. Both are known in Manila: one as the sister of Rizal; the other as his lover. This last one is of English nationality.

At the opportune moment Doctor Rizal was brought into the courtroom between two guards and with arms tied. He wore black trousers and coat, white tie and vest. He was very carefully combed and felt or pretended to show great serenity.

Captain Dominguez, who acts as *juez instructor,* gives a lecture on the case lasting ninety five minutes. The public pays little attention to the words common to all sorts of summary, to concentrate with true anxiety on the interrogation of Rizal. Replying to the questions asked of him, Rizal declared:

That I have always disapproved of the revolutionary movement, counseling the conspirators not to overthrow by violent means the Spanish domination. In effect, and on repeated occasions, I placed before their eyes the example of Cuba where the rebels had the valuable help of the United States and disposing of arms, men experienced in warfare, and ships to provide them with all their needs to sustain it, yet had to succumb at its last stage—in his opinion—before the might of the metropolis.

He confesses that in 1891 he drew up in Hongkong the statutes creating the Liga Filipina, and those statutes had as their basis the ordinary practices of universal masonry. He declares that said Liga proposed the union of all Filipinos for the development of commerce in the colony and an administration based solely on the highest levels of morality. On this matter, Rizal says that he pursued no other objective than the union of the natives against abuses

by those in the government and their subordinates in the archipelago. From 1892 he affirms that he has not mixed at all in politics.

He denies knowing Martin Constantino and Aguedo del Rosario, Jose Reyes, Tolentino Dizon, Franco Arellano, Plata, Cordero, Mabini and Ambrosio Flores. (Note of the Spanish editor: Thus reads the text. We are not responsible if the cables have erred in transmitting the names.)

He confesses that he knows Salazar as a shoemaker, and that he knows the elder Salvador and his son, also Francisco Arevalo, Paez, Ignacio and Alejandro Rey, Arcadio del Rosario and Serrano. He affirms that he never dealt about political affairs with these men. Regarding Estanislao Legazpi, about whom he was questioned, he categorically denies that he either knew him or had dealings whatsoever with him, except that once he received from him a postcard from Hongkong, Rizal thus presuming this was the pseudonym of Pio Valenzuela.

To confirm this, Rizal relies on the circumstance of having met Pio Valenzuela in Dapitan to consult him on the opportuneness of the uprising, which had already been treated in the letter from Hongkong. Rizal says he tried to dissuade the latter from such a plan, and in affirming this in his declaration he bitterly regretted the misuse of his name as a symbol and banner of the rebellion.

He denies that the Liga was organized by him for political purposes, and tends to absolve himself from the responsibility of the enterprises undertaken by it saying that his original project failed and that since then he cannot be held responsible for the posterior acts committed by it. He adds that on leaving Dapitan he separated completely from the Liga; that he was later in Hongkong and upon his return found masonry highly developed.

Asked if he knew Andrés Bonifacio, he answers in the negative and manifests great wonder that the latter should keep among the acts and documents of the Katipunan his photograph. Rizal presumes that his picture was acquired in Madrid.

He says that it cannot be certain that they have raised subscriptions and collections of any kind for him, because he has never ordered it or his authorization requested for such a purpose. He claims that the fees he received as a doctor made him live with ease, and from the profits once derived from a lottery. On this the lottery ticket-seller Baitan could testify. He adds that with such profits he tried to create an agricultural colony with his family in the vicinity of Pandacan in the province of Manila.

He assures that at the beginning of the rebellion he asked the judge who was preparing the case to publish the manifesto addressed to the rebels, dissuading them from the deceit they found themselves in and protesting against the abuse made of his name.

He regrets that this act of his did not influence in the least the procedure; although he wrote and authorized the manifesto, its publication was never allowed because the auditor (counsellor) believed that fundamentally the document contained filibustering ideas. Rizal believes that this objection was based on the paragraphs counseling them to lay down their arms before the reality of defeat, offering to take them later through other means to the promised land. Here the auditor saw a promise of independence which was not his purpose or its true meaning.

The declarations of the prisoner ends, with him protesting his innocence and manifesting his obedience to Spain.

After reading the summary of Rizal's declarations follows the testimonial proofs made during that part of the procedure. Almost all the witnesses are natives, they know Rizal and affirm that he is the honorary president of the Katipunan.

As acting fiscal today is the lieutenant auditor, Señor Alcocer, who reads a brilliant indictment establishing that Rizal had committed the crimes minutely described and considered as proven: one for rebellion, and the other for organizing illicit associations with that purpose.

He asks the death penalty for the accused. The indictment of Señor Alcocer, followed with great attention by the public present, made a deep impression on the hearers, particularly the concluding paragraphs. Applause was heard at the end.

The defense lawyer of Rizal is Señor Andrade of artillery. His speech is very sober. The lecture lasts very briefly.

The president of the court asks that if Rizal has anything to say in his defense, he could do so by arrangement with his lawyer. Rizal stands up and speaks, helped by notes that he has written, from which he reads occasionally. He insists that his declarations in the summary are the truth concerning him. He affirms anew that he was absolutely ignorant of the preparations for and organization of the rebellion against Spanish sovereignty. To prove his innocence over what the conspirators were planning, he cites the fact that Pio Valenzuela had gone to apprise him of what was taking place.

He refers once more to what was said in the summary during the trial, and adds that individuals of sufficient authority, on know-

ing of Valenzuela's purpose in making the trip, advised him to leave Dapitan where, through no fault of his own, he would appear as a suspect. He protests his pacific intentions which were totally against rebellion, alleging that how could he think of such bad things when he was completely taken up with plans of dedicating himself with his family for the colonization of lands.

He also says he offered to fight as a volunteer in the island of Cuba in the service of Spain, and that precisely he was leaving the archipelago for this purpose when the separatist movement broke out. He asks for his liberty, appealing to the justice of the Court in any case not to apply the same criterion to those who desire to preserve the Philippines under the dominion of Spain, although through reforms and necessary progress, as those who profess the radical doctrine of separation.

"In all revolutions, there is always need of a victim who will bear all the sins of another," said Rizal. "In Cuba what has occurred is blamed on the reforms proposed by Señor Maura. In the Philippines it is claimed that I am responsible for the insurrection."

He solicits the attention of the Court to the dates of his letters, all prior to 1892. He concludes affirming that his conscience was perfectly tranquil.

After Rizal had spoken in his defense, the president of the Court ended the public hearing and ordered that the prisoner be conducted to his jail. Rizal leaves in the custody of a picket of native soldiers. They accompany him on foot from the Cuartel de España to Fort Santiago. The distance is short and there are many curious onlookers.

The deliberations that followed the trial between the president and the members of the court are still not known to the public. Nevertheless, it is considered as certain the sentence of death against the accused.

SANTIAGO MATAIX

El Imparcial, *Sunday, Dec. 27, 1896*

Today was held the trial before a Court-Martial of the case instituted against Rizal who is accused of being one of the principal organizers of the revolution and Philippine war.

Lieutenant Colonel Tabares [sic] presides over the tribunal; Captain Señor Andrade handles the defense of the accused.

The trial takes place in a spacious hall of the *Cuartel de España.*

Two hours before the beginning, a great mass of people awaited with impatience the opening of the doors to enter the hall. A large part of this was occupied by the benches for the defendants and witnesses. Although in today's trial only Rizal appeared, several other co-accused were present as witnesses.

The public was composed of some two hundred persons. Among the witnesses, one could distinguish the sister of Rizal named Agueda and the concubine of the famous rebel, named Irene. Rizal was conducted on foot from the jail between soldiers armed with bayonets. He is dressed in a colored coat and wears a straw hat.

On the streets there was a great crowd, which awaited the passing of the prisoner. None molested him in the slightest, neither with threats, nor with shouts, nor with hostile attitude.

At ten minutes past ten o'clock Rizal entered the hall of the Court. He is a slender man, of weak constitution, very pale. His look is hard. He tries to appear serene and stares at people as if to challenge them. He is made to sit on a stool in front of the benches where the other indicted-witnesses are seated. His elbows are tied together.

The *juez instructor* reads the charges, a very notable work which reveals a privileged intellect.

The *juez instructor,* Señor Dominguez, reads the documents slowly, with a clear and grave voice, obtaining from the first moment an extraordinary attention from the audience. To transmit the entire statement of charges is impossible. I limit myself to the notes which I had taken and which constitute a formidable accusation against Rizal.

The *juez instructor* reads various statements made by Rizal, some before his trip to Spain, and others after his return to Manila. It was brought out that Rizal, in his answers to the questions propounded by the judge, had denied knowledge of persons who, it is made evident, were his intimate friends. He said that he had not known Maximo Inocencio, nor Hugo Perez, nor Damian [sic] Chuidian, nor Mariano Limjap, nor others with whom it is known that he maintained almost daily communication.

When the judge, with great ability, pointed out that he was not being truthful, Rizal would answer with *distingos* or would persist in his denials. From his declarations it appears that Rizal remembers nothing which would render him answerable, for he

knows nothing of memorable and public events. It is clear that he had proposed to deny everything, preferring to be branded as an imbecile rather than put himself in danger with declarations.

Rizal assures that he was completely devoid of news in connection with the Liga Filipina, while in a later declaration, overwhelmed by the documents which the judge exhibited, he admits that he not only knew of the existence of that association, but that he had founded it. Caught in such a tremendous contradiction, he tried to explain it by saying that the Liga Filipina founded by him merely proposed to foment agriculture and the industries.

With regards to his relations with Valenzuela (one of the most important *filibusteros*), he said that he knew not who he was, but a little later he admitted that when he (Rizal) was in deportation in the town of Dapitan, Valenzuela had written him, consulting him with respect to the convenience and timeliness of the rebellion. "In this letter," said Rizal in the declaration referred to by me, "Valenzuela manifested to me that the Spanish government, being in a hard fight with the Cuban separatists, the moment had come for the Philippines to declare its independence. I answered that the rebellion was not opportune; that sufficient arms and boats would not be gathered; that in Cuba, in spite the fact that both things were at the disposal of the rebels and that the latter counted with the unconditional support of the United States, they could not obtain anything from the enemies of Spain, and that it was foolhardy to go out of the legal bounds."

Next follows the reading of the declaration made by Pio Valenzuela five days after the outbreak of the seditious movement. Pio Valenzuela stated that Rizal was the founder of the Liga Filipina; that the aim of this association was to organize and propagate *filibusterism,* and that all the works conducive to that aim were directed by Rizal. He added that, in view of the great expansion which Masonry had obtained in the archipelago, Rizal thought that a separatist movement could be essayed, and that when he encouraged the Masonic propaganda he did it with the hope that the Masonic lodges would be, as they had been indeed, separatist committees.

Declaration of Juan Moises: Then followed the reading of the declaration made by this important leader of the seditious movement which confirmed what was said by Valenzuela.

Declaration of Salvador Arellano: This was another leader of the rebellion. In his declaration he repeats what has already been said, adding that Rizal carried on his correspondence with the

leaders of the sedition always in the third person, not wishing to get himself involved with signatures nor with papers written in his own hand.

Declaration of Aguedo del Rosario: Aguedo del Rosario was the so-called Minister of State of the supposed Philippine Government established by the *Katipunan*. He said, after reiterating what has already been manifested, that the picture of Rizal was hung in a place of honor in the presidential hall of the *Gran Consejo* of the conspirators.

Declaration of Printer Dizon: This man was the one who made the lithographic plates of the *Diario de Manila* which were used to print the titles and appointments of the conspiracy. He confessed that the Liga Filipina and the *Katipunan* were the same thing.

Declaration of Martin Lozano: He said that Rizal was the leader of what was being prepared. He added that the plan was to kill the Spaniards and raise Rizal to the supreme leadership.

Filing off before the Court-Martial are other witnesses. All are agreed in the most prominent participation which Rizal had in the events at issue.

It is gleaned from the preliminary investigation that at the end of the first inquiries made during the days subsequent to the events of Cavite and Noveleta, Rizal asked General Blanco for permission to publish a manifesto which, he said, would result in the termination of the rebellion, or at least in its diminution.

Authorized by General Blanco, the rebel leader (*jefe filibustero*) wrote, in effect, a manifesto declaring that the rebellion was absurd and lamentable, asking the rebels to abandon arms and return to their homes. The Judge Advocate General, Señor Peña, ruled that authorization to publish the manifesto should not be granted because in it Rizal did not condemn the rebellion but its timeliness, considering the uprising premature. The Judge Advocate added that the manifesto, inspired by the prospect of defeat, said in substance: "Let us subject ourselves now, for later I shall lead you to the Promised Land."

Comes now the reading of the *expediente gubernativo* presented by the secretary, Señor Abella, of the General Government of the Islands. It appears that, before the outbreak of the rebellion, Rizal figured as the leader of the armed movement; that the *Katipunan* was preparing a wide-scale publication of the picture of Rizal for distribution among the masses; and corroborative data.

The Fiscal, Señor Alcocer, delivers a most brilliant speech which produces a deep impression. He traces the silhouette of Rizal as leader of a sedition which had long been prepared. He says that Rizal, during his deportation to Dapitan, was visited frequently by the leaders of the conspiracy, which shows, by the proofs adduced in the preliminary investigation, that in Rizal reposed the supreme leadership. He asks the death penalty for the author of the events which had reddened and are still reddening with blood the Philippine Islands.

"It is imperative," says Señor Alcocer, "that Rizal should pay the tribute due to justice, because his propaganda, his works and his counsels were the nucleus of the rebellion. Other rebels of minor responsibility have paid for it with their lives."

"It has been proven," he continues, "that Rizal has founded illicit societies, has promoted rebellion, and has induced many to commit this crime."

Señor Alcocer enumerates the aggravating circumstances, among which figures, in accordance with the laws of the Philippines, that of being an indigenous native (*indigena*).

While the Fiscal talks, Rizal remains with his hands crossed, body motionless, and outwardly showing great serenity.

Señor Taviel de Andrade pleads for the acquittal of Rizal. He denies that the crimes for which Rizal is accused have been proved and says that many of the acts of the defendant which now appear to be grave crimes against Spain, are consequences of political obsession.

Having been asked by the presiding officer if he has anything to say in his defense, Rizal answers yes, and standing up with his arms tied, showing much composure, he talks for a long while.

"I am innocent," he says. "Obviously, there is need for a propitiatory victim for the happenings of today. In Cuba, that victim has been Maura, to whose political reforms the rebellion is ascribed. Here, it is pretended that I am that one. Not one letter of mine could be presented which might prove the accusations directed against me. When I was exiled in Dapitan, many persons of some authority suggested that I escape, and I refused to do so because I thought that I would not be persecuted.

"Before the outbreak here of the rebellion I asked the government for permission to go to Cuba as a volunteer. After the said event I again solicited permission from General Blanco. He answered: 'If you insist on going to Cuba, I shall grant you the

permit.' When they sent me to Spain, I got off the boat in Singapore, but neither did I try to escape then. I am accused of being the leader of the revolution. If this were true, I would have been obeyed when I ordered that arms be laid down. I utterly ignored the plot of the conspiracy, one glaring proof of which is the consultation which Valenzuela had with me and which appears in the preliminary investigation."

With this the trial came to an end, and the commentaries began.

The words of Rizal produced no effect at all.

It was remembered that being very cautious, he did not write a single document which might incriminate him; that his advice to the conspirators not to revolt was a confirmation of his full knowledge of what was being plotted; moreover, the various visits which the leaders of the conspiracy had made in Dapitan were enumerated, and it is known that when he asked to go as a volunteer to Cuba he was already a deportee.

The Court's decision is expected with anxiety.

—MANUEL ALHAMA

El Imparcial, *Manila, Dec. 29 (6:50 p.m.)*

According to what everyone expected, the Court-Martial has condemned to death the *filibustero* Rizal. He was conducted to the chapel of the jail. When the sentence was read, he was greatly impressed, he turned pale and was on the verge of falling down.

"I did not expect it," he said; "it was not what had been promised to me."

He was told that he had to sign his sentence. He did so and exclaimed: "I do not agree with it; it is unjust. Here it is said that I am a *mestizo,* and that is not true; I am an *Indio puro.*"

Rizal then asked how the sentence would be executed. He was told that he was going to be shot by musketry.

"Then I ask that I be not shot through the back."

Then he added that he wished to legalize his situation with the woman he loves. This was a Canadian, a woman with a past, whom Rizal met in Hongkong when she was a waitress in a tavern.

"I want to get married, but not canonically, because I am not a Catholic."

It is to be noted that Rizal had been educated in the college of the Jesuits of Manila. He was reminded of this in an effort

to induce him to go to confession and to get married within the Catholic religion.

He energetically refused, saying: "No, it cannot be; I do not like anything with the priests. They are the ones who are responsible for what is happening to me. Because of their suspiciousness, great importance was given to insignificant events of my life."

Shortly after Rizal had entered the death chapel, two illustrious Jesuits went to see him: Father Vilaclara and Father Federico Faura; the first, director of superior studies of the Society of Jesus, and the other, an eminent man of science who directs the astronomical Observatory of Manila. Both Jesuits had been teachers of Rizal. When the latter saw Father Faura he threw himself into the Jesuit's arms, weeping. He then conversed lengthily with Father Vilaclara. The two priests tried to convince Rizal to forget his hatred and turn his eyes toward heaven. Rizal was not being persuaded by the counsel of the Jesuits. The latter carried a statue of Our Lady which belongs to the college of the Society, and to which Rizal was so devout in his childhood. The statue remained in the chapel.

The condemned man refuses to talk at all about anything relating to the conspiracy and to Masonry. He personally wrote a last will, bequeathing to his defender in court a pin which he was wearing.

The news that Rizal was going to be executed in a few hours has spread everywhere, producing a deep impression. The police have received indications that the family of Rizal is trying to agitate the popular masses in the barrios of Tondo and Trozo, with the object of producing a tumult which might impede the execution. The authorities have taken measures to prevent any such chimerical attempt.

The relatives of Rizal have asked that his body be given to them. This petition has been denied to prevent that the body of the agitator be an object for demonstrations and that his clothes be distributed as relics among the fanatics.

The detachment which will execute Rizal will be composed of native soldiers (*"soldados indigenas"*).

El Heraldo, *Manila, Dec. 29 (11:15 p.m.)*

My cabled impression on the 26th regarding the sentence on Rizal has been confirmed. The Court Martial has condemned him to death. Superior authority having approved the sentence, and all the legal requisites complied with and the prisoner notified, he entered the chapel at seven o'clock this morning.

All measures have been taken to prevent Rizal from committing suicide. The family of the Filipino doctor tried to see the governor general to ask for his pardon. General Polavieja was unable to receive them.

I have succeeded in talking for a few moments with Rizal before he entered the chapel. The condemned filibuster has shown me that he is sorry for his part in the incidents (taking place.)

"I am not," he told me, "what has been made to believe. Seen from near I am very small, and only the rancor of my enemies has made me big; and with regard to my pretended malice, I'll only say that I have been cheated even by coachmen and boatmen. If against everything, I had followed the counsels of the venerable Father Nozaleda, whose lessons I have received, I would now not be in this situation."

I talked to him about his book, the *Noli Me Tangere,* about which he showed me profound contempt.

In the brief moments that I was able to talk to him, and despite his terrible situation, Rizal has shown himself amiable, but naturally within the sad reality. The Jesuits and the dean of the cathedral have lent their spiritual assistance. Rizal appears contrite. His family has asked that they be given the cadaver of the condemned man. This petition has been denied.

Manila, Dec. 29

The hopes of the believers and the exaltations of the anti-religious fluttered around the personality of Rizal. As I indicated in my previous cablegram, when Rizal reminded me of the lessons and counsels of Father Nozaleda, his spirit was not far from a reconciliation with the Church.

I have been assured that Rizal will retract from his errors against Religion and the State, and that he will hear confession before marrying his beloved. The sisters of the condemned man, broken up with crying, waited for the Governor General at the gate of his palace, throwing themselves at his feet to ask for clemency.

The General would like to have extended the clemency that his innermost feelings of mercy dictated but which he could not do in the fulfillment of his inexorable duties.

The hour for the execution has not yet been fixed.

To carry out the orders of the law, a picket of native soldiers belonging to battalion number 70, armed with Remington rifles, has been placed in charge.

Manila, Dec. 30

Rizal has reconciled with the Church, abjuring solemnly his errors. He was serene at the moment of death, and when he was asked to kneel, he refused declaring in a loud voice that pride and arrogance had led him on the road to perdition unto death.

He signed a solemn retraction of masonry, declaring his faith in the only true religion.

The square was formed by a group of *cazadores* from Regiment 70 of native troops and the battalion of volunteers. A large number of peninsulars and mestizos attended the execution. When Rizal fell to the ground, loud *vivas* were heard for Spain, hispanic Philippines, and General Polavieja. Fears were not confirmed regarding tricks attributed to the friends of Rizal.

SANTIAGO MATAIX

El Imparcial, *Manila Dec. 30 (6:45 p.m.)*

In spite of the conversations which the famous Jesuit Fathers Faura and Vilaclara had in the chapel with Rizal, the latter continued in his refusal to go to confession, and maintained his philosophical and political theories. Later, Father Faura returned to talk to him, thus:

"Be convinced, Rizal, that we who had been your teachers are the only ones who have not deceived you. Repent in time. We shall console you. Remember that when you were studying in our house you always prayed before that statue of the Sacred Heart which you yourself had carved. He will save you if you should ask for it."

Rizal, deeply moved, vacillated, and after remaining a moment in silence, said to Father Faura that he wanted to go to confession. He did so, in effect, with great concentration and fervor. Afterwards, there operated in Rizal a strange reaction. He asked for paper and pen and began to write verses. Then, talking to those who were around him, he said:

"The conversations with the intelligent Spaniards have made me a *filibustero,* because they made me desire the independence of my country. When I was in Madrid, the Republicans used to tell me that liberty was won with bullets, not on one's knees. Truly, these ideas deposited in my soul are the authors of my work; my only sin is that of pride; I had thought I could do something very big, without having the necessary conditions for it."

Until the moment of the execution he has continuously expressed this fixed idea that pride is what lost him. He said also: "I wanted for the Philippines a legal system like that which, in Spain, the Basque provinces have. In insist in condemning the rebellion. The sentence which deprives me of life is just, if what is intended to punish in me is the revolutionary work, but unjust if my intentions be taken into account."

He signed with various witnesses a retraction of his religious errors, in which he says:

"I declare myself a Catholic; I wish to live and I die as a Catholic; I retract with all my heart whatsoever I have said, written and done against the Church and Our Lord Jesus Christ. I abandon Masonry which is an enemy of the Church. The diocesan prelate may publish this retraction which I make spontaneously to repair as much as possible the scandal produced by my writings and by my acts. May all the people pardon me for the harm which I have caused to many of them."

Once again he asked for confession, and four times consecutively he requested that he be left alone with Father Faura with whom he conversed attentively. Kneeling before the altar, he read the liturgical formula of the abjuration. Afterwards he exchanged jokes with those around him, happily manifesting his lack of fear in the face of death. At intervals he turned toward the altar and read a devotionary with great composure.

Josephine Bracken, Rizal's woman, was conducted to the chapel. Rizal, greatly moved, greeted her by extending his hand. A priest performed the marriage ceremony, at the end of which Rizal asked Josephine:

"And now, what will happen to you? What are you going to live on?"

Josephine answered: "I shall make a living by giving English lesson."

The lady was trying to suppress the emotion which she was feeling. Shortly after, Rizal expressed his wish to receive Holy Communion, which was administered to him by a Jesuit Father. He bade goodbye to his wife, and at the parting moment he muttered some English words and asked her something in a low voice, to which she answered: *"Yes, yes."*

When Josephine disappeared, Rizal sobbing, threw himself into the arms of Father Faura. Meanwhile, Josephine, in the next compartment, stamping her feet furiously, was shouting: *"Miserables! Crueles."* . . .

When the time for the execution came, Rizal walked out of the jail between two Jesuit Fathers, Mar and Vilaclara, at the center of a circle of artillerymen. Ahead went a drummer who was marking the march.

In the streets there were many people who were waiting for the mournful party. This wound its way to the Luneta. Along the road Rizal kept looking around, as if he were searching for, or were expecting to see, someone.

When the party stopped, Rizal lost all energy. He tried to talk but his stuttering speech did not express any idea whatsoever. He was placed on the site of the execution. They did not permit him to face the soldiers, and he waited, his head covered by a piece of cloth, standing erect, but without his eyes being bandaged.

Then, with a loud voice Rizal said: *"Consummatum est."*

The musketry discharge sounded. Rizal vacillated, he half-turned, and fell down backwards upon a curb of the Luneta. The head had been respected by the missiles. He had his eyes open. The soldiers forthwith burst forth into a sonorous *"Viva España!"* followed by another cry of *"Mueran los traidores!"* (Death to the traitors!)

Many *Indios* approached to view the body, to convince themselves that Rizal had died.

—MANUEL ALHAMA

El Imparcial, *Manila, Dec. 30*

Captain-General to Minister of War: Court martial condemned Rizal: seven morning executed by firing squad—*Polavieja.*

The Sentence On Rizal

Manila, Dec. 30

What *La Correspondencia* has said is not correct about the Minister of War having approved the death sentence of Rizal. The one who approves the sentence is the Captain-General of the archipelago.

RIZAL AND THE JOIE DE VIVRE

Gilbert S. Perez

Dr. Perez came to the islands from Florida as a young teacher, and became so enamored of this country and its people that he made it his permanent home. He specialized in vocational education and was connected with the Bureau of Education all his life. Known as an authority on numismatics and philately, he exhibited a wide interest on diverse subjects. He was a great admirer of Rizal, and this essay (first printed in the *Philippine Educator* for December, 1947) is a masterly summation of how the hero's many-sided genius should be appreciated. Dr. Perez died at the San Juan de Dios hospital nearly two years ago.

What one should admire in Rizal is the richness of his life, his wealth of knowledge in various fields, his varied powers of appreciation which enabled him in the short space of three decades to live a life that very few if any of his contemporaries could duplicate. Rizal was an embodiment of *"joie de vivre,"* of finding happiness in many fields of action. The French expression, *"joie de vivre,"* is often very erroneously interpreted. Many believe that *"joie de vivre"* means frivolity, revelry, and debauchery. That is not a true interpretation of the phrase. *"Joie de vivre"* means the enrichment of life and of living and the ability of finding happiness in different high-ways and by-ways of life as well as in the seclusion of one's home. It is in this that Rizal is unique among the great reformers of the world.

No study of the growth of liberal thought in the modern world can be complete unless José Rizal is included among the great leaders in this development. However, great reformers have invariably been individuals endowed with one-track minds. They have been usually so obssessed with their main objectives that they were oblivious of the life that was around them. They concentrated on their main tasks and few had the capacity or the ability to see any value in anything other than the great task to which they dedicated themselves. There were the three outstanding Oriental reformers—Rizal,

Sun Yat Sen. and Lenin (for I consider Lenin an Oriental and however I may hate or decry some of his philosophy, one cannot minimize the extent of his influence both on the Occidental and the Oriental world); of these Rizal is the only one of the triad that shines out as an example of one who not only reached his objectives but who also lived richly while accomplishing them. Rizal was not a recluse nor was he one who spent his days in meaningless revelry. He was a lover of beautiful women but no one can say that he was a libertine. His friendship with those with whom he came into contact was a joyous and worthwhile experience for both and as unsullied by guile or deception. He could cultivate a worthwhile friendship with a blonde from the Alps or with one from warmer climes and none carried wounds of disappointment or of disillusion.

As a moralist we cannot forget his words of admonition to his countrymen in Madrid when he chided them severely and told them that what they did when abroad reflected either good or evil and as such influenced the foreign mind with respect to the Philippines and the Filipino people. As a commentary on the relationship of Rizal with his numerous women friends, it is pleasing to note that his conduct was such that there was no breath of scandal, no heartbreaks and disappointments in their relationship with José Rizal, the great scholar and above all the perfect gentleman.

Don Isabelo de los Reyes in "*La Sensacional Memoria*" stated that Rizal sacrificed his native passions to his country. I do not believe that Rizal made this sacrifice. What he really did was to lead them into paths that would not interfere with his greater and more passionate love of country and love of fruitful and happy endeavor. It was not a question of sacrifice; it was merely a task of making his relationships contributive and not merely senseless and debilitating debauchery that would interfere with the tasks that he had assigned to himself. Not a narrow austerity but a controlled emotional set-up that gave him happiness without harming those things which were dearer to him than life itself.

Some may say that Rizal was a dilettante—a man endowed with such varied abilities and capabilities for enjoyment in many different lines and fields. However, there is something lacking in the word dilettante because it precludes any serious efforts in any one line. In this respect he was no dilettante because he did not sip, butterfly-like, here and there, unmeaningly and without thought or objective. He drank wholly or fully of the good things of life—whether it was with his pen, with his brush or with a definite trend in all that he tried to accomplish.

Retana clearly noted this outstanding feature of the character of Rizal but while he seemed to be praising the microscope of a scientist or the scalpel of a surgeon, and these were the varied accomplishments of Rizal, we can easily detect a note of malice and a barb of satire in his pseudo-eulogy, for although I recognize most emphatically the outstanding value of Retana's work and the most excellent contribution that he has made to Rizaliana and in spite of the fact that I consider Wenceslao Retana to be one of the great bibliophiles not only in Spain but in Europe, I am regretfully led to believe that Retana never completely rid himself of his jealousy and dislike of Rizal even in after-life when he was writing a biography that was supposed to be an appraisal of the work of a man who in Retana's earlier years was his pet *bete noir* and his principal obsession.

The late Don Epifanio de los Santos once graciously presented me with a communication written by Blumentritt to a Manila newspaper that had published a most scurrilous attack on Rizal in an article signed with a pseudonym. This writer of the article was none other than Wenceslao Retana. Blumentritt was equally as bitter in his arraignment of Retana and lambasted him for not having the civic courage to write such an article under his own name instead of under a concealing pseudonym. The Japs unfortunately destroyed this letter but since reading it I could never entirely convince myself that Retana was ever able to completely rid himself of his former prejudices against Jose Rizal.

> "As a physician, Rizal was not a Mariani; as an artist he was not a Gustav Dore; as a poet, he was not a Goethe; as an anthropologist, he was not a Virchow; as an ethnologist, he was not a Ratzel; as an Filipinista, he was not a Blumentritt; as a historian, he was not a Macaulay; as a thinker, he was not a Nietzche; as a naturalist, he was not a Buffon; as a linguist, he was not a Hervas; as a Malayologist, he was not Kern; as a philosopher, he was no Zola; as a writer he was no Melendez y Pelayo, and as a geographer, he was no Reclus."

But *hombre*! Who ever claimed that he was? Certainly Rizal himself never had the egotism that would warrant such pretensions or such presumptions. Nor are his countrymen so naive as to exalt him to the rank of what Rizal himself would have sarcastically termed: *"Sobro profundo en todas clases de sabidurias."*

However, this veiled *"desprecio"* of Rizal in spite of its hidden satire, in spite of its veiled sophism, is in reality when properly studied, interpreted, and analyzed, in spite of the real intention of Retana,

was the most remarkable eulogy that has ever been made with reference to Rizal because one who reads will by no means be impressed by Retana's ironical and multifarious negations. It is not that Rizal was **not** a Virchow. It is not that Rizal was **not** a Macaulay. The main source of wonder and admiration which Retana knew and could have mention if he wanted to was that one whom he had formerly considered a mere Indio *"presundo y presuntioso"* could in the short space of less than three decades have the intelligence, the sagacity, the ability, and the determination to qualify himself so eminently in so many different fields of cultural scholarship and of scientific achievement. Few and far between in the history of the world do men appear on the scene even with a modest store of ability in so many and so varied fields of human endeavor. Instead of a *"desprecio"* it was a supreme honor for Rizal even to be mentioned in connection with so many leaders in so many different lines of scholarly activity.

Rizal never aspired to leadership in any of the fields mentioned, not because he lacked the ability or the intelligence but because to do this even in one line of work would not fit into his philosophy of life. His innate *joie de vivre,* of enjoyment of the finer things of life, would not have permitted him to devote the years of his short life in the complete mastery of any one field. Life and living was too precious and there were too many avenues of happiness that were open to a man of his capabilities to sacrifice years of work that would be needed for perfection and leadership. If he were willing to spend the necessary time he could have become one of the world's greatest historians; he could have become one of the world's greatest scientists. He could have written 20 instead of only two best sellers. Furthermore, the tasks that he had assigned to himself in behalf of his people and his country would not permit him the luxury of spending too much of his valuable time to another equally time-exhausting specialty. Besides, there were many others who had the time to do this without having to work for the eradication of evils that prevailed in their country. He had a task to perform and his own life to live and to enjoy.

Furthermore, he was the only one who could do this task efficiently and I believe that he realized it. There could be many great historians, past, present, and future; there could be also great scientists for each generation; but there could be only one Rizal and nothing could or should interfere with the fruition of the plans that he had made for the betterment and for the enlightenment of his people. He did not aspire to be a great novelist and his novel might not have been a great one from a literary standpoint, but it was

the mightiest plea for justice and for the right that had been written since Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote her immortal *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and paved the way for universal human freedom. More of a political *"feuilleton"* than a romance it stirred the souls of men as effectively as an oration of Cicero or a Philippic of Demosthenes and led to the fruition of liberal thought in the Far East, just as effectively as Beaumarchais' *Barber of Seville* paved the way for the Liberty, Fraternity and Equality of a Republican France. Who cares whether nor not Rizal was as great a novelist as Melendez y Pelayo—whoever the literary marvel might be—the fact remains that what he wrote has influenced the history of his country and has made greater contribution to human liberty than any of the greater and better novels penned by better and greater novelists. Rizal might not and would not have written *a Les Miserables* but only José Rizal could pen an effective *Noli Me Tangere.* Only Rizal knew what lay hidden—unspoken in the heart of his countrymen; only he had the ability, the courage, and the determination to bring these hidden things out fearlessly into the open.

However, Rizal was a free soul—one who not only loved a book but loved different types of books, who appreciated human friendships and who delighted himself and his friends with his pen, his brush, and his sculptor's mallet. He could seek happiness with his microscope and find an emotional outlet in the study of nature and its wonders. Without this freedom to work for the interest of his country and to seek enjoyment and happiness in varied fields, Rizal would have been sunk in a sea of boredom and ennui. His unusual ability to make the most of the *joie de vivre* is what adds to his fame and his stature. When he finished his "Noli Me Tangere" and his "Fili" he turned his talents into other directions ever seeking experiences and accomplishments that would add to his richness of life and thereby make a greater contribution to his country and to his people.

A successful physician, yet he writes to Blumentritt from Dapitan and says: *"Me voy agricultor porque aqui apenas me dedico a la medicina."* "When my *maquina de fotografia* arrives I will take pictures of my *'bosque civilizado'* which I am constructing with its lawns and steps and benches and I shall send copies of them to you, my friend and brother." To his scientist friends in Austria, he sent lizards, butterflies, and other natural history specimens, another pleasant outlet for happy endeavor. Rizal abhorred boredom because he realized that boredom was a vacuum, and a vacuum had no place in the life of Rizal. Even in his prisons he found ways and means to avoid boredom both in Dapitan with his scien-

tific and teaching activities and in Fort Santiago with his pen. With such men "walls do not a prison make." If he had been deprived of his pen he would have found some emotional outlet in classifying the different types of hexapods that invaded the loneliness of his prison cell, for a man who loves is never entirely alone.

Furthermore, he did not build his life solely out of local material, strands that connected him with fellow scientists, friends and fellow scholars far across the seas and which enabled him to pluck a note here and there on the strands and receive comforting echoes from the Austrian Alps and from the Spanish Pyrenees. But with all of his cosmopolitan make-up Rizal never once forgot that he was a Filipino; he never wavered once in his love for his people and for his native land. After all, that is the only type of cosmopolitanism that is worth a "tinker's dam."

I firmly believe that the example of José Rizal if followed would contribute a great deal to a better philosophy of life; it would encourage more tolerance; it would discourage narrow prejudices; it would lead to a greater appreciation of the world and of the people that surround us; it would help to strengthen the bonds of fellowship between the different peoples and races in the world and would make us have a greater appreciation of the present life in order that we may be better fitted to enjoy what may be in store for us beyond the grave.

RIZAL AS A HUMANIST

Horacio de la Costa

Rizal was a man of the Renascence—in fact, he belonged to the century of the Italian humanists. This is the conclusion of the history department at the Ateneo de Manila, where our hero received his early training. Father de la Costa is the author of the recent "Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768" and "The Trial of Rizal," both published earlier this year.

When we say that Rizal was a humanist, we invite comparisons. The word "humanist" is very specially and closely associated with a definite period in the cultural history of Europe, the Renascence; and the image it calls up in the minds of most of us is that of certain outstanding figures of that time—men like Petrarch, da Vinci, Erasmus, Thomas More. Thus, to affirm that someone is a humanist is, in effect, to put him in this company. Does Rizal belong in this company? This is the subject of our paper.

Right at the start, we come up against a problem of no small difficulty; the problem of whether we can start at all. We know, at least from common consent, who the humanists of the Renascence were; but what is a humanist? What did these highly individual personalities have in common? What, for instance, did Petrarch, poet and Ciceronian, have in common with da Vinci, painter, sculptor, and inventor of flying machines? What the worldly and cynical Erasmus with the saintly More? One is sorely tempted to say that all they had in common was the quality of being uncommon. If we boiled such volatile essences together, can we expect a residue?

The Oxford English Dictionary apparently believes that we can. It tells us that the word "humanist" first occurs in English in 1589 as meaning "one versed in the humanities"; and that "the humanities", or more precisely its singular form, "humanity", had come into current use fully a century earlier to designate "learning or literature connected with human culture, as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and especially the Latin and Greek classics." Thus, by 1670, "humanist" had come to mean "one of those scholars who,

at the Renascence, devoted themselves to the study of Roman, and afterwards of Greek antiquity."

Now here, certainly, is something that all our humanists had in common: a lively interest in Latin and Greek literature; an interest which amounted to enthusiasm; an enthusiasm which to us, who have little Latin and less Greek, often seems highly exaggerated. Petrarch ransacked every monastic library to which he could gain admittance for manuscripts of the Latin authors. Erasmus and More wrote in Latin to each other, striving to couch the gossip of sixteenth-century Europe in the same chatty yet classic style that Cicero used when regaling his friend Atticus with the gossip of Republican Rome. And if da Vinci sought his inspiration not in books but in nature, it was because he thought by this means to wrest the secret of that lost art by which the Greeks succeeded in making even the gods look like men.

Two remarks are here in order. First, that the humanists of the Renascence were much more familiar with Latin than with Greek; most of them had hardly any Greek at all. Secondly, the study of the Latin authors were by no means a new thing in Europe. It was a very old thing. All through the Middle Ages, educated men were reading Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Ovid. That was in fact the reason why the works of these pagan authors were preserved; because the monks of the Middle Ages, whom the men of the Renascence were disposed to patronize as ignorant and uncouth, thought them worth preserving: And yet, there was something new, after all; something new in the way the humanists approached and handled the old familiar texts.

What was new? We may perhaps put it this way. In the Middle Ages, even at the height of that remarkable revival of classical studies which is sometimes called the Twelfth-Century Renascence, the Latin classics were studied, indeed, but studied always in function of something else. If the Latin language was learned, it was because Latin was the language of the liturgy, the Vulgate, and the Fathers of the Church. If certain of the Latin poets, orators and historians were read, it was because they were thought to have foreshadowed, in the half-light of that long dusk before Christ came, the full and perfect truth of the Christian revelation. Cicero's concept of a law of nature common to Greek and Scythian, graven not on stone but on the fleshy tablets of the heart, anticipated in some ways the universality of the Christian dispensation. As for Vergil, he was regarded with something akin to awe as a pagan prophet and almost a Christian saint, so that

Dante, for instance, could without any consciousness of incongruity choose him for his guide through Hell and Purgatory. In short, the pagan classics were studied in the Middle Ages not for their own sake but for what they could contribute to the understanding of Christian revelation—to that inquiry into the supernatural which was the main concern of medieval men.

Now, if we may for the sake of brevity indulge in oversimplification, what the Renascence did was to shorten the focus of the mind. The image of God, upon which the attention of Western man had for so long been concentrated, dissolved out of focus, and what came into focus, sharp and clear, was a much closer and in many ways a much more interesting object: Man. That is, in fact, how Jakob Burckhardt defines the Renascence: "the discovery of the world and of man." Perhaps we should say, not "discovery" but "re-discovery", for what the Renascence humanists discovered with mounting excitement was that the world and man had been discovered before: by Homer and Vergil, by Plato and Seneca, by Cicero and Demosthenes, by Aristophanes and Plautus.

These antique worthies knew not Christ. They did not even have the revelation vouchsafed to the Jews. They had only themselves and the world around them. But they looked at the world around them and they looked into themselves; they saw it all steadily and they saw it whole; and the image of what they saw, as reflected in their poetry, their philosophy, their temples, the very vases and pots they used, was something that approached absolute loveliness, a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

Surely, then, the classics should be studied not simply as an aid to the theology but in themselves, for their own sake. For they tell us, and they tell us memorably, what man is, and what man can do, and what man should be; and after all, as the poet of a later Augustan Age would say, the proper study of mankind is man. Here, then, is a second attribute of the Renascence humanist, an attribute which the very name in fact suggests. He believed that the study of literature, especially the literature of antiquity, not only taught a man what manhood was, but in the process formed that manhood, refined it, made it more fully and truly human. What should emerge from such a discipline was, in Quintilian's famous phrase, *vir bonus dicendi peritus,* "a good man skilled in speech"; someone who had something worth saying and could say it well; someone possessed of both wisdom and eloquence; a man fully and roundly human; in short, a humanist.

But what did the humanist understand by wisdom? Will it shock you if I said that what he aimed at was universal knowledge? I think perhaps it will; for we are today so much impressed by the vastness of what there is to know that we readily abandon all hope of ever understanding anything more than a very small corner of our world. We are rapidly becoming a generation of specialists, each of us knowing more and more about less and less, and, as a consequence, having less and less to talk about to each other. The logical term of this process is that we shall have universities in which we shall all sit, the microbiologist, the astrophysicist, the econometricist, the speech therapist, and the professor of Urdu, muttering to ourselves because we no longer have any common thoughts to share or any common language in which to share it.

Now the humanist was essentially—and this was his third attribute—not a specialist but a generalist. I do not think he was naive enough to imagine that he could really know everything. It is true that Pico della Mirandola at one time challenged all comers to dispute with him *de omni re scibili et de quibusdam aliis*—"concerning everything knowable, and sundry other matters"—but Pico was either mad or joking. No, the Renascence humanist did not try to know everything, but he certainly tried to know as much as he could; he was *interested* in everything. He made his own Seneca's dictum that being a man, he considered nothing which pertained to man as being outside the scope of his interest. Perhaps this is the reason why the age of Michelangelo the painter was also the age of Copernicus the astronomer; why the age of Colet the classicist was also the age of Columbus the navigator; why, in short, the Age of Humanism was also the Age of Discovery.

Wisdom, then; but besides wisdom, eloquence. For the humanists, it was not enough that a man should be "good"; he should also be "skilled in speech." The reason is clear. It is by speech, by the spoken or the written word, that a man communicates with his fellows, and it is by speech skilfully employed that he persuades them and moves them to action. And the good man, the wise man, has need of this skill, for he is under obligation to share goodness and wisdom with others; to leave men and human society better than he found them. A humanist is thus, almost by definition, a reformer, and by temperament and training a reformer through persuasion, by peaceful means. Both Erasmus and More were keenly conscious of the evils of their time; and it is quite characteristic that they should try to do something about them, the former by writing a satire, *The Praise of Folly,* the latter by writing a parable, *Utopia.*

Here, then, are some of the lineaments of the humanist: a man convinced that through the study of literature, especially the literature of classical antiquity, it is possible to refine and ennoble human nature and thus to form a person both wise and eloquent, by his wisdom encompassing the order and variety of the cosmos, and by his eloquence moving men to reflect in their individual and collective lives the just and unvarying laws of the universe. We must add at once that this was the humanist *ideal:* only a few of the men of the Renascence came close to it, many fell far short of it. But we must also add that this ideal did not perish with the Renascence; men of every generation from that time to this have been captivated by that ideal and have sought to reproduce it in their own lives.

And now, what of our present problem? Does Rizal belong in this illustrious company? Was he a humanist? This, at any rate, we can say: he received the education of a humanist. When the young Rizal went to the Ateneo Municipál, he was put through a course of studies that was still, in substance, that which took shape in the great European centers of learning during the Age of Humanism. Rizal's preceptors at the Ateneo Municipál belonged to an association of teachers founded by a Basque gentleman, Iñigo de Loyola, who received his Master of Arts degree at the University of Paris. Thus, when he and his associates began to establish colleges of their own, he insisted always that they should follow in their teaching *modus et ordo Parisiensis*—the method and order of Paris; the method of teaching and the order or succession of courses that Renascence humanism had engrafted on the arts curriculum of medieval Paris.

And this was the method and order which the Spanish Jesuits of the Ateneo Municipál followed in the education of Rizal and his contemporaries. It began with a detailed and intensive study of literature—Latin, Greek and Spanish—with the object of developing *eloquentia,* the art of clear, concise and forceful expression. It proceeded from these literary studies to those which aimed at the development of *sapientia,* wisdom in its widest sense: philosophy and the natural sciences. And all these studies were permeated by the Christian ideal of holiness as crowning, not repealing the classic conception of the good man, a man dedicated to the noblest ends, and to make good that dedication exercising mastery over himself and his unruly passions. Never far from the consciousness of those who taught and learned in that school was the plan of life which Saint Ignatius placed at the head of his *Spiritual Exercises,*

the briefest and clearest statement I know of the program of Christian humanism:

> El hombre es criado para alabar, hacer reverencia y servir a Dios nuestro Señor, y mediante esto salvar su ánima; y las otras cosas sobre la haz de la tierra son criadas para el hombre, y para que le ayuden en la prosecución del fin para que es criado. De donde se sigue, que el hombre tanto ha de usar dellas, cuanto le ayudan para su fin, y tanto debe quitarse dellas, cuanto para ello le impiden. Por lo cual es menester hacernos indiferentes a todas las cosas criadas en todo lo que es concedido a la libertad de nuestro libre albedrío y no le está prohibido; en tal manera que no queramos de nuestra parte más salud que enfermedad, riqueza que pobreza, honor que deshonor, vida larga que corta, y por consiguiente en todo lo demás, solamente deseando y eligiendo lo que más nos conduce para el fin que somos criados.[1]

Since Rizal was educated as a humanist, it is not surprising that his later life and writings should bear the impress and betray the influence of that training. It appears in his style, which although Romantic in inspiration often has a clarity, conciseness and organization which is Roman—acquired, we may reasonably infer, from his early contact with Cicero and Caesar. A relatively simple test will strengthen this inference. Take either of Rizal's two major essays: *On the Indolence of the Filipino* or *The Philippines a Century Hence,* and subject it to a literary analysis.

I believe you will find, first, that it was not merely written but *constructed;* Rizal did not merely put down what came into his head, when and as it came, he wrote according to an outline. If you now reconstruct that outline, you will find that it follows the classic lines of Roman rhetoric; it is pretty much the kind of outline that Cicero would have made.

How much of Rizal's cast of mind, in his mature manhood, was the result of his humanist education, how much was inborn or the product of his own reflection, it is, I believe, impossible to determine. We can only register the fact that he possessed two of the qualities which we have suggested earlier as being characteristic of the humanist. The first is the breadth of his intellectual interests. If there ever was a generalist, it was he. He tried his hand

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1 Man was created to praise, reverence and serve God, and by this means to save his soul. And the other things on the face of the earth were created for man's sake, that they may assist him in the pursuit of the end for which he was created.

Whence it follows that a man must make use of them in so far as they help him to his end, and withdraw from them in so far as they are an obstacle to that end.

It behooves us then to develop in ourselves a detachment with respect to all creatures, to the extent that such detachment is permitted to our free choice and not forbidden; in such wise that we do not, as far as in us lies, prefer health to sickness, riches to poverty, honor to shame, a long life to a short one, and so in all other things, desiring and choosing only what is most conducive to the end for which we are created.

at practically everything he could think of: painting, sculpture, fiction, satire, medicine, linguistics, anthropology, sanitary engineering, pedagogy, political and social reform. Not even da Vinci was so versatile, although it must be admitted that da Vinci did somewhat better in one or two things that he attempted. The point however, is that Rizal lived at the beginning of our age of specialization but he did not belong to it. Spiritually, he did not belong to the nineteenth century, the century of Darwin; he belonged rather to the fifteenth century, the century of the Italian humanists. He was in fact a man of the Renascence.

The second quality was his dedication to reform by persuasion, by peaceful and evolutionary rather than by revolutionary and violent courses. He was killed on the charge that he fomented a revolution. Nothing could be more mistaken. To the end of his life he believed that men would do justice if only they could be made to see it, and that slaves could win liberty from their masters without the shedding of blood. Possibly he was mistaken. If so, it was a mistake that did him honor.

Perhaps then we can say that Rizal was a humanist. He was educated as a humanist, and he lived and thought according to its best ideals. But if this is so, what then? Are we today obliged to follow in his footsteps?

We here touch the larger question of whether the ends and attitudes of humanism are as valid for us today as they were for Rizal. Are we, for instance, completely satisfied with our present system of higher education? Have we solid reasons for hoping that, given the native talent, the order and method that we follow in our teaching today will form leaders like Rizal, men of broad vision, balanced judgment, unshakable integrity and persuasive speech, men who, in the words of John Milton, have been so trained as capably to discharge all the offices of both peace and war? Is it more specialists we need, or more generalists? Are we here in the Philippines in danger of splitting into the two cultures that Sir Charles Snow speaks of, a scientific culture and a humanistic culture, between which all all communication has broken down? Or is our peculiar peril rather that of dilettantism, of producing an educated class composed entirely of third-rate da Vincis, third-rate Rizals, men who know a little of everything, and nothing really well? And finally, granted that our society needs reformation, are we producing the men who have the judgment and the integrity to effect such reformation? Or are we merely producing demagogues who can only rant and rail against existing institutions,

who are capable only of destroying them, but can offer or build nothing better in their place?

I am sure that you all have your own opinions on these matters. I hope that you will share them with us.

RUDOLF VIRCHOW

Carlos Quirino

Among Rizal's foreign friends, Dr. Virchow was undoubtedly the most eminent; for the German savant was already a renowned pathologist and anthropologist who had led the minority Catholic party against the iron-fisted policies of Chancellor Bismarck. Recognizing the ability of the young Malayan, Virchow sponsored his membership to the Anthropological Society of Berlin. Mr. Quirino is the author of several biographies of great Filipinos and has written a prize-winning biography of our national hero.

Among José Rizal's many friends in the medical and scientific world, undoubtedly the most prominent of these was Dr. Rudolf Virchow, German pathologist and political leader. Ferdinand Blumentritt, the individual closest to Rizal's heart next to his brother Paciano, was known as an expert on the Philippines — but his fame did not extend beyond the limited field of his specialty. Dr. A. B. Meyer, curator of the Dresden Museum, Dr. Reinhold Rost, librarian of the India Office, Dr. F. Jagor, author of a travel book on the Philippines, Edmund Plauchut, French historian, Dr. Czepelak, Prof. Robert Klutschak and a dozen others, though respected in their fields of study, never attained the international renown that Virchow reached as a scientist.

Dr. Virchow (pronounced Fir-Ko) was already acknowledged as the authority of cellular pathology by the time he met young Rizal in January of 1887 at the monthly meeting of the Geographical Society of Berlin. Born on Oct. 13, 1821, in Pomerania south of the Baltic Sea, Virchow was a physician who had specialized on pathological anatomy, and his book *"Cellularpathologie"* published in 1858 firmly established his eminence in that particular field.[1] A score of books on histology, morbid anatomy and allied subjects (on leukemia, phlebitis, tuberculosis, rickets, tumors, trichinosis, etc.) followed in succession, to enhance his scientific reputation.

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[1] Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., Vol. 23, p. 178-9.

In 1862 he was elected a member of the Prussian Lower House, marking formally his entry into politics. His province-mate, the "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismark, was then maneuvering the federated German states into the powerful German Empire under the autocratic rule of Emperor William I.[2] As an intellectual, Virchow was a liberal and soon opposed the autocratic doctrine advocated by Bismarck; the former director of the famed Pathological Institute became the founder and leader of the Fortschrittspartei or Progressive Party, and the expression *"Kulturkampf"* had its origin in one of his electoral manifestos. Virchow was a good Catholic and was opposed with his church to the policy of Bismarck on state control over educational and marriage matters, free from ecclesiastical interference. Bismarck's measures on these matters excited very great bitterness among the Catholics in Germany. Virchow was one of his most vigorous antagonists in this respect.

It was during this period — when Bismarck had consolidated the German Empire with a quick victory over the French in 1870, and the German Catholics were fighting strenuously for what they believed to be their rights — that Rizal met the great Virchow.

Rizal was then in Berlin, putting the finishing touches on the publication of his immortal novel, *"Noli Me Tangere."* He had not been eating too well, for he was scrimping every *pfennig* he could save to pay the printers, and was suffering from fevers and chills. He admitted that while studying at the Ateneo de Manila, a physician had informed him he had had incipient tuberculosis. The room where he boarded was not too warm and the winter had been cold with heavy snow covering the ground.

From Leitzmeritz, Bohemia (now Czechoslovakia), Blumentritt suggested that Rizal might find it pleasant and profitable to meet Messrs. Virchow and Jagor, and that he would arrange for an introduction to these two German savants.

"If you think it won't bother Messrs. Virchow and Jagor that I visit them," replied Rizal in a letter[3] dated Nov. 28, 1886, "I wish to thank you for your good intention of introducing them to me. I leave it to your discretion; you know them better than I do, and know their feelings. I would like to know them, for their fame reaches even to the Philippines, but I evade visits wherein I have nothing to say nor to give; it seems to me somewhat like wandering around without a destination. Anyway, I leave the matter to your good judgment. I am convinced you will decide what is best."

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[2] *Op. cit.* vol. 3, pp. 659-68.
[3] Epistolario Rizalino, Vol. V Part I, p. 35.

DR. RUDOLF VIRCHOW

Famed German pathologist and anthropologist who became Rizal's good friend during his sojourn in Berlin in 1886. (Quirino Collection.)

He had a feeling of *delicadeza* about meeting complete strangers —famous ones at that. Would they think he was too presumptuous to barge in on them? A couple of weeks later, Rizal had overcome his scruples.

"Referring to my visit with Profs. Jagor and Virchow, I have changed my mind," he wrote to Blumentritt.[4] "The son of Minister (former Overseas Minister Segismundo Moret) Moret, a sort of friend, is here and carries recommendations from T. P. de Tavera to both professors; no knowing yet any German, Mr. Moret wants to accompany him when he makes his visits. A recommendation from you, or an announcement of my visit, will be of great service to me."

By Christmas time of 1886, Rizal had not found the time to pay a call on either Jagor or Virchow. The young Moret had been busy, and he had not felt well. He had a dry cough that bothered him. The meticulously frugal Rizal returned a stamp to Blumentritt that had not been franked by the Leitzmeritz post office. Under his strained circumstances, this penny-pinching act on his part was not surprising.

Several days later, after the New Year holidays, Rizal made it a point to pay a courtesy call[5] on Jagor, the German naturalist whose *"Reisen in den Philippinen"* (Travels in the Philippines) published in Berlin in 1873, was the second foreign book that he had read about his country.[6] Seven years earlier, Jagor had traveled throughout the archipelago and had made trenchant observations on conditions in the islands; his opinion that sooner or later the Philippines would come under the influence of the United States of America—as did the other colonies of Spain in South America—was developed by Rizal when the latter wrote his prophetic political essay, "The Philippines A Century Hence."

Rizal was not happy by the translation of Jagor's work, either in the English edition printed in London in 1875, or the Spanish edition printed in Madrid also that year by Sebastian Vidal y Soler. a Spanish engineer who had been inspector general of the forestry bureau: neither carried the appendices by Dr. J. Roth on the geology of the country, or a monograph by Virchow on some craniums which Jagor had found in some caves in the archipelago and which he had brought back to Berlin precisely for his countryman to study.[7] For Virchow had also become an acknowledged authority

[4] Epistolario, p. 41.
[5] Epistolario, p. 61.
[6] Austin Craig, "Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal," Manila, 1913, p. 95.
[7] T. H. Pardo de Tavera, "Biblioteca Filipina," Washington, 1903, p. 215.

on the new science of anthropology and had published a volume of essays on the physical anthropology of the Germans. He was also an archeologist of note, and several years earlier, in 1879, had gone on an expedition to Troy, site of the ancient city of Prince Paris and Queen Helen of Greece.

Rizal entertained the idea of putting forth a new edition in Tagalog of Jagor's work, but the expenses of publication must have made him abandon the plan later on. At any rate, as a result of his visit with Jagor, Rizal was invited to the January meeting of the Geographical Society of Berlin where he finally was introduced to the great Rudolf Virchow.

The German pathologist was a benign-looking man of 66: he had a flowing gray beard, a wide forehead, and wore steel-rimmed spectacles through which peeped blue-grey eyes that could twinkle merrily on occasion. On the other hand, Rizal, who was forty years younger, was solemn-looking young man who affected a mustache that was rather sparse because of his Malayan blood.

Virchow looked over carefully the newcomer, must have liked what he saw, because with a twinkle in his eyes he suddenly said: "Herr Rizal, may I study you—ethnographically, of course?"

"Ja, herr professor," replied Rizal, quick on the repartée. "For the love of science, I am willing to do that—but I shall go further, and bring you another specimen!"

He was referring to Dr. Maximo Viola, his roommate, who had arrived some weeks earlier in Berlin and with whom he was to tour Europe that spring prior to his return to Manila.

"Excellent, herr Doctor!" laughed Virchow. Rizal's sense of humor pleased them.

"I was seated beside him at the table and he understood my German *chabacano* quite well," Rizal reported to Blumentritt.[8] "Later, we drank beer with Freiherr von Dankelmann and two other gentlemen up to half past twelve. It was a beautiful and memorable evening that I spent with the learned Germans."

Virchow invited him attend the meeting of the Ethnographical Society the following week and recommended that he become a member thereof. With Virchow and Jagor sponsoring him, Rizal's entry into the German world of science was an assured thing: he also joined the Geographical and Anthropological Societies.[9] The German scientists were delighted to converse in their own tongue

8 Epistolario, p. 61.
9 Epistolario, pp. 68 and 73.

with this slender and intelligent visitor from halfway across the world.

Not very long after, Virchow, as president of the Anthropological Society, invited Rizal to deliver a lecture on the subject *"Tagalische Verskunst"* or on the Tagalog poetic meter.[10] This was a great honor for the young Filipino doctor; only recognized authorities in their field delivered lectures at the various meetings. In one of them, a Dr. Donitz gave an illustrated lecture on prehistoric Japanese tombs; at another, a learned treatise on Mecca was delivered by foreign expert. Rizal acquitted himself very well, and answered all questions asked of him after the lecture. The German men of science could see that he was no charlatan or half-baked scholar trying to bluff his way around, and applauded warmly afterwards. The lecture was later included in the society's publication for April and was followed by a later monograph *"Sobre la Nueva Ortografía de la Lengua Tagalog"* printed in the *Solidaridad* in 1890, and reprinted in the Hague three years later by the Royal Institute of the Netherland Indies under the title of *"Die Transcription des Tagalog."*

For some two months, Rizal rubbed elbows with Germany's greatest men of science: the experience added stature to his prestige. Spaniards had to admit, albeit grudgingly, that this was the first Filipino whom German savants respected; his critics could not longer dismiss him with a slighting remark on his status as a man of learning. As a matter of fact, his enemies suspected that he had acquired German citizenship to escape political persecution—he was that close, spiritually and culturally, to the Germans.

"Rizal himself was deeply Victorian and German," in the opinion of Ambassador Leon Ma. Guerrero,[11] latest biographer of our hero; "serious to the point of grimness, a scholar so scrupulous as to be almost a pedant; only his Malay blood and Spanish background saved him from the ponderous self-importance and solemn propriety of the complete Teuton."

Spring came and with the termination of the publication of the *Noli,* Rizal traveled in Central Europe for Genoa in the company of Viola. Enroute, at Leitzmeritz, he met Blumentritt for a memorable visit . . . and on to Manila, after an absence of five years, to tread once more his native soil.

Virchow and Rizal must have corresponded with each other during the ensuing years, but unfortunately we have no record

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[10] Wenceslao E. Retana, "Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal," Madrid, 1907, p. 465.
[11] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "The First Filipino," Manila 1961. Part 2, p. 73.

of their letters. Both were extremely busy men, the former more than the latter; for in 1880, Virchow was elected to the Reichstag as a representative of a Berlin constituency; here he became a leader of the opposition and a vigorous antagonist of Bismarck. He took a leading part in Berlin municipal politics, and through his unceasing efforts was largely responsible for numerous improvements, such as the installation of a modern drainage system, sewage farms and a good water-supply.[12] He died in 1902 at the ripe age of 81 years. He was the epitome of a learned man, a scientist, who did not believe in isolating himself in his "ivory tower" of aloofness, and instead had plunged vigorously into public life for what he believed was right and for the public welfare. It would not be surprising if Rizal had been encouraged by him to take an active role in reforming social and political conditions of the Philippines.

Rizal's execution must have deeply shocked his German friends, including Virchow. It is not inconceivable that the latter might have made representations with the German foreign office late in 1896 to save Rizal's life, and must have been told that nothing could be done about it, because he was a subject of Spain... Ah, if only Rizal had taken out German papers...

Virchow remembered his Filipino friend, and honored his memory with a necrological meeting of the Anthropological Society on November 20, 1897, at which a Dr. Ed. Seler read a German translation of Rizal's poem "My Last Farewell,"[13] All the living German scientists who had met Rizal were present at that meeting, paying honor to the only Malayan member of their society: and they must have remembered him as the intense, slender brown man, rather shy but very intelligent, who had sacrificed his young life on the altar of liberty.

12 Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 23, p. 179.
13 Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

OUR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Godofredo Rivera Sr.

Some trenchant observations on Rizal have appeared in the newspaper columns of this author. Here they are gathered for admirers of our hero to enjoy. Mr. Rivera is probably the *doyen* of the local columnists, and his pithy observations on the passing scene have appeared in local journals for the past three decades.

"The past, it is said, is the only thing man can change." If you read the various histories of the Philippines written by different authors of different nationalities and persuasions you'd notice how they change the past in form and substance.

But prophets do that, too, with regard to the future. They keep changing the shape of things to come.

As for the present, well, it is still in the making, subject to the whims of the artisan and the urgent requirements of the moment.

Jose Rizal, whose memory we are honoring today is our past, present and future.

There have been attempts to smear his name and fame. But so far neither historians, nor prophets, or vandals have been able to change his face or tamper with his genius.

Some iconoclasts have tried to debunk the purity of his spirit. No dice.

José Rizal's primacy remains unchallenged.

I am ready to bet that some Filipinos are anti-Rizal because they have not read his *Noli* and *Fili*.

And that some Filipinos are anti-Rizal because he had written the *Noli* and the *Fili*.

And that some Filipinos are anti-Rizal because after reading the *Noli* and the *Fili* they had failed to grasp the message of the author.

And that some Filipinos are anti-Rizal because of their misapprehension that the author had attacked the Church and the Catholic priesthood.

To this legion of misinformed anti-Rizalists it may not amiss to recall that Rizal never attacked the Church nor the Catholic priesthood as a whole.

Rizal simply tried to expose an evil condition existing in the colonial days and excoriated the evil ones involved in that condition.

To his friend Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rizal wrote in 1890: "My professor of rhetoric, Padre Sanchez (a Spanish Jesuit) had the courage to defend me in public and to praise my book."

Had Rizal been guilty of attacking the Church or the priesthood in general it is most improbable that the good Spanish Jesuit, Padre Sanchez, would have deigned to remark favorably on the author and his work however kindly disposed the good Padre might have felt toward his pupil.

For it is no secret that to a priest of any order, of any cloth or status, the Church and the priesthood are above the state or any secular affairs.

And this historical fact is mentioned here for the sake of historical facts.

Immortality? It is like the vapor rising to the sky to congeal and pour down in raindrops, again to evaporate and follow the natural course, as God commands.

There is no death . . . Only transfiguration.

There is no past . . . Only transmutation.

All our ancestors, the rogues and the heroes among them; all our great men and the villains, too, are a part of our beings. They live under our skin.

Rizal lives.

He lives in every living cell in the body both in the guise of an artist who dreams of a world of beauty and in the part of a scientist who inspires us to face life in terms of reality.

Life's little tricks are so provoking:

Christmas time. And so you load the festal board with costly viands, and the nicest confections that money can buy. And yet you have to beg, cajole, even shove your little boy to the table to fill his little tummy with succulent foods, fit for a Lucullus, only to see him nibbling at an artichoke leaf, disgust written all over his face.

Now Sisa and her sons:

"All that day she had been anticipating the pleasures of the evening, for she knew that her sons were coming and she had in-

tended to make them some presents. She had bought some small fishes, picked the most beautiful tomatoes in her little garden, as she knew that Crispin was very fond of them, and begged from a neighbor, old Tasio the Sage, who lived half a mile away, some slices of wild boar meat and a leg of wild duck which Basilio specially liked. Full of hope she had cooked the whitest of rice, which she herself had gleaned from the threshing floors. It was indeed a curate's meal for the poor boys.

"But unfortunately her husband came and ate the rice, the slices of wild boar meat, the duck leg, five of the little fishes and and the tomatoes. Sisa said nothing although she felt as if she herself were being eaten. His hunger at length appeased, he remembered to ask for the boys. Then Sisa smiled happily and resolved that she would not eat the night because what remained was not enough for three . . ."

José Rizal . . . Born, Calamba, June 19, 1861. Died, Luneta, Dec. 30, 1896.

Rizal attacked bureaucratic misgovernment, assailed colonial oppression, and belabored the supineness of the native.

Rizal exposed the corruption of Padre Damaso, challenged the brutality of the *guardia civil* and scorched the servility of Capitán Tiago . . . The canker that was sapping the vitality of the nation.

So they got Rizal as a menace to the security of the colonial authority. And made him a martyr.

In this era of freedom and liberalism the same corruption and brutalities and servility are a rampant as in colonial days, people in authority inflicting the same evils upon the nation.

Today we, too, have patriotic men who openly denounce official abuses and sins against the people.

And as in colonial days many a modern crusader is branded a menace to the administration.

Only nowadays the powers that be don't eliminate him by putting a bullet in his head. They buy him off.

Were Rizal living with us today how would he fare?

A real leader is the same any time.

He dominates the environment.

Being selfless his spirit is unconfined.

A Rizal is a Rizal in any age. A force. A symbol.

Laguna is not an unhappy province. Laguna is just in a state of apathy. She has been floundering since that bleak December day in 1896 when José Rizal's body was thrown in a grave.

Nothing very radically wrong with Laguna except that she can't decide to rise above herself.

Since that imperial perfidy in the twilight of intolerance, which bruised her self-confidence, Laguna has been facing the wailing wall.

What really matters so much is that Rizal squeezed every ounce of the genius of Laguna, and carried it with him to Valhalla leaving Calamba and the rest of the province sans vision and sans guts.

It is a dismal irony of history that the cradle of the most dynamic native genius should become the seat of insidious decadence of reason.

In her rare moments of pride, Laguna would laboriously point to her magnificent Mount Makiling as a symbol of her eventual glorious destiny.

But standing behind, overshadowing this lofty monument, is the majestic Banahaw in Tayabas province.

Laguna, orphan of the storm of '96, so poor in substance and circumstance, awake. Live and laugh. The sun is up.

His countrymen worship his name.

Yet ask any pedestrian why José Rizal is the biggest Philippine hero. His answer: Rizal is the martyr of Bagumbayan.

But it is not martyrdom that makes a man great. Or a saint. It is what drives him to action that gives meaning to his life.

Light was Rizal's first discovery.

Rizal's mother one night told the young boy the story of the mother moth and of the baby moth which, despite the mother's warning, kept on dancing around the lamplight until it dropped dead, consumed by fire.

But while Rizal's mother was telling the story, as a lesson in obedience, the boy was not listening. Young José had his eyes fixed on the lamp, moths dancing, flirting around the fire.

That night Rizal discovered light. And in that discovery he found joy, woe, love, agony.

And immortality.

Of the moths young José said: "Light is so beautiful, fascinating, overpowering. I think I know why moths dance around the light and die in the dance. They die victims of their illusion."

But Rizal was not a victim of any illusion.

He lives in the glory of the light that he discovered.

Sometimes we ask: If there had been no José Rizal what would be the shape of Philippine life?

And we stop there.

We don't feel competent to write a Philippine history without a Rizal in it.

But here comes the poet, Don Lorenzo Tuells of the Spanish Real Academia de la Lengua, offering a fresh idea.

He says: "Before Rizal there was no Philippines."

That simple poetic concept makes an apt answer to our question.

Looking back, way back. Before Rizal we had the Lapu-lapus, the Solimans, the Raja Matandas, and a host of other equally valiant and colorful princes of various independent principalities in various sections of this land.

They ruled separately widely separated areas, all of them unaware of the oneness of his domain, unmindful of the oneness of the Philippine people as a homogenous society.

Amid such derangement José Rizal walked in.

He gathered all the loose territories and pieced them together.

Rallied all the peoples.

Gave them one mind, one heart, one soul. And one land.

That was a Herculean job, welding together, far-flung regions and their peoples. Making them one.

He spent himself. All of himself, body and intellect, even his family and close friends in the titanic enterprise.

But he created a nation.

Behold the Republic of the Philippines, Sanctuary of Liberty.

Home of free men.

A big delegation of hat-makers called on the new President to receive presidential blessings and endorsement.

But what can the new President do to improve the hat business in a land where a greater portion of the population grow headless.

To drum up hat sales, there is only one way, and that is to multiply human heads.

Of course, everybody can cooperate in the multiplication. Including the President.

The dentists also called officially on the new President in the interest of the dental profession.

We have no idea what kind of word the Boss had whispered to the dentists.

But it seems that no better aid can be extended to the dental surgeons than an epidemic of Rigg's disease. To create such emergency an executive order is not necessary.

Other professional groups already have their day with the new President, all seeking advice regarding their particular line of business.

Those who make an independent living without benefit of membership in any organization cannot appreciate the importance of a concerted action.

When one takes into account, however, that the President of the Republic can make and unmake trades and tradesmen one will realize that a visit to the President is, after all, not so ridiculous.

EVOLUTION OF RIZAL'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Leopoldo R. Serrano

Rizal is one of the very few national heroes in the world whose birth and death anniversaries are observed by his people. The author, a history professor now with the Rizal Centennial Commission, traces the early observance of these celebrations and recommends that June 19 of each year be commemorated "with joy and enthusiasm" for on that day "the great Messiah of the Philippines" was born.

As we all know, President Carlos P. Garcia proclaimed last year June 19, the anniversary of the birth of our greatest national hero, as a national holiday. That prompted a newspaper columnist to question the wisdom of observing two national holidays in honor of a single hero, even with the fame and caliber of José Rizal.

But the said columnist should understand that June 19, as Teodoro R. Yangco said in 1928, *"es la fecha gloriosa del heroe"* (the glorious date of the hero) and it gives ample opportunity for our people to observe it with fiestas, with great rejoicing, to show to the world that they know and appreciate its significance in our national history, in our destiny as a people. No wonder, several months after Mr. Yangco had given that meaningful statement, the celebrated "bard of Parañaque," Manuel Bernabe, wrote:

> 'Oh, fuerza evocadora del momento!
> 'Oh, el día mas solemne de los días!
> 'Loado tú, que viste el nacimiento
> de una edad sin luz, del gran Mesías!
>
> 'Junio, mes de signos lisonjeros,
> que nos diste en Rizal savia de ideas!
> 'Gloria a ti, por los siglos venideros!
> 'Toda la eternidad loado seas!

The movement or demand for the celebration of the anniversary of Rizal's birth began more than a year after the first nationwide observance of his execution on December 30, 1898, pursuant to a decree issued by the head of the Revolutionary Government,

Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo. He enjoined our people to observe it as a day of national mourning.

The first recorded observance of the birth of the "Pride of the Malay Race" took place in the Catholic church at Quiapo on June 19, 1900, where a solemn Mass, attended by 80 members of the Orquesta Rizal and ladies of Manila, was said. *El Renacimiento* reported said celebration in the following words:

> The church was elegantly decorated and in its transept there was a pyramid made by Mr. Miguel Zaragoza and having many wreaths. On the upper part of the pyramid was the following inscription: A JOSÉ PROTACIO RIZAL — "19 de Junio 1861" and on the lower part there was a wreath with a pink silk ribbon which bore the following inscription: "La Orquesta Rizal." This was the first time that the baptismal name of Doctor Rizal was known. The organizer of this birthday fiesta was Mr. Martin Ocampo, manager of the Sociedad Orquesta Rizal. The *Gobernador Militar de la Plaza* sent a picket of volunteers to attend that celebration, placing two guards of honor at each of the three doors of the church.

El Liberal of Manila, in its issue of July 3, 1900, reported that the Civil Government of Negros with the approval of the American Military government of that island, "declared as a national holiday June 19, the birthday of Dr. José Rizal."

It was reported that in the years that followed 1900 or before 1905, when the public schools all over the country held fitting programs to commemorate his birthday, groups of citizens in Manila held various activities to honor that day. The "Club Internacional" held a literary contest in 1901. Rafael Palma obtained the first prize in prose, while Cecilio Apostol won the first prize in poetry. José Palma obtained the second prize. The *velada* (program) was held in the Zorilla theater. In 1903 another *velada* was held in the Opera House where the "Liceo de Manila" presented *Junto al Pasig* by Rizal. In 1904, the artists of Manila gave a banquet in the Dimasalang theater in honor of the Mother of Rizal, Doña Teodora. It was graced by the presence of the hero's sisters.

But the first big celebration of Rizal's birth anniversary was held in Manila on the afternoon of June 19, 1907. According to a Manila daily of that time, hundreds of Filipinos, with several Americans, gathered at the Luneta to celebrate the 46th anniversary of his birth. Two Filipino bands were in attendance and placards,

with various inscriptions, were much in evidence. It was under the direction of Ramon Diokno.

There were speeches delivered by Ramon Diokno, then a rising attorney, Teodoro M. Kalaw, editor of *El Renacimiento,* and others. Diokno announced the opening of the manifestation and ordered the unfurling of the standard bearing this inscription: "The Filipino people respectfully ask of the people of the United States the declaration of their immediate independence." Kalaw touched the subject of the capacity of our people for self-government and called the attention of his listeners to the fact that the nations of the world were looking on with great interest at the actors on the stage of Filipino politics. The manifestation ended with the unfurling of another standard bearing the inscription: "Justo Lukban and Fernando M. Guerrero are our deputies for the city of Manila." It was an occasion chosen by the "Liga Popular Nacionalista" to bring about the victory of their candidates in Manila.

It was also in 1907 when a meeting of Filipino journalists in Manila was held to take up the suggestion in an article published in *El Renacimiento,* a fighting Filipino daily, that June 19 be declared an official holiday. This suggestion was approved at the meeting. But this was not realized until more than half a century had passed or during the present Nacionalista administration.

Meanwhile, patriotic citizens continued to commemorate the anniversary of the birth of the "Great Malayan."

In the morning of June 19, 1908, a meeting to commemorate his birthday was held in the Paco Cemetery. There was a requiem Mass in the chapel said by the parish priest of Quiapo and there were speeches delivered by Governor General James F. Smith, Mayor Felix Roxas of Manila, and Tomás G. del Rosario, ex-governor of Bataan.

The towns outside Manila, Gerona, Tarlak, and Malabon, Rizal, also commemorated Rizal's birthday on June 19, 1908. In the former town, a civic parade was held on the afternoon of that day. It started from the house of Pedro Alejandrino, the man behind the celebrations, and ended in front of the municipal building, where Exequiel Villalon delivered a patriotic speech. On the evening, a drama in three acts, written by Mr. Villalon and based on the *Noli Me Tangere,* was staged. In the latter town, the "Samahang Mapagsikap" held a *velada* in the "Nueva Luna" theater of Malabon on June 19, 1908. Speeches were delivered by the following: Simeon R. Santiago, Francisco Pascual, Isabel

Palmario, Alfonso Monteleyola, Juan H. Samonte, Petronila Cruz, Remigia Samson and Filemon Tanchoco. Another feature of the *velada* was a drama in which the rights of the poor people were stressed.

Another drama titled "Rizal" was staged at the Grand Opera House on June 19, 1910. Written by Juan Utor y Fernández and having four acts, it told about Rizal's sufferings from 1892 to 1896.

The first big-scale celebration of Rizal's birthday was witnessed in Tondo, Manila on June 19, 1913. Previous to that day, the "Dimas-Alang" society, then perhaps the biggest Filipino organization in Manila, sent out a circular in Tagalog calling for a general observation of the fifty-second anniversary of the birth of their hero-martyr, and suggesting that lanterns and other decorations be displayed. Follows the report of that celebration by an American daily:

> The fifty-second anniversary of the birthday of José Rizal was fittingly celebrated June nineteenth. Many thousand people took part in the Tondo parade in which more than fifty branches of the "Dimas-Alang" society were presented. Assembling at Plaza Moriones in the latter part of the afternoon, the parade marched through the principal streets of that district, and returned to the plaza where a number of speeches were made.
>
> The first speaker was Patricio Belen, president of Dimas-Alang, and he was followed by Miguel Torres, who read a number of passages from the works of Rizal. A number of speeches followed, after which the crowd was entertained at the headquarters of the society above mentioned. At the Grand Opera House the Knights of Rizal held appropriate exercises and a number of selections were played by the Constabulary band. The Misses Carmen and Helen Higgins contributed several musical selections and speeches were delivered by Judge José Abreu and Frank L. Crone, assistant director of education.

Because the desire to commemorate the anniversary of Rizal's birth soon spread all over our Archipelago, steps were taken to follow up or realize the suggestion of *El Renacimiento* and the petition of the Filipino journalists in Manila in 1907. In April 1910, Delegate Gregorio Nieva presented a bill to the Philippine Assembly providing for the celebration in the Philippines of the 50th anniversary of the birth of Rizal, which occurred on June 19, 1911, in all the public schools of the Philippines. This was approved and enacted into a law (Act No. 1982) on April 19, 1910.

That law directed all public schools to solemnly celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Rizal. Section 1 of said law provided:

> The Director of Education shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Public Instruction, prepare an adequate programme of school exercises and other acts having allusion to the life of Doctor José Rizal, and, subject to like approval, the said Director of Education may announce competitions, grant prizes, print pamphlets and do any other thing tending to carry into effect the purpose of this Act to solemnly commemorate the said fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Doctor José Rizal. The Director of Education is hereby authorized to charge any sum, not in excess of fifteen thousand pesos, that he may consider necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, against the contingent expenses of his Bureau.

The municipal councils were authorized "to attend said celebration and to contribute to the expense thereof and of others held for the same purpose, out of any available funds of the municipality" and "to receive public subscriptions for this purpose."

But Act 1982 was only for the celebration of the semi-centenary of Rizal on June 19, 1911. It took the Philippine Government twenty years more before it officially sanctioned the celebration of the anniversary of Rizal's birth. On April 9, 1931, Acting Governor General George C. Butte issued Proclamation No. 377. It ordained and proclaimed "that June nineteenth, the anniversary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal, shall hereafter be solemnly celebrated beginning on June 19th, 1931, in all schools of the Philippine Islands subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Public Instruction. All schools not subject to his jurisdiction were urged to cooperate in the celebration.

To carry out the provisions of Proclamation No. 377 the Director of Education, Luther B. Bewley, issued on May 29, 1931, Circular No. 10, s. 1931 enjoining the school heads to hold on June 19 every year appropriate programs "with a view to instilling in the minds of our youth the spirit of service and the love of country that made Rizal the idol of his people." The principal of each school was requested to submit a report regarding the manner in which the celebration was conducted locally, together with suggestions relative to celebrating this day in the schools in subsequent years.

Lastly, let it be known that the present head of our Republic has made the observance of Rizal's natal day nation-wide and

general in scope. As December 30 should be a day of national mourning, the Good Friday of the nation, June 19 should be the Christmas or the Nativity of the Philippines. As the fighting weekly, *The Independent* editorialized on May 15, 1920, "the date of his (Rizal's) birth is what ought to be commemorated with joy and enthusiasm," for it was our *Pascua de Navidad,* or the birth of the "Great Messiah" of the Philippines, according to the famous "bard of Parañaque."

RIZAL IN THE PHILIPPINE SCHOOL SYSTEM [1]

Dalmacio Martin

The author has spent practically his entire adult life in the service of the government as an official of the Bureau of Education, where he is now Chief of the Curriculum Division. He is therefore familiar with the subject and can speak with considerable authority. Dr. Martin, now abroad, is the President of the Philippine Historical Association.

I. **Rizal had an early place in the affection of the people of the Philippines.** Bonifacio wrote a translation of Rizal's *"Ultimo Adios."* Emilio Jacinto wrote a poem inspired by one of Rizal's.

Mabini, in his critical analysis of the Philippine Revolution written in both Spanish and English while he was in Guam, did not fail to give due tribute to Rizal's two novels and to the "La Liga Filipina" which Rizal organized. Even if Mabini's critique was not published till after his death in 1903, his influence while alive on the thinking of the educated Filipinos of the time must have been tremendous.[2]

Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, in his oral testimonies before the Philippine Commission in August of 1899, declared that Rizal would probably come down in history as one of the greatest men of his generation anywhere in the world.[3]

Americans and other nationals sang paeans of praise for Rizal and his deeds. The books and articles for the general public, written in the English language, paid glowing tributes to Dr. Rizal and his genius. A few months after the Battle of Manila Bay, Murat Halstead, an American journalist, wrote about Rizal describing his life and works in one full chapter entitled "A Martyr to the Liberty of Speech."[4] Halstead included in his book a prose trans-

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[1] A paper read at the symposium on Dr. Jose Rizal at the F.E.U. Auditorium, June 18, 1960, under the auspices of the Philippine Historical Association, Manila.

[2] See Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, pp. 26-30. Published by Jacinto G. Manahan, Bulacan, Bulacan, July 25, 1935.

[3] *Report of the Philippine Commission,* Vol. II, pp. 400-402. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900.

[4] Murat Halstead, *The Story of the Philippines,* pp. 183-210. Chicago: Our Possessions Publishing Co., 1898.

lation of Rizal's last poem as well as the De la Riva's version of "The Vision of Fray Rodriguez."

Alden March, another American journalist, wrote of the Philippines in 1899, and in respect to Rizal he said: "Here was a man educated far above the rank and file of any nation; a man of personal force and magnetism; an orator, an essayist, a historian of no ordinary ability, a man whose crime was patriotism, whose only offense was the outpouring of a pent-up soul against cruel wrongs and barbaric indignities which were inflicted, not especially upon himself, but upon his countrymen, who were dearer to him than self."[5] An English translation of Rizal's "Ultimo Adios" is found on pp. 148-149 of this book.

An Eagle Flight, an English translation of the *Noli,* was published in New York in 1900.[6] Although the translation would now be considered as inadequate because of our greater knowledge of Rizal's life and times, still the book should be commended as a worthy effort to introduce Rizal to the English-speaking world so soon after the termination of the Spanish rule.

Another English-language translation, abridged, of Rizal's *Noli* was by one F. E. Gannet under the title *Friars and Filipinos.*[7] It was impossible for the early educational Thomasites to have been completely uninformed about the Calamba hero and his works.

Two other books about the Philippines were written in 1901, both full of praise and tribute to our martyred patriot. Albert G. Robinson, in his *The Philippines: The War and Its People,* acknowledged Rizal as the leader of his people.[8] Browne and Dole, in their *The New America and the Far East,* considered Rizal as "the noblest and most intellectual patriot of the Philippines."[9]

Representative Henry Cooper, speaking before the U.S. Congress in 1902, spoke of the greatness of Rizal in these words: "Sir, the future is not without hope for a people which, from the midst of such environment, has furnished to the world a character so lofty as that of Rizal."[10]

When the Philippines was preparing for the St. Louis Exposition in 1903, 20,000 posters were printed and distributed, and

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5 Alden March, *The History and Conquest of the Philippines and Our Other Possessions,* pp. 145-46. Wm. E. Scull, 1899.

6 Published by McClure, Philipps & Co., 256 pages.

7 Published in New York by the St. James Press, 276 pp.

8 Pages 26-27. McClure, Philips & Co., 1901.

9 G. Waldo Browne and Nathan H. Dole, *The New America and the Far East,* pp. 285-286. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1901.

10 Quoted in Retana, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal,* p. 439.

the picture of Rizal was on the posters alongside those of Jefferson, Napoleon, McKinley, and Roosevelt. Any man seeing one of these posters could not have failed to be curious about Rizal.[11]

Homer C. Stuntz paid tribute to Rizal in his book published in the same year saying that Rizal's offense was that he dared to think. "No man is so popular today in the Philippines as that of Jose Rizal. His pictures is on the walls of tens of thousands of houses, from the best of homes of Filipino *principales* in Manila and the large provincial cities, to the humblest nipa houses of the *tao.*"[12]

John Foreman, an Englishman, published the second edition of his book *The Philippine Islands* in 1899, and in it he gave a detailed description of Dr. Rizal's life and labors.[13] Foreman was personally acquainted with Dr. Rizal during the lifetime of the latter. The founders of the post-Spanish educational system could not have been ignorant of the greatness of Jose Rizal, Filipino.

Sir Hugh Clifford, another Englishman, ex-Governor of Ceylon, wrote in *Blackwood's Magazine* that Rizal was a true champion of his people. "He had dared to . . . tell the world the story of their miseries."[14]

G. J. Younghusband, another Englishman, wrote about the Philippines in the same year. He spoke of Rizal as "a personification of the rising spirit of a new and regenerate nation."[15] A picture of Rizal in front of the firing squad in the Luneta, found in this book, was probably one of the first pictorial records ever to be published of that tragic episode.

An English lady, Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, wrote about a Rizal Day celebration in Iloilo on December 30, 1904.[16]

Materials in Spanish, Tagalog, German and French were also published in those early days all paying tribute to Rizal and his works, but since we are only tracing Rizal in the new schools where the language was English, I have limited myself to those in the English language.

Retana's *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal* was among the books sent out from the General Office to the field as per 1917

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[11] *An Official Handbook of the Philippines,* p. 10. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1903.

[12] Homer C. Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East,* pp. 99-102. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1904.

[13] Pages 530-538.

[14] Quoted in *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal,* pp. 249-259.

[15] G. J. Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About,* pp. 127-135. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899.

[16] Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines,* pp. 50-51. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906.

inventories, even if at that time not too many public school teachers and officials could read Spanish.[17] The Bureau of Education price for the book was ₱7.65 per copy.

II. Rizal had a good early start in the public schools. The first General Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, who served until 1902, paid as fine a tribute to Dr. Rizal as has ever been written by an American. "He was, above all, a lover of his fatherland; but he was also a social reformer, a prophet who saw with remarkable clearness of insight and with boundless hope the future regeneration of the Filipino people," according to Atkinson.[18] The novel, *Noli Me Tangere,* should be read by all, Atkinson said.

In 1903, the provincial high school in Bacolod, Negros Occidental, was known as the Rizal Institute. This was no accident.

The General Superintendent of Education in 1903, Dr. Elmer C. Bryan, issued a circular asking all teachers to turn over all the funds collected from school children for a so-called Rizal subscription.[19] Another circular issued the following year listed December 30, Rizal Day, as a school holiday.[20]

Jernegan, a history teacher in the Bureau of Education, had his first edition of *A Short History of the Philippines* out in 1904, and this book made a glowing reference to Dr. Rizal.[21]

Austin Craig was a teacher in Mindoro in 1905. He had an article in the *Philippine Teacher* for June entitled "The Birthday of Rizal."

In 1906 William B. Freer, superintendent of schools, published his book entitled *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher,* and what he said of Rizal's deed and his martyrdom was enough to arouse the interest and admiration of any Filipino. "Each recurring year, the people meet in every town, and with song and speech recall the principles for which he died."[22]

We can agree with James A. Robertson when he said a few years later that it would be an exaggeration to give the Americans the entire credit for the coming of Rizal into the schools of the new regime. There were English writers as well and Filipino schol-

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17 *Bureau of Education Service Manual,* 1917, Sec. 643, p. 167.

18 Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands,* pp. 99-105. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905.

19 Circular No. 6, s. 1903.

20 Circular No. 51, s. 1904.

21 Pages 259-261.

22 Page 264, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

ars, like Mabini and Tavera, who so ably expressed themselves in the English language, extolling the life and works of the Great Malayan.[23]

When Dr. David P. Barrows, in his report as Director of Education in 1907-1908, disclaimed any assimilation policy for Philippine education, he cited as his example and inspiration Rizal who fought an assimilation policy by the Spaniards in his *El Filibusterismo*.[24] Lessons from Rizal and the principles for which he stood while living were important guides in the planning of the new schools of the Philippines, public or government-financed for the most part, during the first decades of the century.

In 1909, thinking of the school children again, Austin Craig published the first edition of his *Rizal's Own Story*. Thus we notice that in just about ten years from the coming of the Americans, Rizal had become the best-known and the most deeply admired idol of his race. A patriot of such stature needed no law nor government directive to be studied and appreciated by the school children.

III. The second and third decades of this century saw an increase of enthusiasm for more and more Rizal materials in the public schools. In 1912, a Manila publisher produced the Derbyshire translations of the two novels, *The Social Cancer* and *The Reign of Greed*.[25] Early in the 1920's these two books were included in the "required" homereading titles for the Third Year and the Fourth Year, respectively. More about these "required" readings later.

Mr. Camilo Osias published in 1917 his *Rizal and Education* for the consumption of school teachers.[26] Mr. Osias, in his strategic position as Assistant Director from 1917 to 1921, contributed much to spurring on the youth to the continued study and appreciation of Rizal's life and works.

The Service Manual for 1917 had in its list Craig's *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal* as Grade VII outside reading.[27]

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[23] James A. Robertson, "Rizal's Influence a Living Face Today Toward a Better American-Filipino Understanding," *Dia Filipino,* n.p., December, 1913.

[24] David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education,* pp. 34-43. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909.

[25] Philippine Education Co., Manila, 1912.

[26] Mr. Osias also authored an Ilocano biography of Rizal under the title *Jose Rizal: Ti Cabibiagna, Ipapatayna, Panunotna, ken Impatawidna.* San Fernando, L. U., Imprenta Evangelica, 1914. Same book was reprinted in 1936 by Ilocano Printing, San Fernando, L. U.

[27] *Bureau of Education Service Manual,* 1917, Sec. 82, p. 33. This book by Craig bears the date 1913.

Craig's translation of one of Rizal's provocative essays, *The Philippines a Century Hence,* was one of the teacher's books listed in 1917.

The series entitled *Philippine Readers,* by Osias, was adopted as basic readers for the elementary grades. The first edition of this series was issued in 1922. There were appropriate Rizal materials in every grade of the series, such as the following: "What Rizal Did for His Country," Grade IV; "Jose Rizal," Grade II; and "How Rizal Grew Strong," Grade II. The foregoing are only some examples.

In 1923 Russell and Rodriguez's *Hero of the Filipinos* was published and later approved for high school libraries.

Scott and Romulo's *Rizal: A Chronicle Play in Eight Dramatic Moments,* 1925, was approved for high school libraries.[28]

There was approved in 1926-27 what came to be known as *The Rizal Readers,* supplementary readers for the second to the fourth grades. This Winston Company series included reading materials about Dr. Rizal.

Craig's *Rizal's Life and Minor Writings* was published in 1927 as a high school library book.[29]

Filemon Poblador published in the same year a pamphlet entitled *Rizal's Noli Me Tangere Dramatized in Three Acts.*[30]

Very few were the "veladas" or school programs of the period which did not include a number or two based on Rizal's life and writings. *The Philippine Education Magazine* and the *Philippine Journal of Education,* two leading teachers' magazines of the time, published a practically continuous stream of materials on the hero.

At about the mid-twenties, the Bureau of Education inaugurated the Philippine literature series called the *Philippine Prose and Poetry* for secondary schools. Again this was an opportunity to bring in more Rizal material into the schools. Among the selections which I can mention for the First Year are "The Story of a Mother," "Rizal Could Have Saved Himself Had He Cared To," and "Maria Clara's Song." In the Fourth Year, these are the selections: "The Character and Ideals of Rizal," "An Idyl on the Azotea," and "My Last Farewell." I don't think it is necessary to list the selections in the other years to prove that Rizal was truly a part of the

[28] H. P. Scott and C. P. Romulo, *Rizal: A Chronicle Play in Eight Dramatic Moments.* Manila Book Company, Inc., 1925, 98 pp.

[29] This really was a reprint, with minor changes, of *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal.*

[30] Manila: P. Araullo Company, 1927. 77 pp.

curriculum of the public schools. When the Bureau of Education was asked about House Bills 2803 and 3344 in 1930 and House Bill 639 in 1931, aiming to prescribe Rizal's two novels as textbooks in the schools through legislation, it could say with a straight face that the bills were not necessary and so the bills were not pushed through.

Now to go back to the "required" home readings in the high school, *The Social Cancer* and *The Reign of Greed*. These books were recognized quite early as among the national classics. So upon the revision of the secondary literature curriculum in the early twenties, it was decided by the Bureau of Education that every student in the Third Year and every student in the Fourth Year should be expected to read the two novels. In every year of the high school, students were expected to read a number of library books in their homes, and each book read credited the student with so many points. About 30 points on the average were expected of each student during the entire year. In the Third Year, the *Social Cancer* must be one of the homereading books; in the Fourth Year, the *Reign of Greed* must be included. This is the history behind these two books being "required" in the public high schools.

Why were there no objections to this system during those years before the war? Why were the public schools let alone in peace on up to 1941? The home-reading books were to be read at home, not in class for general discussion or intensive study. Students read the books individually at different times since the library copies must circulate among all the juniors or seniors of the high school. It is, in truth and in fact, reading for leisure and literary appreciation, that's why it was part of the literature requirements. When a teacher finds enough evidence that the student has read the novels, through simple questions or check-ups, the requirement is considered to have been complied with. No teacher would think of checking on the fine points of religious faith nor would he bother with the disquisitions on dogma. As a young high school student during my time, I read the novels with enjoyment and appreciation principally because of the adventure of Elias and Simoun and because of the romantic highlights between Maria Clara and Ibarra. Most high school youth probably looked at the novels that way; but that was not wasted effort at all because the students thereby acquired a greater respect for their hero and author, and they knew that the book would be waiting for them for later re-reading in their more mature years. The church seemed not to have taken offense at this method of making Rizal "a part of the curriculum." The

management or administration of these so-called "required" home readings was such that any reasonable educator or layman could find in it the necessary safeguards while at the same time providing a universal opportunity for all to become acquainted with the books.

IV. **After the war, the first attempt to re-employ the "required" home-reading approach ended in a noisy, protracted controversy which took about 20 months to decide.** The subject of that controversy was Palma's prize-winning biography of Rizal, translated by Justice Roman Ozaeta under the title of *The Pride of the Malay Race*. The controversy opened the eyes of the people to how the country could be so easily divided between two bitterly opposed camps. Among the issues that came up as unfortunate offshoots of this controversy were: separation of church and state, freedom and coercion, rights of parents and rights of the state, and Rizal's retraction or non-retraction. Many groups and organizations took part in the lively, acrimonious discussions. Arguments pro and con were marshalled, emotionalized and sometimes exaggerated. Five thousand letters of protest were turned over to the members of the Cabinet Committee which took charge of studying the matter. Little children in the grades signed petitions against a book which, even if they continued in school, would not be in their hands till several years later. Their parents did likewise without first reading the book. Rizalists and anti-Rizalists were labels commonly used by intemperate writers to the newspapers.

The way this biography was handled was, in the words of the Director of Public Schools, "a radical departure from precedents." Money to the tune of ₱40 thousand was made available by the central government for the acquisition of a library home-reading book even before the high schools had placed their individual orders. For an estimated need of about 5,000 copies for the public high schools, 10,000 copies were ordered from the publisher; many private high schools had to be given their quotas. On up to 1955, we in the Bureau of Public Schools were still collecting payments from the schools which had to "mortgage" their matriculation fees for years in advance. The matter went out of the hands of the Bureau of Public Schools completely and was fought for or against in the Board of Textbooks, the Department of Education, and the Cabinet. Education hardly takes place that way. Teaching does not produce the best results for a democracy in a climate of antagonism and coercion.

It should be stated that the Bureau of Public Schools was all in favor of the use of Palma's Rizal biography, but as a library home-making book, and even if it is called "required," like the *Cancer* and the *Greed*, it was not meant to be studied, quizzed about, and discussed before the entire class like an assigned lesson from a basic textbook. It was favored by the Bureau as a necessary biographical background for the reading of the two novels in the last two years of high school. The heated controversy and the protest of the antis seemed to have been out of proportion to the exact role the book was expected to play in public secondary education. The decision of the Board on Textbooks to do the approving, whereas before the Bureau of Education was given the responsibility, made the case seem bigger, especially when the total of 10,000 copies was computed to include the private high schools.

But even the most ill-advised measure sometimes produces good results. Because of the publicity which the Palma book got from the prolonged controversy, the book became extremely well-known and popular, reminiscent of the popularity of the *Noli* as a consequence of the official prohibition of its circulation around 1888. The first printing of *The Pride of the Malay Race* arrived in Manila in March, 1949, and by July of the same year the publishers went into a second printing. The Bureau of Printing also produced the original Spanish edition, and we were informed that copies sold fast to the general public.

It can probably be assumed that to most secondary school students *The Pride of the Malay Race* was helpful in supplying the gaps in the student's information about the main episodes or milestones in Rizal's life, such as his family life, his travels, his education, and the like. It is extremely doubtful if the average second-year student of post-war vintage would understand or be affected by the deeper theological disquisitions in his writings or the issue of retraction or non-retraction. The book was so much feared even by those who had not read it. An atmosphere of fear was created with all the concomitant emotional overtones. It is interesting to observe that two of the leaders of the public opposition to *The Pride of the Malay Race* as "required" home-reading later became Secretaries of Education under two later Presidents, but neither of them, during their incumbencies as heads of the educational system, felt the need for any official corrective step to change the status of the book in both public and private high school.

But the antagonisms were not to end with the resolving of the Palma book by no less than Malacañan. As is always the case,

where there is banning or proscription, the reaction of the opposite side was compulsion or prescription the first chance that comes. A few months later, House Bill No. 116 was presented in Congress seeking to prescribe the use of Rizal's two novels as textbooks in public and private high school. Another noisy controversy was started, this time at the initiative of certain members of Congress. The pattern of cleavage was the same as before. Teaching by persuasion and motivation was giving way to teaching by force and authority.

V. **But all these were just dress-rehearsals for the bigger event in 1956 when the Rizal Law, Republic Act 1425, was passed.** The step taken by Congress making Rizal a subject in the curriculum and even prescribing the textbooks to be used was unparalleled in the annals of twentieth-century education in a democracy. All these happened during the incumbency of a Secretary of Education who, as everybody knows, came from an educational institution which allegedly was not so keen in teaching Rizal and his works. It would seem that the neglect of Rizal in some of the private schools has invited this opposite reaction to make Rizal come in by force of law. This was truly the history of the Palma book and the House Bill No. 116 repeating itself.

The Rizal law, the subject of my present discussion, was splendid as an example of compromise and accommodation which were earnestly sought by both sides. But the law, as an instrument of the state to improve the citizenship curriculum in both public and private schools, even if the name of Jose Rizal, was, I think, unnecessary. There are many ways of doing a good thing, and often the persuasive way is better than the prescriptive way. As the earlier methods of the Bureau of Education have shown, Rizal can be effectively a part of the curriculum without resorting to the exercise of legislative powers.

VI. **On the practical implementation of the Rizal law in the schools, let us first briefly summarize the provisions of the Law, Rep. Act 1425.** The preamble of the law says that the law is motivated by a spirit of nationalism in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy. It should also be useful in the development of our moral laws.

To accomplish this, the law provides that the life and works of Dr. Rizal, particularly the two novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* should be used in all schools, colleges and universities, public and private. The two novels in their unexpurgated

edition, either in English or in the original Spanish, should be used "as basic texts" in the colleges and universities. But where some college students, on grounds of religion, should apply for exemption from the use of the unexpurgated editions and are granted such exemptions, they may use other editions of the two novels; but never will they be allowed to be exempt from the study of the life and writings of Dr. Rizal.

The libraries of the schools, colleges, and universities are required to have an adequate number of copies of the book on Rizal including the unexpurgated editions of the two novels. The standard for adequacy will be set by the Board of National Education.

Another provision of law, which went a little on the over-ambitious side, was that which said that the Board of National Education would undertake the translation and the printing of the *Noli* and *Fili* into English, Tagalog and the principal dialects, which translations would be distributed free of charge to the barrios and communities through the puroks and barrio councils. The amount of ₱300,000 was asked to be set aside for the purpose of enforcing the law, but up to now, four years after, not a centavo of that amount has been made available. One provision of any law which is not enforced through the inability of the government is an invitation to or a temptation for the disregard of other provisions, particularly the controversial provisions.

As of today, 12 textbooks have been approved so far, from Grade I to the Fourth Year of high school, and if a student in going through the grades would buy all the required textbooks—only the cheapest binding of them—he would spend ₱8.10 in all the primary grades, ₱5.75 in the intermediate grades and ₱8.30 in the high school. If it is a textbook in the intermediate or the high school, it has got to be bought by the students since the rental system is only for those books bought with government revolving funds. Since no funds have been secured under the law, from the ₱300,000 set aside in the Act, the schools can only ask the pupils to buy them; and with the public school children as poor as they are, the total of ₱22.15 for one pupil until finishing high school is probably not going to make Rizal materials part of free public education in the Philippines. At the prices of books nowadays, and using only the lowest-priced editions of the approved textbooks, the pupils in the primary grades, from Grades I to IV, would need an outlay of ₱5 million for the public primary schools alone. Can the government provide this amount, since primary education in the Philippines is guaranteed by the constitution to be free?

Over ₱4 million will be needed in the high schools, public and private, to institute an adequate rental system so that every student will have a textbook from the First Year to the Fourth Year.

Such is the financial magnitude of the expectations from the Rizal Law passed in 1956.

Laws on education in other countries are usually implemented gradually. In England the educational reforms approved in 1944 were just reaching the senior year of the grammar school in 1959. But our law, I am sorry to say, wanted the Rizal Law implemented on all levels right away, and that is why we have these problems, and that is why the fathers of the law feel somewhat disappointed with what they see.

Finished Rizal textbooks do not grow on trees, but they can be hothoused. And for doing exactly that, we have some hurriedly approved textbooks which will not exactly fill us with pride.

Teachers to teach about Rizal efficiently take some time to develop and nurture, but the law practically makes every teacher a Rizal teacher right away. The results can be most disappointing in terms of instructional efficiency.

One word about textbooks, the *Noli* and the *Fili*. How many of the readers would have enjoyed the reading of the *Noli* and the *Fili* if they had been made textbooks for them in their college or high school days? The old Bureau of Education approach to make these classic social novels more a part of the home-reading program rather than as basic textbooks for the Rizal courses seems to the better way.

But, as we have said before, even the most defective law can bring about some advantages and gains. We get as much advantage from the focusing of general attention on Rizal as a result of Republic Act 1425 as from the operations of the Act itself. As a result of the law, we have become Rizal-conscious. No longer will the pupils grow up Rizal-blind.

Another good effect we can ascribe to the Rizal law as it is, is that we have learned the lesson that no banning or proscription of Rizal would be supported by the people. Rizal has been a motivation for nationalism, and nationalism has been a motivation for the development of our nation in all its aspects. The peoples instinct for hero-worship must be satisfied, we have found out. Certain private education institutions may no longer let Rizal die—for the second time—by neglect and indifference.

VII. Finally, to come back to the question, how best to implement the Rizal Law? The answers can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Correct first the defects in the law; let the money come that is intended to be used in its implementation.

2. Allow a margin of freedom for the private or independent educational institutions to develop their own program gradually. The force of the government must be used with reserve and restraint. The Bureau of Public Schools do not need the goading of any law to make Rizal a living element in its curriculum.

3. If the 24 units of Spanish in the normal schools, which the graduates don't use anyway when they become elementary school teachers, will be reduced to one-half or so, and the school time and resources thus saved were used instead in the more intensive college teaching of Rizal in connection with history, Philippine literature and social sciences, then we can really make a firm beach-head in the elementary schools where most of our young people are found through a corps of better-informed elementary teachers.

4. Motivate the teaching of Rizal through an appeal to the children's interest. The law cannot provide that motivation: it is only the classroom teacher, in his day-to-day contacts with the children under his care, who can produce that spark of enthusiasm which would make teaching a work of love. I don't believe that there is really any Filipino teacher who will not appreciate Rizal as the great man that he is if the teacher is properly guided.

5. If by some chance there are administrations of private or independent schools which deny Rizal to the children of the Philippines, we have enough laws in our books to make the proper executive arm of the government deal with such delinquent administrations.

When peace and calm will have descended on our agitated educational arenas, when the passion of controversy and antagonism will have disappeared from our midst, when we can all agree cordially that Rizal was a great Filipino no matter what he did during his last hours on earth, then by that time we can all bow before Rizal in solemn reverence and sublime respect "with malice towards none and charity for all." Let there be no force of prohibition, and I think there will be no force of legislation.

ONGPIN'S SOUVENIR CARD

When Don Alfonso T. Ongpin, noted collector of Rizaliana, reproduced the two-peso bill one-half its actual size in a souvenir card in 1909 he was brought by the city fiscal of Manila to the court for violating an American federal law intended against possible counterfeiters.

This bill was the first time that the image of Rizal had appeared in monetary form, and Don Alfonso superimposed it on a sheet of the two-centavo stamps that had just then appeared bearing the hero's likeness. The Americans, at that time, had decided to allow the Filipinos to give vent to their nationalistic sentiments, and the island-wide veneration for the national hero had just then started. The card was an excellent souvenir—but unfortunately an American statute punished such reproductions with a maximum jail sentence of 25 years.

When the case was brought before the court of first instance in Manila, the American judge listened attentively to both parties, then passed his decision: "Defendant is found guilty, as charged; but in view of the peculiar circumstances, he is fined one peso and costs."

To this day Don Alfonso keeps in a glass frame the notification from his attorney of the trial, the official receipt showing payment of fine and costs, and a copy of that controversial souvenir card. "It was a disturbing, to say the least, personal experience that I will never forget," says Don Alfonso.

TEACHING RIZAL IN SCHOOLS

Gabriel F. Fabella

Now that the teaching of Rizal's novels is compulsory in all schools, as required by law, how should it be carried out? Here Prof. Fabella, former head of the history department at the University of the Philippines, outlines a procedure that could be followed with profit. The author is a former Congressman from Romblon.

In the explanatory note to the original bill providing for the teaching of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* in their unexpurgated editions, the authors specified their philosophy and objectives. They stressed the fact that the study of Rizal's two great works shall inculcate in the minds of our youth love of country and all that pertain to the Philippines. Incidentally as a necessary background for the understanding of those two "novels" the study of the biography of Rizal is an integral part, because Rizal has become the symbol of nationalism in the Philippines. Remove Rizal from the Philippine scene and the story of our country would probably be less dramatic and less worthy of our patriotic emulation.

Viewed from this vantage point, Republic Act 1425 is a very good law, and we should be grateful to its authors, proponents, exponents and supporters. Of this host of solons, special honors must go to José P. Laurel, Claro M. Recto, José B. Laurel Jr., Jacobo Gonzales, Lorenzo Tañada and others whose names are too numerous to cite. Their names are worthy to be carved in stone and metal for the information and edification of coming generations of Filipinos. They succeeded in reminding us of a pleasant duty we owe to our country that many of us have neglected or overlooked.

In a better sense, however, do we have to be reminded of our duty to our country? Do we have to be compelled by law to love and revere our national hero? Are we being compelled to love and respect our parents? That should be instantaneous considering what they had done for us. Our love and reverence for Rizal should be like that. If we love him (as we profess we do)

in gratitude for what he had done for our country then we submit that the law is unnecessary. The reading of the *Noli* and *Fili* should not be made compulsory but voluntary. We do not derive pleasure and edification from something that we are obliged to do. It is when we do things without compulsion that we derive benefit as well as pleasure in the doing. Anything that we are compelled to do is *work*, while those that we do voluntarily is *play*. As children and youth we experienced more pleasure from play than from work. We repeat that we should not have been compelled by law to study the life and works of Rizal.

Since the law is there, however, it must be carried out. When being persuaded by friends to escape from his confinement in prison awaiting execution in ancient Athens, the immortal Socrates is said to have replied: "No, my friends, the law must be obeyed. It might be a bad law, but it is the law and we must respect the majesty of the law." In like manner even if we may not believe in the need for a Rizal Law, it is our duty as good citizens of this Republic to implement the law without mental reservations and/or purpose of evasion.

The story behind the enactment of the law is told by former Speaker Jose B. Laurel, Jr. (described in one of the organs of the Knights of Rizal fraternity that was printed in 1960). From his account we gather that there was fear and apprehension among the proponents of the measure that the bill might not go through Congress. Or why was the bill railroaded (if railroading it was)? The implication is that its sponsors were aware of the strength of the opposition and delay might result in the bill's disapproval. Had the measure not been approved during that particular session of Congress, there is no telling what might have happened in the next session. By then the opponents could have made preparations and mustered all their resources for the showdown. One secret of victory in any struggle is the element of surprise, and the prime movers of the measure knew this only too well. So through strategy they won the battle but it was, we might say, an uneasy, perhaps, pyrrhic victory. The victors are still apprehensive now. A Congressman from Laguna expressed this thought about a year ago when it was suggested to him that improvement on the law would make it more effective in promoting its objectives. He said that it is better to let the law stand as it is. Any attempt to introduce alterations or amendments to the law might result in its complete abrogation so strong is the determination of its opponents to abolish the law. This Congressman may be right, as well as in his conjecture that the enactment of the Rizal law was timely.

What were the immediate effects of the approval of the law? There were quite a number but for our purpose we need not go into all of them. For one thing it may be said that it was a temporary triumph of liberalism. It was also a temporary setback for the forces of reaction. Those who sponsored the bill in Congress were and are known for their liberal views specially those that concern their country's welfare. Soon after the *Noli-Fili* bill became a law the late Claro M. Recto came out and said that under the new law it is now possible to teach the lives and works of other great patriots like Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and others. This view is not shared by the reactionary element.

Another effect of the Rizal Law was the stimulus it actually engendered towards a closer and more thorough study of Rizal's life and works than ever before. One indication of this is the increased membership in the Rizal fraternity known as "Caballeros de Rizal." From the report for 1960 of its present head, Dean Santiago de la Cruz, the fraternity's membership is now treble the former figure. Considering that one requisite for admission into that fraternity is a working knowledge of the life and works of José Rizal, the increase in its membership is a sure indication of a reawakened interest in Rizal.

In explaining the cause of this phenomenal growth in membership of the Knights of Rizal fraternity one of its directors explained that the able leadership of Dean de la Cruz was greatly responsible. That is probably true, too, because he has not spared time and effort to carry on the membership campaign. He goes to distant places, even to Japan and Hawaii, inaugurating chapters, and otherwise seeing to it that Rizal's teachings and ideas are disseminated throughout the length and breadth of the Philippines. Of course he is being aided by enthusiastic and loyal assistants and indirectly by the José Rizal Centennial Commission.

And this reminds us of another reason why there was such a tremendous increase in membership in the Rizal fraternity. The centennial anniversary of our foremost national hero did promote the campaign for membership. People realize the importance of this first centenary of Rizal's birth. They know too, that they will not live to see another centennial, therefore, many have taken, and are taking advantage of this celebration to be on the list of "knights". Perhaps, also, they like to perpetuate their names in the records of the Knights of Rizal. Who knows? The fact remains that even in very remote parts of the Philippines, chapters of the order have sprung up.

One not quite salutary effect of the Rizal law is the rise of a number of "writers" on Rizal, that is to say, "experts on Rizal" or "Rizalists". Many have come out pretending to be "experts" on Rizal for selfish reasons. Taking advantage of the requirement for the teaching of Rizal in the schools they began writing school textbooks. There is money in textbook-writing and this is a very good opportunity to make a pile. Many biographies of Rizal have appeared and Rizal's writings have been reprinted in great quantities. The government Board on Textbooks have, therefore, been kept busy scanning the pages of such books and screening them for possible adoption. The task is not an easy one, and great care should be exercised in the adoption of such textbooks. Unfortunately, on one or two occasions, the textbook board had not had much time to go over the proposed textbooks, and some were adopted without much deliberation. This is probably due to defects in human nature. Just the same we must be vigilant. We cannot afford to be indifferent to this very serious matter, otherwise, some undeserving books would flood the market, to the detriment of the unthinking public.

How the Law Is Implemented in Private Colleges

It becomes our duty now to inquire into the ways the *Noli-Fili* law is being implemented in the various institutions of learning. We should ask how earnestly the heads of such institutions are carrying on, i.e., how many hours of credit are being alloted to the course, and how the Rizal course itself is being taught. This is rather a hard task. We had to do some investigation and the results are only tentative, not definitive.

The general answer of private institutions to these questions is one of indifference. A good many of the private colleges are not very enthusiastic in the implementation of the law. A new required course means an additional outlay of funds, and it is a well-known fact that many of privately-owned institutions of learning are money-making concerns. Any move that would diminish their incomes is always unwelcome, and the requirement of "Rizal" is no exception. Therefore inasmuch as they must teach the Rizal course, they do so only half-heartedly, or indifferently.

An interesting revelation was made by a member of the committee formed to adopt a common curriculum for colleges owned and operated by private persons or corporations. This individual informed this wirter of his findings specially on the Rizal offering. He discovered that in some institutions, specially those owned by

Catholic religious corporations, the offering on Rizal is not given as a separate course. They merely integrate it with a course on Philippine history, or with any of the social science subjects.

In the non-sectarian institutions a similar trend is observable. When they offer Rizal as a separate course, they limit the course to only one (1) unit of credit, perhaps for the sake of economy. At least, they take the minimal requirement set by the Bureau of Private Schools. It appears that said bureau has issued a circular or memorandum to the effect that *one* unit shall satisfy the requirements of the law. May be the bureau of Private Schools is therefore partly to blame for this state of affairs. The private school heads are only willing accessories.

The situation is different in some of the Protestant mission schools. Take the case of the Philippine Christian Colleges as an example. We are reliably informed that when the college first offered the Rizal course it carried no less than *six hours* of credit. But then an inspector of private schools called the attention of the college authorities to the effect that six units was too much for the Rizal course. In other words, the Bureau of Private Schools does not look with favor upon that six-unit course, and the college had to compromise with three (3) units.

From these observations we deduce that the Catholic colleges are the least receptive to the implementation of the law. The Protestant institutions are more favorably disposed towards the Rizal law, and the non-sectarian institutions are simply complying with the minimum requirements of the Bureau of Private Schools. It seems, then, that in private schools, compliance with the law is only perfunctory. There is not much enthusiasm. On the other hand there is a determined effort to frustrate the objectives of the Rizal law on the part of some Catholic schools. Two illustrations will make the situation in Catholic institutions clearer.

Immediately upon the approval of the Rizal law the University of the Philippines offered a course on Rizal. A student who came from a Catholic institution informed this writer-teacher that she is forbidden to study the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* by her Church. We replied that the Rizal course is a requirement of the University of the Philippines; that she could take it or she could drop the course. The girl did not drop the course but at the same time did not take it seriously. Evidently she did not read the prescribed readings. She obtained a grade of "5" at the end of the term.

Another incident was related to this writer by a Rizalist. He was invited to speak on Rizal by a well known association. After

delivering his peroration on Rizal there followed an open forum during which anyone could ask questions. A student from a Catholic institution stood up and asked this question, "Is it true, Professor, that Rizal was a playboy?" And when asked by the professor where he got that idea, he was told that that was what he was taught in his college.

How the Law Is Implemented by the State University

These are some of the ways the Rizal law is being implemented in some of the private institutions of learning. It is now proper to discuss the main topic, "Teaching the Rizal Course at the University of the Philippines."

To begin with this much must be stated: that what has been said concerning the implementation of the Rizal law in private colleges and universities does not hold true for the University of the Philippines. The Rizal offering at the University of the Philippines is a regular course carrying three units of credit, and is being offered like any other course of the University.

The Syllabus

The course on Rizal when first offered in the state university was called "Philippine Institution I" and carried three (3) units of credit. About a year ago the course offering was described as "Philippine Institutions 100," so as to conform to the numbering of upper division courses, but the content is similar. It is open to students in the senior occasionally in the junior year of any course.

Like any other course offered in the University a syllabus is required for the Rizal course. The syllabus serves as a guide to both teachers and students. Students are furnished each with a copy of the syllabus containing all the main requirements. The first class meeting is devoted to the explanations of what is expected of the students. Let us look at the syllabus a copy of which is appended to this article.

From the syllabus we find that the Rizal course is divided into four main parts each of which is expected to be covered at approximately the same length of time. The main parts are: (1) Biography of Rizal; (2) *Noli Me Tangere;* (3) *El Filibusterismo;* and (4) Rizal's Essays listed in the syllabus. For lack of sufficient time, the poems of Rizal like the *Ultimo Adios, A La Juventud Filipina,* and others are recommended to be taken up in connection with Rizal's biography. For the same reason the original allot-

ment for Rizal's plays had to be eliminated. The committee in charge of the Rizal course feel that the offering as embodied in the syllabus is not enough, but decided that the mastery of a few of Rizal's writings is better than cramming into the head of the student so many things which might result in their learning nothing at all. They naturally would avoid what some would call mental indigestion. The writing of a thesis or a term paper is left with each individual instructor, but this is generally done by the majority of the faculty on Rizal at the state university.

Textbooks

Now let us look at the prescribed textbooks as listed in the syllabus. For Rizal's biography, the prize-winning piece written by the late President Rafael Palma entitled *Biografía de Rizal* is singled out. Those who have no working knowledge of Spanish generally buy the abridged edition-translation of the Palma biography by Roman Ozaeta which he entitled *Pride of the Malay Race.* While this book is prescribed there is a saving clause: "For controversial points on the life of Rizal the reading of other biographies should also be recommended, like those of W. Retana, Frank Laubach, Austin Craig, C. E. Russell and E. B. Rodriguez, Camilo Osias, Carlos Quirino, J. M. Hernandez, G. F. Zaide. In actual teaching, however, some of the teachers do not even ask the students to buy Palma's book. Any biography of Rizal is accepted since there could not be much debate over much of the facts of his life. In other words it turns out that no particular textbook is actually required even for the biography of Jose Rizal. The choice of a biography textbook is left much to the teachers and students.

What has been said for the textbooks on Rizal's biography holds true for the other integral parts of the course, the *Noli, Fili,* and the Essays. As far as the two great "novels" of Rizal are concerned, teachers generally recommend the reading of the works in the Spanish original. This is advisable because of the admonition that "translation is treason." If the students have not yet acquired a reading knowledge of Spanish the only alternative, of course, is the translation. For the *Noli* English translation the following are preferred: Charles Derbyshire, Francisco Benitez and Feliciano Basa, Jorge Bocobo, and Camilo Osías. The Guerrero translation just off the press is a valuable addition. For the English versions of the *Fili* preference is given to Charles Derbyshire, Jorge Bocobo and Camilo Osias. For the English versions of the Essays *"Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos"* and *"Filipinas dentro*

de cien años," the Derbyshire translations are good enough. For the other essays like *"La Vision de Fray Rodriguez," "Por Telefono"* etc., the Juan Collas translations found in his *Rizal's Unknown Writings* are recommended. The letters of Rizal to Padre Pastells are well rendered in English by the same author in his *Rizal's Unread Legacy.*

It is quite clear then that in the matter of textbooks the teachers and students are given much freedom. The general recommendation also is that preferably the said books, articles and letters should be read in the original Spanish.

The Faculty

One head of a department once suggested that the teaching of the Rizal course should be entrusted to the faculty of history. He justifies this claim by the statement that biography is a phase of history, and in fact biographies are taken up in connection with the teaching of history. It is even alleged that history is nothing more than the biographies of its great men. Thus, the history of the Philippines from 1907 to 1946 is but the biography of Osmeña and Quezon. This is not exactly all what it is, but it may be admitted that by studying the biographies of those two great Filipinos, we shall learn a great deal about the period of Philippine history in question. This approach is what educationists call the biographical approach to history. In the primary and elementary grades where there are no formal courses on history this is the only possible approach. In their lessons in literature and in social studies, pupils learn history through biographies.

Of course, biographers are not necessarily historians. Historians have a broader breadth and greater grasp of situations and movements. Some biographers are actually historians but they are not many. All that is suggested here is that historians are better qualified to teach the Rizal course than teachers of other disciplines.

This does not preclude the possibility that some teachers from other disciplines cannot teach the Rizal course. They can, provided that they had, by personal study, research and investigation, gone deep into the matter. In our faculty list only two pertain to the history faculty proper. The rest are not history teachers. This does not mean that the others know little about Rizal. In fact some are authorities on the subject, that is, experts on Rizal. They have written scholarly books and treatises on Rizal, and have been recognized as such authorities by their election to the highest

governing body of the Knights of Rizal fraternity. It must be acknowledged, therefore, that the men on the Rizal faculty at the University of the Philippines more than deserve their designations.

As to their teaching ability it is not easy to make judgment. In spite of the fact that only one, possibly two, are graduates of the College of Education, it is not justified to say that the rest do not know how to teach. By the way, the art of teaching cannot be taught. Like poets and mathematicians, teachers are born and no amount of methods-teaching can make the teacher. Teaching ability must be inborn in the individual. All that is needed, it has been said, is knowledge of subject matter. A person who is saturated with his subject will find the means of delivering the goods if he possesses common sense and a modicum of resourcefulness. Perhaps the fact that none in the said faculty has less than ten (10) years of teaching experience helps, if experience can make anyone a good teacher.

It may be worthwhile now to inquire into the composition of the faculty that handles the Rizal course at the University. For the present faculty is composed of Dean Ricardo R. Pascual, professor of philosophy, and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences; Professor Leopoldo Y. Yabes, professor of English, Humanities and Philippine Institutions, and Executive Secretary of the Institute of Asian Studies; Professor Armando J. Malay, professor of English and Philippine Institutions; Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo, professor of History; Professor Hernando Abaya, professor of English, and Secretary to the U.P. President; Professor Indalecio Soliongco, professor of English, and Columnist of *The Manila Chronicle;* Celedonio A. Ancheta, professorial lecturer on Political Science, History and Philippine Institutions; Professor Jose Añonuevo, assistant professor of Tagalog; Professor Gabriel F. Fabella, professor of History; and one or two more.

A casual look at this list of teachers will immediately strike the reader of a common characteristic for all. They are all liberal-minded, or at least they pretend to be. Perhaps, the faculty membership is what it should be. To be able to teach Rizal properly, because Rizal himself was a liberal and a humanist, the teacher should also be a liberal. It might have been ill-advised to have selected those who are deeply involved in sectarianism like the Knights of Columbus. In the first place Catholic authorities do not look with much favor on the teaching of Rizal anyway. It is actually hard to say what a Catholic priest would do if asked to handle the Rizal course. Except in very rare cases; therefore, it is unwise to entrust the teaching of the Rizal course to very deeply

involved Roman Catholics. It is probably better that way in the University of the Philippines, constituted as its Rizal faculty is, of liberal Catholics, Protestants, and free-thinkers.

The Approach

In general it may be said that the method of approach to the teaching of the Rizal course depends upon each teacher's breadth of view and orientation. The faculty comes from various disciplines like humanities, philosophy, political science, history and even journalism. The slant of each instructor is necessarily determined by his major field or interest. It is, therefore, hard to say that the teachers of the Rizal course have a common approach.

The Biography

There is probably little deviation in approach to the study of Rizal's biography. The facts of his life were studied as early as the elementary grades, certainly not later than in the high school. For this reason the emphasis recommended in the syllabus is Rizal's preparation to make himself serviceable to his country, and this means Rizal's activities in Europe on behalf of his country. In fact the study of his writings should be understood in relation to the great movement often called the Propaganda. Dr. Encarnación Alzona rightly suggests that the proper name to be applied to those patriots is "reformers," for actually they were crusaders for reforms which they believed would ameliorate the deplorable conditions of their Fatherland.

Controversial points on the life of Rizal like the alleged marriage of Rizal to Josephine Bracken, and his "retraction" are studiously avoided. The teachers, of course, cannot help but express their own views, but they are always careful to add that such matters being controversial, no definite conclusions can be hazarded. As "adults" college students are responsible people who should go deep into the problems. For that purpose a list of readings is presented. No attempt is made at indoctrination.

The Noli and Fili

It is in the approach to the teaching of the *Noli* and *Fili* where deviation is to be expected. Three such approaches may be described briefly, the literary, the historical and the philosophical.

Take the case of the teacher of English and literature. Being schooled in the literary art he would approach the *Fili* and *Noli* as works of literature. He would examine the plot and its un-

folding: its incentive moment, its denouement, climax, perhaps anti-climax, and the conclusion. These things are done without, of course, losing sight of the objective or objectives of the course.

The history teacher approaches the subject in another way. To him the two great works of Rizal are not "novels" in the real sense of the word. If they are novels Ambassador Leon M. Guerrero describes them as *political* in nature. As such they resemble Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that made a shattering impact upon American society as to bring about a civil war. When Mrs. Stowe visited Abraham Lincoln at the White House during the civil war, the first greeting of the president was, "So you are the little woman who brought about this war," by which statement the great man meant for a compliment rather than an admonition.

In the same way Rizal's *Noli* and *Fili* did inspire the Philippine Revolution. As political novels Rizal developed his plea for reforms in the Philippines by depicting actual conditions of life in the Philippines. In the *Noli* there is scarcely any plot at all. The *Noli* has two equal heroes, and whoever heard of a novel with two heroes? To the historian the so-called novels are historical sources, and Rizal himself confessed that all the incidents are true. He could prove each one of them. "If those works are novels, as Rizal himself would make us believe, they are only a vehicular form of writing history. The kind of history which has emerged in the novel form of writing vibrates with life and drama and is filled with people of flesh and blood. In other words, history has become a living thing, which otherwise would be impossible in a straight historical narrative."[1] The *Noli* and *Fili* are a series of pictures of life during the last decade and a half of Spanish rule. Both are historical works.

The philosophical approach used by a philosophy professor needs some explanation. It is based on an interpretation of history. Rizal was faced with the problem of narrating the story of the Philippines for the "last ten years" (*Noli*). As a novelist, he had the responsibility for creating the characters and their attributes. He was also conscious of the interrelations of events and the causes that brought them about. He was not dealing with the lives of individual persons but with the life of the whole nation. His characters do not represent personages because he was not writing a collective biography. As an observer of society and the individuals that make up that society, he realized that the lives of persons result from the interplay of forces that shape events.

[1] G. F. Fabella, *Rizal the Historian* — p. 12.

These cultural forces may attain a unity to make it identifiable as cultural institutions. They are revealed by thought and the action that may result from such thoughts. To Rizal history is determined by the organization, subjugation, and the conflict of cultural forces. This is opposed to the geographical interpretation of history, but it does not deny the materialistic interpretation of Marx. He acknowledges the dominance of material forces in the shaping of institutions but does not negate other spiritual factors. This interpretation is similar to the survival of the fittest among animals which in terms of society would be the survival of the cultural institutions. As in the biological world (which also includes man) the material basis is also dominant.

An illustration is the religious missions in the Philippines. The ground for their existence is the religious conversion of the pagans. But, in the course of their existence, this did not hold for long. The religious aspect was kept up by rituals while material considerations became more and more their main preoccupation. This is explained by motivations which are inherent in individuals, as well as in institutions for they are composed of individuals. It was very easy to confuse them (the motivations) because they are present in the individual simultaneously. Satisfaction of hunger for example, would be institutionalized by the acquisition of property. Sexual appetite is institutionalized by matrimony. In the case of religious institutions, the same motivations are found as evidenced by their property and the clandestine satisfaction of the other.

To be true to the purpose of Rizal in writing his novels, they should be interpreted culturally. The characters should not be taken as merely characters or types representing the different classes in our society. They symbolize cultural institutions which played parts in the shaping of our society.

In the *Noli,* Ibarra represents the native culture influenced by modern technology and the liberal ideas of Europe. Maria Clara represents the priest-ridden culture of the Philippines at the time, while Elias stands for the indigenous culture devoid of the sophistication and technical knowledge which Ibarra had. Maria Clara, is the product of the illicit love affair between the Spanish priest and the Filipino woman represented by Doña Pia. Historically, this was what happened to the Philippines at the coming of the Spaniards for the conquest was of course made by the use of force (the sword) and (the cross) religion. Doña Pia had to die at the birth of Maria Clara because her act was unpardonable. Rizal gave her a merciful exit.

Some details could be introduced to substantiate the institutional interpretation. When Ibarra rescued Elias from the hands of the crocodile, he used a knife showing his knowledge of instruments, which could be extended to mean technology. Elias, representing native culture used only his bare hands and a rope. The crocodile of which Maria Clara was curious, represents natural forces and the attempt of Elias to subjugate it constitutes man's battle with natural forces. Elias does not succeed, and his life is only saved with the help of the modern, scientific knowledge of Ibarra. This act is very symbolic in the light of cultural interpretation, for scientific knowledge gives way to the subjugation of nature to suit man's purposes facilitated by science.

The union between Maria Clara and Ibarra, of which we were made to expect at the beginning of the novel was frustrated by the machinations of Padre Damaso (the Spanish friar-father, representing the culture brought to us), and Padre Salvi (also a Spanish friar representing the later or younger crop of fathers). This, again is corroborated by the facts of history. But, by leading us to expect the union, Rizal was pointing out a possible course which could have meant progress, or the advancement of our culture. Following the biological law of dominance (of Mendel), the characteristics (in biological terminology, the dominant characters) of the parents will be inherited by the offspring. And these were, the faithfulness and religiousity of Maria Clara, and the liberal ideas and technical frame of mind of Ibarra.

The symbolization holds true for other characters and events. Rizal could not have put them there for nothing.

The basis for cultural interpretation is not only found in the novel or in the historical facts but also in various writings of Rizal. In the *Indolence of the Filipino,* he acknowledges the material basis of culture because he cites geography's role in the development of cultural traits. In the Letter to the Women of Malolos, he recognizes the new cultural force (the agitation of women for higher education). And in the *Philippines a Century Hence,* he realizes the possibility of the introduction of a new culture and the cultural forces which might lead to a new turn of events in the history of Spanish domination of the Philippines.

In the light of this cultural interpretation, the novels of Rizal gain a greater meaning. It is a clue to the understanding of the ideas of Rizal as imbued with life in *Noli* and *Fili.*[2]

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[2] During a symposium on Rizal at the U.P. College of Law Auditorium, Father Horacio de la Costa, S.J. expressed substantial conformity to Dean Pascual's institutional interpretation of the *Noli* as outlined here.

Methods of Teaching

Having presented briefly the course of study, the textbooks, the composition of the faculty, and the approach, we are now ready to discuss the method or methods used in the actual teaching of the course. At the outset let it be known that this part, method of approach and teaching, is hard to determine. It was necessary to make inquiries into each teacher's methods of approach. Given the common syllabus for a guide, how does each individual teacher go about his task? From the answers received the following statements may be hazarded, but like the findings in private institutions there are, as yet, no definitive conclusions.

The methods of teaching or imparting knowledge of Rizal and his works in the classroom need not detain us much. The lecture method seems to be the most popular, but the question-and-answer method is also being used especially to bring out the facts. Some of the teachers do utilize this method which seems the most convenient, but this particular method does not need much preparation nor deep insight into the main problem of inculcating love of country and the like.

Occasionally the colloquium method is utilized. One student reads or develops orally a particular topic assigned beforehand. After its presentation other members of the class make comments or ask questions for clarification of certain points brought out by the paper. In the degree in which the students participate intelligently in the discussion they are evaluated by the professor. This method partakes in part of the nature of an open forum which is also of value in training students to express themselves on some points brought out. In fact this method should be encouraged by all concerned in order to make students think on their feet.

Another method of teaching may be cited. The teacher prepares a guide or rather a list of questions. During class meetings the teacher asks some of the questions listed. Of course this is not sufficient. The teacher explains the doubtful points or elaborates on the answers given by the students. The questionnaire is therefore nothing but guides. Incidentally, by this means lazy students are obliged to study their assignments which otherwise they neglect, and depend entirely upon class discussions.

The writing of term papers has been found to be effective at Clark Air Base Branch of the University. The students there like the idea because they are mostly mature people. By independent search and study they learn more, they claimed. This method, of course, needs the steady and guiding hand of the teacher. After

the subject has been chosen students are asked to make an outline, and then to present their bibliography. In short, the rules of writing term papers must be observed, and this is a preparatory training for those who expect to undertake graduate work later. Those majoring in history have to take a specific course on elementary historiography, but term-paper writing gives the students in general a preliminary training for independent research. Term papers must be carefully graded by the instructor if such papers would be of some value. This, of course, involves a great deal of work for the instructor, but it is worth doing.

A specific method *to make Rizal real* is to hold excursions to places where Rizal spent portions of his life. A visit to the Rizal home at Calamba, Laguna would enable the students to appreciate the environment in which he was brought up. Fort Santiago is useful not only as the place of his last confinement, but also because some of the relics of Rizal are preserved there. From Fort Santiago the student could trace on foot the route of Rizal to his calvary at the Luneta. The teacher should explain that the place where the present monument stands is not the very spot where Rizal fell. That neighborhood of Bagumbayan, nevertheless, is a hallowed spot because of the many heroes and martyrs that have fallen there as victims of Spanish tyranny and misrule. A visit to the Paco cemetery will complete the excursion. In this way Filipino students may actually imbibe the patriotic spirit. Even American students were inspired when such excursions were undertaken by the Rizal faculty at the Clark Air Base Branch of the University.

Fear has been expressed in some quarters that we have not been doing full justice to Rizal. It is true that we have erected monuments, and commemorate his birthday and the day of his martyrdom with parades, speeches, and fireworks, etc. These, however, are superficial celebrations to keep up appearances. We are not honoring him properly. Instead somes are doing disservice to Rizal. Two groups may be pinpointed: (1) those who exaggerate Rizal as to make him more than human; and (2) those who deprecate Rizal to make him appear ridiculous in the eyes of the Filipino people. A group in Calamba and thereabouts, had transformed Rizal into a god and worship him as such. The *"Watawat ng Lahi"* is a religious denomination duly registered with the Bureau of Public Libraries. Its membership, however, is largely confined to the unlettered classes who are led by people whose thinking has a tendency towards fanaticism. It must admitted that Rizal possessed superlative qualities, but to make him a god is another story.

The other group that is dishonoring Rizal is the Catholic authorities. While complying with the Rizal law they make Rizal appear ridiculous by portraying him as a mere playboy. It is feared that they do not even mention his great role in nation-building, and his sacrifices on behalf of his country. If that is the way they are teaching the Rizal course it probably is better that they do not teach it at all.

Why don't we teach Rizal as he really was? It is rather unfair to look at him from only one angle. Present him from all angles, but emphasize his great services and sacrifices on behalf of his country. Exaggerations hurt Rizal, but an understatement is almost as bad. Let us present him then as a human being with his frailties as well his superlative qualities that placed him over and above the ordinary run of our compatriots. As Ferdinand Blumentritt rightly conjectured, his kind seldom appears in a century. We Filipinos should consider ourselves fortunate that we have a Rizal. Not all nations have produced one like him.

With these notes and observations as guides, it is hoped that we may improve the teaching of Rizal in our colleges and universities. If we have to teach the Rizal course at all, a more serious effort should be exerted to implement the law in the spirit of the lawmakers. The following recommendations are hereby presented to that effect.

1. To request the Bureau of Private Schools thru the Department of Education to modify the rulings concerning the implementation of the Rizal law:

   a. That the Rizal course be offered as a distinct and separate course, and not to be integrated with any of the social science courses, as it is being done now in some Catholic institutions.

   b. As an independent subject, the Rizal course should carry the same number of credit hours as the other, i.e., *three* units. The law is clear: intensive study of Rizal and his works. We submit that one unit of credit makes it impossible to carry out that proviso. As now authorized by the Bureau of Private Schools it does not meet the requirements of the Rizal law.

2. A common syllabus should be issued by the Department of Education for use in all schools, colleges and universities, prescribing the minimum requirements of the Rizal course, similar to the one in use at the University of the Philippines.

3. To secure the maximum results great care should be taken in the selection of teachers of the Rizal course. Only broad-minded and thoroughly nationalistic persons should be permitted to teach. This means that aliens are disqualified. If the department of education has adopted the ruling that only Filipinos may teach Philippine history, with more reason that ruling should be applied to teachers of "Rizal."

As a parting observation pertinent portions of Gilbert S. Perez' article published posthumously are quite proper. Blumentritt, the Austrian savant who thought of Rizal as the greatest man the Malayan race has produced, was Rizal's friend and contemporary. Since Rizal's death sixty-five years ago, more and more foreigners are realizing the greatness of Rizal whose teachings are as relevant today as they were in his time. Gilbert S. Perez, an American who died about two years ago, has this to say of Rizal:

> The example of José Rizal if followed would contribute a great deal to a better philosophy of life; it would encourage more tolerance and patriotism; it would discourage narrow prejudices; it would lead to a greater appreciation of one's country and of the rest of the world and of the people that surround us; it would help to strengthen the bonds of fellowship between the different peoples and races of the world, and would make us feel such a greater appreciation of the present life in order that we may better be fitted to enjoy what may be in store for us beyond the grave.
>
> José Rizal should be to our young people not merely as an example of one who died for his country, but what is more important, as one who contributed most gloriously to the freedom and to the welfare of his people.

We need to add just a few more words. From the testimonies of those who have written on Rizal, his life and works could be the subject of a life-long study. The *Noli* and *Fili* could be the Filipino *bibles* whence we could learn practically all that concern life in society. The youth of the land particularly, derive all sorts of inspiration from his great writings. Above all we should know his consuming passion—love of country. Ferdinand Blumentritt was right when he wrote once to Rizal: . . "Rizal has only one true love and that is a girl by the name of Filipinas."

APPENDIX A

Senate Bill No. 438

[REPUBLIC ACT NO. 1425]

AN ACT TO INCLUDE IN THE CURRICULA OF ALL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES COURSES ON THE LIFE, WORKS AND WRITINGS OF JOSE RIZAL, PARTICULARLY HIS NOVELS *NOLI ME TANGERE* AND *EL FILIBUSTERISMO*, AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION THEREOF, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

WHEREAS, today, more than any other period of our history, there is a need for a re-dedication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died;

WHEREAS, it is meet that in honoring them, particularly and patriot, Jose Rizal, we remember with special fondness and devotion their lives and works that have shaped the national character;

WHEREAS, the life, works and writings of Jose Rizal particularly his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, are a constant and inspiring source of patriotism with which the minds of the youth, specially during their formative and decisive years in school, should be suffused;

WHEREAS, all educational institutions are under the supervision of, and subject to regulation by the State, and all schools are enjoined to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience and to teach the duties of citizenship; NOW; therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines in Congress assembled:

SECTION 1. Courses on the life, works and writings of Jose Rizal, particularly his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, shall be included in the curricula of all schools, colleges and universities, public or private; *Provided*, That in the collegiate courses, the original or unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* or their English translation shall be used as basic texts.

The Board of National Education is hereby authorized and directed to adopt forthwith measures to implement and carry out the provisions of this Section, including the writing and printing of appropriate primers, readers and textbooks. The Board shall, within sixty (60) days from the effectivity of this Act promulgate rules and regulations, including those of a disciplinary measure, to carry out and enforce the provisions of this Act. The Board shall promulgate rules and regulations providing for the exception of students for reasons of religious belief stated in a sworn written statement, from the requirement of the provisions contained in the second part of the first paragraph of this section; but not from taking the course provided for the first part of said paragraph. Said rules and regulations shall take effect thirty (30) days after their publication in the Official Gazette.

SECTION 2. It shall be obligatory on all schools, colleges and universities to keep in their libraries an adequate number of copies of the original and unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, as well as Rizal's other works and biography. The said unexpurgated editions of the

Noli Me Tangere and *El Filibusterismo* or their translations in English as well as other writings of Rizal shall be included in the approved books for required reading in all public and private schools, colleges and universities.

The Board of National Education shall determine the adequacy of the number of books depending upon the enrollment of the school, college or university.

SECTION 3. The Board of National Education shall cause the translation of *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* as well as other writings of Rizal into English, Tagalog and the principal Philippine dialects; caused them to be printed in cheap popular editions; and cause them to be distributed free of charge, to persons desiring to read them, through the *Purok* organizations and Barrio Councils throughout the country.

SECTION 4. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as amending or repealing section nine hundred twenty-seven of the Administrative Code, prohibiting the discussion of religious doctrines by public school teachers and other person engaged in public school.

SECTION 5. The sum of three hundred thousand pesos is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any fund not otherwise appropriated in the National Treasury to carry out the purpose of this Act.

SECTION 6. This Act shall take effect upon its approval.

APPROVED, June 12, 1956.

APPENDIX B

PHILIPPINE INSTITUTIONS 100: THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOSE RIZAL

Syllabus Outline (Based on the Term)

MEETINGS

2 Organization of the class. Lectures on historical background of the times of Rizal.

8 Rizal's Life: Childhood Years (1861-1872); Ateneo and Sto. Tomas years (1872-1882); First European Period (1887-1888); Second European Period (1888-1892); Hongkong Interlude 1891-1892); Dapitan Years (1892-1896); Last Odyssey and Death (August-December, 1896).

Note: In view of the fact that the students taking this course have already taken the Rizal course offered in the high school, it should not be necessary to stress the facts of Rizal's life with they should already be familiar. [Emphasis should be placed on Rizal's one consuming desire, namely, to make himself serviceable to his country. A study of his life points up the fact that he strove to make himself educated and enlightened so that he could help his country and people pull themselves from ignorance and oppression. It is a fact that his stay abroad (1882-1892) was the most productive period of his life, and so his activities during this period should be given the attention they

deserve]. The poems and plays may be taken up in connection with the biography.

7 *NOLI ME TANGERE.* Since the students have taken up the story in the Rizal course in the high school, it is not necessary to devote much time to the facts of the plot, with which students are supposed to be familiar. Aesthetic and ideological interpretations should be pertinent to stress in the collegiate course.

7 *EL FILIBUSTERISMO.* The remarks made concerning *Noli Me Tángere* should also apply here.

8 Essays, Letters and Short Satires. "Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos," "Filipinas dentro de cien años," "Sa Mga Kababayang Dalaga sa Malolos," "Por Telefono," "La Vision de Fray Rodriguez."

1 Final Examination. (The quizzes may be given anytime during the term, preferably after the study of the biography, the novels and the essays.)

Note: The above are the minimum requirements for the course. The wirting of a term paper is optional to the instructor.

A. *READINGS*

I. RIZAL'S LIFE:

Palma, Rafael. *Biografia de Rizal,* Manila, 1949. An abridged version has been published under the title *Pride of the Malay Race,* by Roman Ozaeta (New York, 1949). For controversial points in the life of Rizal, the reading of other biographies should also be recommended, like those of W. E. Retana, Frank Laubach, Austin Craig, C. F. Rusell and E. B. Rodriguez, Camilo Osias, Carlos Quirino, J. M. Hernandez, G. F. Zaide.

II. NOLI ME TANGERE:

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NOTE: The reading of the above works should be recommended but not required.

THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF RIZAL

Bernabe Africa

The author of this monograph[1] is probably the outstanding Filipino political scientist of his generation. He studied law at the University of Southern California, then took his master's and doctorate's degrees at the University of Michigan, which later granted him an honorary LL.D. degree. For fourteen years he taught at the University of the Philippines. After the last war, he became Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and served as Philippine Minister to Thailand. Long an ardent admirer of Rizal, Dr. Africa gathered the political, social and economic views of our hero and wove them into the present essay, revealing the author's wide reading and mastery of the subject.

I must confess the sad truth that my interest in Dr. Rizal's work is of recent origin. It is true that I read his novels and the standard biographies of Dr. José Rizal by Wenceslao Retana,[2] Prof. Austin Craig,[3] and the late President of the University of the Philippines, Rafael Palma,[4] even before the second World War but my readings had been desultory not because I lacked interest in his writings but because my professional interest lies in another direction giving me little time for excursion into other fields, such as the works of our national heroes.

Some of Rizal's works have to be read several times to enable the reader to interpret them properly. This requires leisure and freedom from the usual pre-occupation for bread and butter. I do feel now, however, that every educated Filipino, no matter what his profession may be, should read the works of Rizal and other Filipino heroes to enable him to have his proper bearings in this age of conflict and to inspire him to greater efforts and to have

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1 Paper read by the author at the Scottish Rite Weekly Luncheon on February 18, 1961.

2 *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal.*

3 *Lineage, Life, and Labors of José Rizal.*

4 *Biografia de Rizal.*

confidence in his ability to steer the ship of state out of the dangerous shoals of independence.

At the turn of the century, I attended a private Catholic school of the late Sebastian Virrey in my home town.[5] I do not exactly remember how one day Dr. José Rizal and his novels came to be the subject of discussion in class. At any rate, the teacher prohibited the students to read Dr. Rizal's novels, which, in his opinion, should be consigned to the fire. The students did not realize then the seriousness of the teacher's remarks although they were old enough to know that Dr. Rizal was our national hero as none of us had the slightest acquaintance with his novels — *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*.[6]

Some seven years after this incident, some Dominican friars visited Lipa. They were greeted by a huge crowd with *"Fuera los frailes"* (Down with the friars). The unwelcome visitors had to leave the town in a huff that same day.

The first incident has convinced me that even as late as the first decade of this century and in spite of the change of sovereignty certain segments of our population were still under the influence of the friars whom Rizal and Del Pilar had vigorously denounced. Anyone who has waded through the voluminous record of the hearing in the Senate on the Rizal bill[7] as I have done, which would make Rizal's unexpurgated versions of his novels compulsory reading in our colleges and universities, public or private, will be convinced that the influence of the friars has not been completely eradicated in spite of the fact that we are now an independent nation.

The second incident has demonstrated that the bitterness of the Revolution still lingered with us, as late as 1911, when the incident above-mentioned occurred. This bitter feeling towards the friars engendered by the Revolution has almost totally disappeared and now we regard them as friends and co-workers in the common task of nation-building. *Tempora mutant et nos mutamus cum illis.* (Times change and we change with them.) However, it is not so easy to eradicate some of their teachings which the more fanatical of our people regard as part of the Roman Catholic religion and their subtle influences upon our lives.

It is not my purpose to revive old animosities or rattle dead bones, so to speak. We believe with the poet that the past should

[5] Lipa City.

[6] These novels will be cited henceforth as *Noli* and *Fili* for short, respectively. The author used the English translation of Charles Derbyshire.

[7] Republic Act No. 1425.

bury its dead. As Rizal lived in a period when the friars were supreme and he himself a victim of their intrigues, it is impossible for us to avoid historical facts however unpleasant they may be because of the peculiar rôle of the friars under the Spanish régime.

Dr. Frank C. Laubach lists some seventeen branches of knowledge in which Rizal excelled or showed more than ordinary competence. Indeed it is hard to find someone of Rizal's age anywhere in the world who can match him in versatility and learning. His accomplishments were achieved not only because of his gifted mind but also because of his untiring industry and methodical way of living, a rare combination which we find in Rizal to a marked degree. He did not waste time as did some of his countrymen in Madrid. Although his novels will not be included, according to Retana, in any anthology of Spanish writers, they are read by more people than the works of any Spanish writer, except perhaps Cervantes' *Don Quijote,* as they have been translated into many languages. Retana himself admitted, in reply to the disparaging remarks of the Auditor General, Nicolás de la Peña, about Rizal's ability as a writer, that his novels contain "most inspired pages worthy of our best novelists." (*Rizal tiene páginas inspiradísimas, dignas de nuestros mejores novelistas.*) Speaking of the novels of Rizal, Dr. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a noted Spanish scholar and professor of Spanish literature in the *Universidad Central de Madrid,* said that no Spanish writer had written an "indianist literature" (*literatura indianista*) as Rizal and that no one in the Philippines wrote in Spanish with the "richness, creativeness and classicity of Rizal."[8] He would make Rizal's novels a reading matter in all schools throughout Spain with slight omissions of non-essential matters. In his opinion, there has not been written a more beautiful novel since Cervantes.

An American writer has the following to say of Rizal's novels:

> Here are two books that every American should read; not simply because a Malay novelist is a great curiosity, but because these romances contain a serious exposition of the conditions which prevailed in the Philippines just before the American occupation. Those who readily believe in racial superiorities and inferiorities may find in these novels some stimulus to reflection. For here is a Filipino, with no European blood in his veins who writes with the compelling charm of a Galdós, who has a considerable store of European culture and a perfect understanding of European ideals; who strikes chords of emotion that no American could find exotic; who believes passionately in all that Western

[8] *Congressional Record,* Vol. III, No. 55, pp. 878-879.

civilization stands for, and whose appeal for the fraternity of races has not a trace of cowardice or pose.[9]

In a book published in 1935,[10] Julio Palacios who was sent to the Philippines by the Spanish government with Gerardo Diego, a well known contemporary Spanish writer, to lecture in our universities, said of Claro M. Recto's Spanish: "I do not wish to deprive the reader of some of the paragraphs of his speech, a truly Castelarian piece,[11] because they reveal, better than anything, the extremes of perfection which the cultivation of our language has attained in the remote archipelago." Did not Retana himself once say that Pedro A. Paterno wrote in flawless Spanish? The friars and the Spanish colonial officials were naturally prejudiced against Rizal. They condemned his novels not only as impious and subversive but also faulty from the literary standpoint. But his novels will be read by people of many races long after his bigoted Spanish critics have gone to their final resting place. The foregoing citations should convince an unprejudiced observer that some Filipinos write Spanish even better than the Spaniards themselves.

As an eye specialist, Rizal was well-known in the Orient. Even during his exile in Dapitan, his services were sought by foreigners who suffered from eye ailment. He could have amassed wealth if he had dedicated himself to the practice of his profession from the beginning but he did not, as his chief preoccupation was his country and his oppressed people, which reminds me of the dialogue between Señor Pasta and Isagani in the *Fili*.[12] The Filipino students headed by Macaraig planned to establish an academy of the Spanish language with a view to the improvement of the teaching of Spanish in the schools. The petition was gathering dust in the office of the Governor-General because of certain objections from powerful sources when someone thought of the happy idea of referring the matter to the Superior Commission of Primary Instruction of which Don Custodio was a member, inasmuch as it involved the teaching of the Castilian tongue. Don Custodio became the arbiter of the dispute and promised quick action on the petition. The students sought the intercession of Señor Pasta as he was likely to be consulted by Don Custodio and for this purpose Isagani was deputized by his friends to interview Señor Pasta. After some exchange of arguments, Isagani found that Pasta was indifferent to

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[9] Quoted in Osias, Dr. Camilo, *José Rizal: His Life and Times,* p. 339.
[10] *Filipinas Orgullo de España,* pp. 62-66.
[11] The style of Emilio Castelar, "the great (Spanish) orator of the 19th century." Prat, Angel Valbuena, *Historia de la Literatura Española,* III, p. 350.
[12] Chapter XV.

the plan which he regarded as quixotic and counselled the young man to be more practical in life. Pasta was that selfish type of individual who care only for himself and would not lift a finger to help his country and his fellow countrymen. He was a well-known lawyer who made a fortune from the practice of his profession. He had influential and powerful clients. Before he and Isagani parted, he gave the latter this advice:

> You are going to study medicine? Well, confine yourself to learning how to put on plasters and apply leeches, and don't ever try to improve or impair the condition of your kind. When you become a licentiate, marry a rich girl, try to make cures and charge well, shun everything that has any relation to the general state of the country, attend Mass, confession and communion when the rest do, and you will see afterwards how you will thank me, and I shall see it, if I am still alive. Always remember that charity begins at home, for man ought not to seek on earth more than the greatest amount of happiness for himself, as Bentham says. If you involve yourself in quixotisms you will have no career, nor will you get married, nor will you ever amount to anything. All will abandon you, your own countrymen will be the first to laugh at your simplicity. Believe me, you will remember me and see that I am right, when you have gray hairs like myself, gray hairs such as these!

To this advice Isagani replied:

> When I have gray hairs like those, sir... and turn my gaze back over my past and see that I have worked only for myself, without having done what I plainly could and should have done for the country that has given me everything, for the citizens that have helped me to live—then, sir, every gray hair will be a thorn, and instead of rejoicing, they will shame me!

This stinging rebuke stunned the old man who could only mutter to himself that such ideas crossed his mind once but they did not help him win lawsuits nor did they get him his daily bread. Pasta was a selfish and opportunistic individual whose main obsession was to amass wealth. His main concern was his lucrative law practice for he was the lawyer of wealthy corporations and big commercial firms. He was indifferent to the cause of his people. Rizal condemned this Pasta-type leadership which, sad to say, still prevails amongst us today. Only selfless and dedicated leaders, typified by Rizal, who put the interests of the nation over and above everything, can rescue the country from its present state of confusion and uncertainties. The materialistic arguments of Señor Pasta failed to convince Isagani to give up his plan—the establishment of a Spanish academy—which might not have been of vital importance to the nation. What Rizal wanted to emphasize in this

connection, through this young medical student, was that we should not only be thinking of our own individual advancement but we should also do something for the welfare of the state as we are under a moral obligation to do so. Otherwise, we would be recreant to our duty as citizens thereof. As a people, we lacked and still do lack civic-mindedness. We are not public-spirited. President John F. Kennedy had similar thought in mind when, in his inaugural address, he told his fellow Americans: "Ask not what your country will do for you — ask what you can do for your country."

Almost every writer who has written about Rizal has stressed his many-sided qualities as a literary man, as a scientist, even as a theologian and a musician. However, I proposed to discuss in this paper the political views of Dr. José Rizal. I was tempted to adopt the subject of Rizal as a political scientist. On second thought, I preferred the former as the latter term implies professionalism. Rizal was not a political scientist in the professional sense. Political science as a separate discipline is relatively modern. It was not universally recognized as such probably before the turn of the century. Formerly, it was a part of history or political economy. In Rizal's time political science was not a separate discipline in most American and European universities. But that does not mean that Rizal could not qualify as a political scientist since the science itself is as old as ancient Greece when Plato and Aristotle speculated on the nature of the state. Though he had not written a systematic treatise on political science, he had shown a profound knowledge of history, government and international relations. He was a prodigious reader, a student of human nature, and a keen observer of human affairs and possessed a logical and analytical mind and had a passion for truth. In fact, the *Noli* and the *Fili* may be regarded as textbooks in political science although they were written in the form of fiction. Rizal himself stated that the characters in his novels were real and the social and political conditions described therein were true.

Republic Act No. 1425 provides for the inclusion in the curricula of all schools, colleges and universities, public or private, courses on the life, works and writings of Dr. José Rizal, particularly his novels, the *Noli* and the *Fili*. It provides further that in the collegiate courses, the original or unexpurgated editions of the *Noli* and the *Fili* or their English translation shall be used as basic texts. However, certain students, for religious reasons, may be exempted from this requirement. This compromise provision was made in view of the strong opposition of the Catholic hierarchy to the bill.

The Board of National Education is charged with the implementation of the law. The philosophy behind the law was succinctly stated by the late Senator José P. Laurel, then Chairman of the senate committee on education, as follows:

> Today more than at any period of our history, there is a need for a rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes, from Dagohoy and Lapu-lapu to Rizal, del Pilar, Bonifacio and Mabini, lived and died. The words of these nationalists have impressed upon our history the stamp of undying glory. It is, therefore, meet that in recalling them, particularly the national hero and patriot, José Rizal, we remember with special fondness and devotion their words that have shaped the national character.
>
> It is for the purpose that this bill is presented. Many speak of Rizal as if they had read and understood him. His *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* the greatest Philippine social documents, live only as names to be mentioned on auspicious occasions, but are not read and studied. It is a national shame that in an era such as this, the works of José Rizal are not assiduously read in his own country as they are in some countries of South America. To ignore them, as most of us do, is to ignore Rizal and what he stood for. To praise him without taking the trouble that which elicits our praises is to be hypocritical.
>
> *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* must be read by all Filipinos. They must be taken to heart, for in their pages we see ourselves as in a mirror: our defects as well as our strength, our virtues as well as our vices. Only then would we become conscious as a people, and so learn to prepare ourselves for painful sacrifices that ultimately lead to self-reliance, self-respect and freedom.[13]

Rizal's views on political matters are widely scattered in his writings. They have to be pieced together to form a coherent story of the things that he stood for. What complicates matters is that, according to Rizal himself, the views expressed by the characters of his novels are not necessarily his except as they are confirmed in his other writings.[14] His political ideas are found in his novels, in his valuable annotations to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* and in such articles as "The Philippines a Century Hence"[15] and "The Indolence of the Filipinos"[16] and other minor works. Though some of his articles are of a polemical nature, they have not lost their value on that account for Rizal was primarily a scholar and had not twisted his facts to suit his purpose. He had a fund of information acquired through his knowledge of many languages

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[13] *Congressional Record,* Vol. III, No. 55, p. 867. See preamble of R. A. No. 1425.

[14] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. II, p. 45-86. Reply of Rizal to the criticism of the *Noli* by Vicente Barrantes, *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. II, p. 296.

[15] Published in *La Solidaridad* from September 30, 1889 to February 1, 1890.

[16] Published in *La Solidaridad* from July 15 to September 15, 1890.

that gave him access to a vast amount of literature which was closed to an ordinary person.

Rizal was a polemicist *par excellence* on political, and religious subjects. The most famous of such polemics was the one he had with a Jesuit Father, Rev. Pablo Pastells. His mastery of the facts, his resourcefulness and the use of satire gave him a decided advantage over his opponents. His reply to the criticism of his *Noli* by Vicente Barrantes, *"La Visión de Fr. Rodriguez,"* "The Indolence of the Filipinos" and his polemics with Father Pastells show Rizal's skill as a debater and his encyclopedic knowledge of the social sciences and the humanities. There had not been a single instance where Rizal made an unfounded assertion or committed an exaggeration in any of his works. His criticisms whether directed against the friars or against the Spanish administration or against our social system were founded upon facts. For truth was Rizal's greatest obsession in life. He was a scientist by training and temperament. Though most poets are inclined to be dreamy and emotional, Rizal was an exception. According to the late Senator Claro M. Recto, Rizal was more practical than Andrés Bonifacio, the founder of the *Katipunan* whom he regarded as an idealist, although the consensus of opinion is just the reverse.

The Revolution was started by Andrés Bonifacio who did not stop to consider its probable success or failure before taking such a radical step. This is the reason why Recto called Bonifacio an idealist. On the other hand, Rizal was more calculating and counselled against the Revolution of 1896 not only because in his opinion the country was not prepared for it but also because a revolution under the circumstances would be doomed to failure. For this reason, in Recto's opinion, Rizal was more practical than Bonifacio.

Recto's thesis was that Rizal was opposed to armed rebellion against Spain up to the end of his earthly existence. This is the opinion also of most writers who have written about Rizal. The first dissent came from Rafael Palma, late President of the University of the Philippines, who thought, however, that Rizal must have given up his original plan of securing the needed reforms by peaceful means in favor of a revolution at about the time he wrote the *Fili* or maybe even earlier. The preponderance of evidence is in favor of those who sustain the contrary view. This did not mean, though, that Rizal was less patriotic than the other leaders for he was not afraid to sacrifice even his own life for the sake of his country which in fact he did. He was not opposed to revolution if there was a possibility of success. The most that Recto was

willing to concede on this point is that Rizal's ideas — political, social and religious — were revolutionary. He was a revolutionist in "thought" but not in "action."

When asked by Ricardo Carnicero, military governor of Dapitan, what reforms the country needed, Rizal replied:

First, representation of the country in the Cortes. With such representation the abuses in the Philippines would cease;

Second, the secularization of the parishes, abolishing the power the friars now exercised over the government and the country. The parishes should be distributed as they become vacant, among the body of the clergy, so that the clergy may be both Filipinos and Spaniards;

Third, the overhauling of the administration and its branches;

Fourth, the promotion of primary education, to end the interference of the friars in the educational system, and to give better salaries to both men and women teachers;

Fifth, the division of government positions equally between the natives and Spaniards;

Sixth, the elevation of the moral standard of the administration;

Seventh, the establishment in each provincial capital of more than 16,000 inhabitants schools of arts and trades. Rizal added: "These are my reforms which, if carried out as planned, will make the Philippines the happiest country in the world."

I quote hereunder a short dialogue between Rizal and Carnicero on the former's political views:

> Carnicero: But, friend Rizal, your reforms do not seem to me bad at all. However, undoubtedly, you forget the tremendous influence which the friars have in Manila as well as in Madrid for which reason it makes it almost impossible at this time to convert them (proposed reforms) into a fact.
>
> Rizal: Do not think so. The influence of the friar is losing much ground in all fields. I venture to assure you that in any government even little advanced which can boast of five or six men like Becerra, the friars will disappear. In Madrid, it is perfectly well-known what the friars are doing here. So true is this that in the first interview I had with Pi and Linares Rivas, when he was a member of the Liberal party, (of Spain) he told me of things in this country of which, although I was born here, I was not aware. Like these gentlemen, I can cite you many who have equally exact knowledge of the life and miracles of the friars in the Philippines; but, as they told me: 'The bad governments which came to succeed each other in Spain, are responsible for such abuse on the part of religious corporations. On the day things

change we shall forget about those gentlemen.' In the Philippines may I inform you that the friars are not liked and become more repugnant and odious by their interference with everything.

Carnicero: Do you favor the expulsion of the friars?

Rizal: No, sir, because in my country there is elbow room for everybody. During the brief *Manifestacion* of the *gobernadorcillos* in Manila in 1888, demanding the expulsion of the friars, while I was in Japan, Perez Caballero called my attention to the incident. Afterwards my friends in Manila sought my advice as to the conduct that should be observed and I answered them: 'For the *Manifestacion* inasmuch as it was carried out without my consent, you should suffer the consequences. I cannot give you my advice on the matter.'

Carnicero: A large part of your reforms, as you already know, shall be put into effect at the beginning of next year. Improvement of the salaries of teachers both male and female, increase in school materials and all other decrees which you read yesterday and which I believe, you like.

Rizal: Precisely. All such reforms satisfy me. But I fear they may not be carried out, because I agree with what the consul (Spanish) told me upon my departure from Hongkong: 'General Despujol, who is animated by the best wishes to effect many and good reforms, may not stay in the country within the regular period. If the government of Spain refuses to carry out some of the reforms, you can rest assured that he will resign. General Despujol is a real gentleman and as such, before giving in, he will vacate the position of Governor-General of these Islands.' Besides he will have to overcome the difficulties which the religious corporations will create for him. I have already recommended to my friends to back up his reforms.[17]

The conversation between the two about the reforms ended here. Carnicero changed the topic to trying to persuade Rizal to induce his family and friends to come to Dapitan and settle there in view of the great possibilities of the region instead of going to Borneo.

In another letter to Governor Despujol dated 21 September 1892,[18] Carnicero said that he forgot to include in his previous communication that Rizal also wanted religious liberty and liberty of the press.

Of the proposed reforms, Rizal stressed the importance of Philippine representation in the Cortes and the absolute necessity of free press in the Islands. If the Philippines, according to him, were to remain under the control of Spain, certain political changes had to be made in accordance with the progress of the country and the needs of its people. This change must be accomplished peacefully instead of by violent means. There would be peaceful

[17] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. IV, pp. 28-35.
[18] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. IV, p. 41.

change if it came from the upper classes of society and vice-versa if it originated from the masses. Rizal was in favor of "peaceful evolution" and he maintained this stand almost to the end of his life. Palma was of the opinion that Rizal became separatist probably when he wrote the *Fili* as he became convinced that all efforts to secure the much needed reforms by peaceful means were useless and because of the harassment of his family and the other tenants in Calamba by the Spanish authorities and the friars.[19] This conclusion is probably true although, on its face, there was nothing revolutionary in the *Liga Filipina* founded by Rizal in 1892.[20] Rizal himself said so in his defense before the court martial.

It is true that there had been introduced some reforms in the Philippines but they were of minor character. As he expressed in his dedication of the *Noli,* his country was sufering from a malignant cancer which would require a major operation, so to speak, for its treatment. The country would not be satisfied with mere palliatives. If these demands were not heeded, the only alternative would be a revolution in which cases both Spain and the Philippines would suffer. Hence, the need of Philippine representation in the Cortes. This was not the first time that the Philippines would be represented in the Spanish parliament. It would merely revive the former practice by which the Philippines was represented in said body.

The fear that the Philippine representatives might advocate independence was, according to Rizal, unfounded as the overwhelming majority of representatives were Spaniards and they could prevent any such move. It would be preferable to follow the constitutional processes rather than expose the country to violent upheaval. The problems that then confronted the country could be threshed out in peaceful debates. It would be otherwise if there had been no peaceful means by which the Filipino people could seek redress of their grievances and advocate reforms through such a procedure. The value of such representation had been proven during the period when the country was represented in the Cortes. Our representatives were able to secure then some important concessions from Spain. Of course the presence of Filipino representatives in the Cortes might, according to Rizal, annoy "an ignorant or incapable minister with their questions" but their criticisms would be useful to Spain in governing the Philippines. Without such representation, the Spanish government received only the views of the colonial officials which were naturally biased and one-sided and did not give the

19 Palma, Rafael, *Biografia de Rizal,* p. 198.

20 Guillermo Masangkay stated to the author of this article that the *Liga Filipina* was established by Rizal in 1887 instead of in 1892 as is generally believed.

real picture of conditions in the Islands. The abuses of the corrupt Spanish officials and the friars remained unremedied to the end of the Spanish regime.

He answered the criticisms of certain elements in Spain against giving the Filipinos representation in the Cortes. These criticisms were of childish nature. They were based on racial discrimination. If, according to Rizal, the denial of representation was due to the fact that the Filipinos have "brown skins and faces with somewhat wide nostrils," it was useless to answer them. This is a matter of taste peculiar to each race. China, for example, with a very ancient civilization, "consider all Europeans ugly and calls them 'fankwai' or red devils." And if the validity of the argument of Spanish critics concerning the pigmentation of the skin is admitted, then it must be conceded that the Latin, especially the Spaniards, are inferior to the Saxons. Summing up his arguments in favor of Philippine representation in the Cortes, Rizal said:

> We are not sure that we serve the true interests of our country by asking for representatives. We know that the lack of enlightenment, the indolence, the egotism, of our fellow countrymen, and the boldness, the cunning and the powerful methods of those who wish their obscurantism, may convert reform into a harmful instrument. But we wish to be loyal to the government and we are pointing out to it the road that appears best to us so that its efforts may not come to grief, so that discontent may disappear. If after so just, as well as necessary, a measure has been introduced, the Filipino people are so stupid and weak that they are treacherous to their own interests, then let the responsibility fall upon them, let them suffer all the consequences. Every country gets the fate it deserves and the government can say that it has done its duty.[21]

Another argument put forward by the Spaniards against giving the Philippines representation in the Cortes was that the majority of the inhabitants were of "imperfect culture," which was equivalent to saying that they were ignorant, but the fact that they were ignorant gave added importance to their being represented in the Cortes in order to prevent abuses by Spanish officials. They were the very ones who needed it most. The Filipino was regarded as a fit citizen when it came to paying taxes or shedding his blood to defend the motherland. Now then why should his fitness be questioned when it came to granting some rights to him?

The suppression of this representation in 1837 did cause much dissatisfaction on the part of the Filipino people and of the liberal elements in Spain. The distance between the Philippines and Spain

[21] *The Philippines a Century Hence.* (English translation by Charles Derbyshire.)

and of the extraordinary powers that the governor-general possessed, made this representation absolutely necessary. The Cortes was the only forum where the many abuses committed by Spanish officials as well as by the all-powerful friars in the Philippines, could be brought to the attention of the Spanish people, where any unfavorable legislation affecting the Philippines could be prevented and where favorable legislation could be pushed through. In other words, our delegates to the Cortes did perform substantially the same rôle as our resident commissioners in Congress during the American régime except that our resident commissioners had no right to vote. As a matter of fact, some of our delegates had to their credit important accomplishments during their tenure of office, although some writers believe that the Filipino delegates did not accomplish much outside the suspension of the galleon trade. Several efforts had been made by the Filipinos in collaboration with Spanish liberals to revive our representation in the Cortes but these efforts were of no avail. Delegate Julian Pellon Y. Rodríguez introduced a bill to this effect in 1869, Delegate Rafael Labra in 1871 and in 1879, Delegate Calvo Muñoz in 1890 and Delegate Emilio Junoy in 1895. None of these proposals won the support of the Cortes.

The Philippines was represented in the Cortes during the periods from 1810 to 1813; 1820 to 1823, and 1834 to 1837. Distinguished Filipinos were elected to the Cortes. Ventura de los Reyes, a prosperous merchant, had the distinction of being one of the signers of the Constitution of 1812 and Vicente Posadas, an ex-justice of the Audiencia, voted for the ouster of the king. On January 16, 1837, the Cortes, in a secret session, passed a law by which Spanish colonies were to be governed by special legislation and at the same time abolished their representation in the Cortes. The reason for such a special legislation was ostensibly the great distance between the colonies and Spain. However, it seems that the principal factor behind it was the fear of Spain of the growing nationalism among the colonists who eventually would demand separation from the mother country. The new measure would enable the Spanish administration in the colonies to act quickly upon any given situation without being called to account for their acts than would otherwise have been if the colonies were represented in the Cortes. But this short-sighted policy did produce exactly the opposite result. It increased the agitation of the Filipino people for representation in the Cortes. Puerto Rico and Cuba regained their representation in the Cortes in 1871 and 1879 respectively while the Philippines did not in spite of our long and arduous campaign for the revival of our representation in the Spanish parliament.

It appeared that the friars were dead set against giving the Filipinos representation in the Cortes. Writing to Rizal from Madrid on March 16, 1887, Graciano López Jaena said:

> The motives why the government does not want that we have representation in the Cortes are because the friars have intimidated it as proof of which Sagasta, Balaguer and Moret have summoned the deputy, Mr. La Guardia, who has sponsored the move telling him that he would be expelled from the majority if he would continue supporting the three proposals which he has presented to the Congress in favor of the Philippines. Sagasta has also intimidated Cañamaque if he would carry out his interpellation on Mindanao. The government has begged and requested Labra to desist from his interpellation on the general policy (of the government) towards the Philippines.
>
> Thus we have nothing to hope for from the government (of Spain). We should achieve our regeneration and progress ourselves.[22]

López Jaena was better posted on Spanish politics than most of his countrymen in Spain because of his long residence in the country and because, being a newspaperman, of his intimacy with Spanish leaders. It will be remembered that he was the founder and first editor of *La Solidaridad* and at one time ran for the Cortes from a district in Cataluña.

The deputies were not popularly elected as the right to vote was limited to the *principalía* class. It is hard to believe that the friars and the administration did not have any influence in the selection of deputies in spite of the exhortations of Governor Folgueras to the voters that they should vote freely for the men who should represent the country in the Cortes.

No Filipino served on the Preparatory Commission nor on the Preliminary Election Board. On the board the Archbishop and bishops were represented. The deputies should, according to the Governor, be men of their confidence "who unite in themselves probity, patriotism, beneficence, knowledge and zeal, so that they may with dignity represent the interest which you confide to their keeping, and with zeal procure and seek your welfare and prosperity as well as that of your families and coming generations."

Filipinos, according to Rizal, could read and write before the coming of the Spaniards. Even the humblest family made enormous sacrifices in order to educate their children. When could they be expected to be enlightened when their education was looked on with disfavor by certain hostile elements? If the Filipinos had

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[22] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 1, pp. 251-252; Roberto Regala, *The Development of Representation in the Philippines.* Manila, 1931. Reprinted from the *Philippine Law Journal.* Manila, Vol. XI No. 3, September, 1931.

sufficient intelligence to pay taxes or to perform services required of them by the state, there was no valid reason why they should be denied representation in the Cortes. In their thirst for education, the Filipinos were even willing to serve as servants in order to acquire an education, which is true even today.

The Junoy bill which was introduced by Deputy Emilio Junoy in the Cortes on March 8, 1895, would give the Filipinos a voice in the selection of delegates to both chambers of the Spanish parliament. The country would be divided into five electoral districts each electing a quota of delegates and senators. The senators would be elected by special electors. The qualifications of voters for deputies would be fairly liberal. A voter must at least be over twenty-three years of age in full enjoyment of his political and civil rights, must have resided in his municipality or town for at least two years and must pay tax amounting to at least twenty-five pesetas annually. If he lacked the second qualification, he could still vote if he possessed certain special qualifications provided for in the bill. In the electoral district of Manila the voters could vote for two senators only and in other districts for one each. The Archbishop of Manila would be a member of the Senate in his own right. He would have also the right to elect a senator. The bishops of Cebu, Nueva Segovia, Jaro and Nueva Caceres and the provincials of the monastic orders of mendicants could be senators either by the King's appointment or by election. The election law of Spain, subject to modification provided in the bill, would govern the election of senators and deputies. If this and other reforms demanded by Rizal and other Filipino leaders at the time were put into effect, the Revolution might have been averted for the time being at least.

It will be noted that the Junoy bill would enlarge Philippine representation in the Cortes as we would be represented in both chambers of the Spanish parliament. This is the last concrete effort of the Spanish liberals to satisfy the Filipinos' demand for representation in the Cortes.[23]

The other reform which Rizal considered of fundamental importance is the freedom of the press. Up to the last moment of Spanish sovereignty, the country did not enjoy the freedom of the press. The novels of Rizal had been subjected to strict censorship. Their circulation in the Philippines was prohibited by the authorities under severe penalties. Salvador de Madariaga, a Spanish liberal thinker, discussed in his book[24] the twin evils in modern Spain—

[23] *Planes Constitucionales para Filipinas,* pp. 14-17.

[24] *Spain: A Modern History,* Chapter 6.

militarism and clericalism. They go hand in hand and, in a way, complement each other. Militarism cannot get along without censorship and as the Spanish Governor-General was at the same time a military man, censorship of the press was an important activity of his administration. Because of the distance that exists between Spain and the Philippines there was absolute need for a free press if the motherland was to rule the Philippines rightly and justly. In Spain there was probably no such great need because the rulers were right on the spot and were familiar with public opinion in their country. But a country which ruled another from afar, as Spain, had no means of knowing the wishes of the inhabitants and the state of public opinion without the aid of a free press. That is the reason why so many abuses committed by Spanish officials and the friars remained unpunished and unremedied. In free countries the press performs an important function. It moulds an intelligent public opinion which checks the abuses of the government.

With regards to the friars, Rizal advocated the secularization of the parishes. By secularization is meant that no friar or member of the religious orders should be assigned to the parishes but only secular priests who could be Spaniards or Filipinos. In Rizal's time most of the parishes were held by the friars.

In all his writings Rizal did not expressly advocate for the separation of church and state as we know it today unless it is implied from some of his utterances. For instance, there is a vague hint that he favored the adoption of this principle when he said that the tutelage that the friars exercised upon the government must cease among the suggested reforms. He did not urge the immediate eviction of the friars from the parishes but favored their gradual replacement by the seculars as the parishes were being vacated. He stood for equality between the Spaniards and the Filipinos under the law.

The Revolution of 1896 was not only motivated by the abuses of Spanish officials but also by the friars. The Filipinos were so bitterly against them that they demanded the expulsion of the latter from the country. However, when Rizal was asked by Carnicero whether he favored the expulsion of the friars from the country, Rizal replied in the negative saving that there was elbowroom for everybody in the Philippines. This proved that Rizal was a very reasonable man in spite of his personal grievances against the friars caused by the eviction of his family and friends from the friar lands in Calamba and their harassing tactics.

In fairness to the friars, it could be said that they were not all bad. Some of them were noted for their piety and learning but they were in the minority and the majority of them violated their vows of chastity and poverty. Rizal himself said that "the Jesuits and some Dominicans like Padre Benavides, have done a great deal by founding colleges, schools of primary instruction." Rizal himself admitted that there were good friars and bad friars but the proportion of the good ones was very small. For one good friar, according to him, there were ten bad ones, Fray Fernandez in the *Fili* typified a good friar. This is more than a "mere gesture of generosity" on the part of Rizal. He really meant it. During the early years of the Spanish conquest, the friars were the greatest friends of the Filipinos. They protected them against the rapacity of the *encomenderos*. They were good and helpful to the natives. They carried on their work of evangelization with zeal and devotion. They did not hesitate to denounce the abuses of the *encomenderos* and other Spanish officials to the higher authorities. However, during the latter half of the 19th century, or probably earlier, they changed their attitude towards the natives and became suspicious of every educated Filipino.

According to Foreman, the Roman Catholic Church was supported by the State to the extent of about three-quarters of a milion dollars per annum. This included the salaries of the archbishop, four bishops, and parish priests and other expenses. The Philippines was even required to give financial support to the missionaries operating in Caroline and Pelew Islands which were outside of the jurisdiction of the Philippines.[25]

Regardless of whether the friars, or a great majority of them, were good or bad was not the important issue. The fact was that they intervened in governmental affairs as there was no separation of church and state then with all the attendant evils. We had a theocratic system where the church and state were united.

Miguel de Unamuno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, and John Foreman agreed that the friars were recruited mostly from the rustic and ignorant classes in Spain, and had very little lay education. In fact, according to Tavera, some of them were educated in Manila. "In the College we could tell the recently arrived friar from his bucolic manners—a rough kind of admixture of egotism and mysticism."[26]

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25 Foreman, John, *The Philippine Islands,* pp. 224-225.

26 See testimony of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera at the hearing of the First Philippine Commission on friar lands, *U.S. Senate documents* 190 (1901) p. 158.

The various religious orders operating in the Philippines had grown in wealth and power that in some cases the highest representative of Spain in the Philippines, the Governor-General, was powerless against them. And if unfortunately, he incurred their ill will, it was too bad for him.

Marcelo H. Del Pilar described the situation in his *Soberanía Monacal en Filipinas* (Monastic Supremacy in the Philippines)[27] in great detail. Municipal officials could not do anything without the curate's approval. According to del Pilar, his approval was necessary to almost every official document. The hands of the *Gobernadorcillo* (Mayor) were tied unless he cooperated with the curate who thus became the real power in the local administration. The curate could even demand the dismissal of a local official on the ground that the "National integrity is in danger." They spied on the activities of Filipinos in their respective parishes.

We reproduce below part of the testimony of Dr. Pardo de Tavera before the First Philippine Commission on Church and State and on the influence of the friars in and outside the government:

Q. Do you know what influence the heads of the church had with the heads of the civil government in Manila?

A. Very great were the influences, for the archbishops and bishops, by reason of their ecclesiastical hierarchy, formed a part of what was known here in Manila as the board of authorities. This board was composed of the captain-general, the attorney-general, the military governor, the commander of the naval forces, the secretary of the general of the government, the president of the audiencia, the director-general of the civil administration, the treasurer, and the archbishop and bishops, and in recent times there were added the civil governor of the province of Manila and the provincials of the different monastic orders. The above constituted the board of authorities.

Q. What functions did they have?

A. The duties of this board were principally to investigate matters of urgent moment, and in times of crises to advise the governor-general. The archbishop and bishops also formed a part of the council of administration, a body analogous to the council of state of Spain and of France.

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[27] English translation by Dr. Encarnación Alzona, Manila, 1958.

Q. Were the ecclesiastics prone to assert influence, or did they confine their attention to religious affairs?

A. They did not confine their influence to their ecclesiastical functions, and to understand this it will be necessary to form an idea of the political make-up of Spain. In America, the different religions have nothing to do with the state. In Spain, the religion and the state are one and the same thing. To give a better idea it would be well to bring to mind the old pontifical state, where the Pope was the head of the church and state, and that was Spain. The King of Spain in order to avoid any difficulties with Rome had caused himself to be given the right of royal patronage, whereby the King of Spain became a sort of authority in the church. If there are some states which separate church and state to avoid complications with Rome, Spain joined the church and state for the very same purpose.

Q. How much political power did the friars exercise in the country parishes?

A. It flows from this explanation, that the Spaniard could never separate himself from the influence which the church had upon him, and the result of that was that the friars wielded all the influence political and ecclesiastical in the parishes. I do not refer now to the moral influence of the friar, because the friar curate had to put his vise or O.K. on every administrative document that was issued, such as census documents, etc., and personal recommendations of every individual within his jurisdiction who desired to take a public office. His opinion was sought upon every conceivable subject. I say this so as to avoid going into too many details. This placing of his O.K. on all these documents was not in response to any instructions or duties, but just because it suited his sacerdotal pleasure. I believe that is the political influence which it is sought to get at in the question.

Q. Was it generally understood that the friars as a body exercised much political influence in the central government?

A. I should say so. For from the time of their arrival here they were the only ones who treated with the Indians. They were the only interpreters between them and the government. Moreover, it may be said that there was no continuous administrative policy as regards this colony. At one time the head of the colony would be here and govern in one way, and he would be superseded by another who would govern in another way—in other words, there as no set policy. On the other hand, in these monastic corporations the men died, but the principles and the government

went on forever, and therefore they, perforce, governed the country, because they followed traditional lines without change.[28]

The friars regarded themselves as the guardian of national security and, on this pretext, many patriotic Filipinos had been deported without trial or hearing upon their information on the ground that they were subversive elements. The execution of the three Filipino priests, Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gómez and Jacinto Zamora in *Bagumbayan Field,* because of their alleged complicity in the Cavite mutiny of 1872, after a summary trial, was believed by many Filipinos to have been instigated by the friars because of their open advocacy of the secularization of the parishes, although Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martinez of Manila refused to comply with the request of Governor Izquierdo to defrock them believing that they were innocent of the crime imputed to them. The incident made such an impression upon the mind of young Rizal, who was then only eleven years old, so that when he wrote *El Filibusterismo* years later he dedicated the work to the memory of the martyred priests whom he considered innocent of the charges and unjustly executed.

It is true that at the beginning of the 19th century, there were not many competent native priests who could take the place of the friars in the parishes. But towards the latter half of the 19th century, this reason had lost its significance because of the growing number of native priests well qualified to replace the friars. Nevertheless, the friars strongly opposed the movement of secularization for political and economic reasons. It should be noted that Rizal did not advocate immediate replacement of the friars. He was in favor of their gradual replacement by Filipino or Spanish priests (seculars), without discrimination, as the parishes were being vacated by the friars.

Fray Gaspar de San Agustín believed that the *Indio* was good only as a "yeoman or sexton." He should not be allowed to become a priest for it would only upset his mind. He should be kept forever down as a "convict or as a slave." His thoughts were shared, no doubt, by many of his brethren. They were so unchristian, to say the least, as to render them unfit for missionary work. Gaspar de San Agustín was the type of friars that Spain had sent to this country who, by their conduct, had aroused the ire of the masses.[29]

It should be stated in this connection that the policy of the Spanish regular clergy (friars) was against the unlimited ordination

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[28] U.S. *Senate Documents No.* 190 (1901), p. 159.

[29] Phelan, John Leddy, *The Hispanization in the Philippines,* (1565-1700). pp. 84-85.

of Filipinos. This hostile attitude was motivated by a selfish desire to maintain their privileges and dominant petition in the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. The friars could only be ousted from their parishes by the civil authorities, which was a remote possibility, because of their influence in the administration and of the unshakable belief among the Spaniards that the friar-curates were essential in the maintenance of the Spanish hegemony in the islands or by the Filipinos themselves by force. The friars believed that the Filipinos were unfit for the sacerdotal functions, which belief has been belied by the rise of Filipino clergy to the highest position available in the Roman Catholic Church.

Rizal's third proposal of reform had to do with the overhauling of the entire administration and its branches. The charges hurled against the Spanish administration in the Philippines were that it was despotic, inefficient, corrupt and highly centralized. This proposed reforms should be considered along with his other proposal for the grant of civil rights to the Filipinos, such as freedom of the press, speech and religion and other civil rights without which the reform of the administrative machinery alone would not be sufficient to protect Filipinos against arbitrary actions of civil authorities.

For a correct understanding of the Spanish administration, a brief outline of the government machinery and its functions is necessary. It is reasonable to presume that Rizal was familiar with the constitutional history of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France, the three greatest democracies of his time, as he was well posted on the political history of these countries as shown by his writings. Along with this advocacy of overhauling the entire administrative machinery, he also advocated the grant of civil and political rights to Filipinos. The enjoyment of political and civil rights by Filipinos would not be possible until and unless the entire administration was completely re-organized.

In the first place, the Spanish constitution did not extend to the Philippines *ex propio vigore*. The islands were governed by special laws and decrees. On top of that, the Governor-General possessed an extraordinary power to disregard or suspend the enforcement of any law or royal decree relative to the Philippines. Even Spain, except for brief periods, did not have a democratic government. A leading contemporary Spanish thinker said that Spain is suffering from twin evils: militarism and clericalism. With militarism goes the censorship of the press. It is a strange irony that while the Philippines which had been under the Spanish rule

for almost four hundred years has made considerable strides towards democracy under a liberal and democratic constitution, the former mother country, Spain, is still languishing under a dictatorship. The Philippine press is among the freest in the world. Opposition parties are not allowed under Franco. Strikes have been declared illegal in Spain. The Church still plays a very important rôle in the government. It controls education. The Cortes is not popularly elected by the people as we do here. There is no such thing in Spain as "sovereignty resides in the people." The Governor-General was the highest representative of the Spanish King in the Philippines. He was under the supervision of the colonial minister, his immediate superior.

Since 1822, the Governor-General had always been a ranking military officer. In the beginning he exercised judicial, legislative, and executive powers. For some time he was president of the *Audiencia* (Supreme Court). His judicial powers were taken away from him by the judicial reform act of 1861. Even then he ruled the country almost as an absolute ruler. The only check on him was the *residencia,* which was authorized to inquire into the past conduct of an outgoing governor and recommend suitable punishment if found guilty. However, this institution ceased to exist after functioning for awhile. Thereafter, the only remedy against an erring governor lay in the hands of the King who had the power to recall him, if, in his opinion, he was guilty of some malfeasance in office or, for some other seasons, there was need for a change.

At first the governor's term of office was for eight years which was reduced to three years later. He seldom served out the entire term but resigned the office earlier depending upon the vicissitudes of politics in Madrid. With the exception of Governor La Torre, most Spanish Governors-General were reactionary and autocratic. They could deport any Filipino to any place in the Philippines or outside the Islands without giving him a chance to be heard. This happened to Rizal when Governor Despujol deported him to Dapitan without giving him a chance to know the charges against him and an opportunity to refute those charges. Private homes could be searched without a search warrant by the civil guards (*guardias civiles*). One of the most famous of such searches was effected in Manila on March 29, 1889 between 3:00 and 4:00 o'clock in the morning. The houses of Filipinos suspected of being *filibusteros* were searched. The search yielded only certain documents against the friars. Possession of such documents was enough

for the institution of criminal proceedings for attempted rebellion against the parties concerned.[30]

The Governor-General was the highest representative of Spain in the Philippines. He had as advisory councils the *Junta de Autoridades* (Board of Authorities) and the *Consejo de Administración* (Council of Administration) but these bodies were merely consultative in character. Towards the end of the Spanish régime in 1897, the Spanish government, in an apparent last minute effort to pacify the Filipinos and win them over to the side of Spain, authorized the creation of an assembly composed of prominent Filipinos. But all that the said assembly could do was to hear the opening address of the Governor-General and the reply thereto of Pedro A. Paterno.

If the Governor-General hapened to be independent and strong-willed, he was bound to create enemies among his own people, especially the friars. It is said that the resignations of Governors Despujol and Blanco were brought about by the intrigues of the friars. There had been several instances where the chief executive clashed with the ecclesiastical authorities. The most celebrated case was that of Governor Fernando M. de Bustamante y Bustillo (1717-1719) who was sent by the king to the Philippines to clean up the government. The governor was a stern, honest, and upright man. Upon taking office, he found the national treasury bankrupt and some high Spanish officials guilty of malversation of public funds and debts uncollected. He had them jailed. Several of them had taken refuge in the convent of Guadalupe church. Nevertheless, he had one of the fugitives arrested over and above the protest of Archbishop de la Cuesta (1707-1724). The enemies of the governor conspired against him. At the instigation of the friars, a mob marched to the palace, and, after an armed clashed with the palace guards, succeeded in entering the room where the governor was. One of the conspirators plunged a dagger into his body and he fell mortally wounded. To avenge the death of her husband, the governor's wife, Doña Luisa San Pedro y Tendílla with her eldest daughter, escaped to the hills to join the bandits (*tulisanes*) and became their leader. She fell mortally wounded in a clash with government forces. The story of this tragic incident is narrated in a historical novel entitled *La Loba Negra* (The Black Wolf) written by Father Burgos, who was a prolific writer. He had written about thirty-seven monographs on diverse topics. He was a remarkable man. Rizal admired Father Burgos so much

[30] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 4 p. 41, footnote.

because of the latter's liberalism that even Rizal's literary style and manner of thinking seemed to have been influenced by the writings of the martyred priest.

Even with his tremendous powers as chief executive, the Governor-General could have adopted a more liberal policy towards the Filipinos if he were in sympathy with the reform movement as he were in sympathy with the reform movement as he possessed discretionary power in carrying out his policy. But, as has been pointed out already, most governors were of the reactionary type. Besides, even if he was favorably disposed to yield to the demands of Filipino leaders for certain reforms, he had to contend with powerful forces that were likely to be unsympathetic to his policy. He had to reckon with the opposition of the Spanish carpet baggers, the religious orders which were influential not only in Manila but also in Madrid, and his chiefs in Madrid—the Colonial Minister and the King himself. Spain, unlike the United States and the United Kingdom, never learned a lesson from Latin America.

The position of the Governor-General is best described by Dr. Rizal in the *Noli*. Sometimes good laws or decrees emanating from Madrid were not enforced in the Philippines, for, as Dr. Rizal put it —

> They are annulled in the lower circles, thanks to the vices of all, thanks, for instance, to the eager desire to get rich in a short time, and to the ignorance of the people, who consent to everything. A royal decree does not correct abuses when there is no zealous authority to watch over its execution, while freedom of speech against the insolence of petty tyrants is not conceded. Plans will remain plans, abuses will still be abuses, and the satisfied ministry will sleep in peace in spite of everything.[31]

If he happened to be a liberal Governor-General, he would be lucky if he remained on his job long enough to really understand the country. So he had to get along with the influential elements as far as practicable for his own personal convenience. He was recalled to Madrid just when he was beginning to understand his duties. Dr. Rizal observed:

> His Excellency also remembers that to secure the appointment he had to sweat much and suffer more, that he holds it for only three years, that he is getting old and that it is necessary to think, not of quixotisms, but of the future: a modest mansion in Madrid, a cozy house in the country, and a good income in order to live in luxury at the capital— these are what he must look for in the Philippines.

[31] *Noli Me Tangere,* pp. 195-196.

Primo de Rivera, one of the last Spanish Governors in the Philippines, lamented the position of the Governor-General —

> For many years the governors-general have had absolutely no power to initiate policies. They have little or no participation in drafting the laws of the country, and when it comes to their enforcement, which it is their duty to supervise, they found themselves without the most elementary means of doing so, since in every branch of the administration a personnel is imposed upon them in whose selection the antecedents, the only guarantees, the only considerations which have been taken into account are favor, intrigue, and occasionally the lowest motives which can induce action. The power of initiation on the part of the Governors-General had been reduced by this system to nothing; they could only, from time to time, apply a brake as circumstances seemed to demand, and this even at a time when the hurricane of the revolutionary movement for separation from Spain moved the edifice of society upon its very foundation.[32]

The heads of the provincial government were called, during the first half of the 19th century, *Alcaldes Mayores*. They succeeded the *encomenderos*. The *Alcaldes Mayores* combined the executive and judicial functions. They received a small salary but were given the privilege of trading (*Indulto de Comercio*) which made the office very lucrative. Because of the abuses connected with this right to trade, this privilege was abolished in 1844. In 1886, the Provincial Government was reorganized separating the judicial from the executive function. The judicial function devolved upon the Judge of the Court of First Instance in the case of provinces and upon the Justice of the Peace in the case of municipalities. A Civil Governor was appointed for each regular province only with the executive function. The Civil Governors were the direct representatives of the Governor-General in the provinces. They were appointed by the colonial minister and removable by him. There was no civil service system in the Philippines then and appointment to this post was made mostly on political considerations without regard to the ability of the appointee.

Under the Maura Law of 1893, there was created a provincial council in the capital of each province composed of nine members, five *ex-oficio* and four residents of the capital elected by the municipal captains or mayors for a term of six years. This body had only advisory function. The Civil Governor wielded tremendous power and influence in his own province. In Rizal's expression, he was a "petty tyrant."

The head of the local government or municipality was called *Gobernadorcillo* (little governor) later called *Capitán*. He was the

[32] Agoncillo, Teodoro A., *Malolos, the Crisis of the Republic*, p. 23.

representative of the provincial governor and responsible for the collection of taxes. This position was not popular among the Filipinos who had to invent some excuses in order to decline the appointment because of its responsibilities. Besides, he was powerless to do anything even for the good of his own community without the approval of the friar curate. Prior to the establishment of the justice of the peace court in each municipality, he acted also as judge in settling disputes between individuals in his locality. But his principal function was the collection of taxes within his jurisdiction. He had also the additional obligation of receiving and entertaining high government officials. The Maura Law did grant the Filipinos some measure of local autonomy but it did not go far enough to satisfy the Filipino reformers. Besides, it was promulgated almost on the eve of the Revolution, and it was difficult to make an assessment of its effect in those provinces where it was enforced.

Such, in brief, was the political set-up in the Philippines towards the latter part of the 19th century.[33] The Church and State were united and the religious organizations were not only influential in Manila but also in Madrid. They were all-powerful. The Philippines had not been represented in the Cortes since 1837 and our clamor for revival of representation fell on deaf ears. Even such reforms initiated by Cánovas del Castillo which fell short of the demands of the Filipino revolutionary leaders, though mild, were defeated on account of the opposition of the friars.

It is true that many excellent Spanish laws had been promulgated in the Philippines, such as the Civil Code, the Penal Code, and the Code of Commerce, which laws have survived Spanish sovereignty and American sovereignty. But Filipinos did not then enjoy the same civil rights that Spanish citizens did enjoy under their constitution and laws. Because of the unlimited power of the Governor-General and the all-pervading influence of the friars, the Filipinos had absolutely no protection against the arbitrary action of Spanish officials. A Filipino could be arrested and deported on a mere suspicion of being a *Filibustero* or of harboring separatist ideas. Against this background, Dr. Rizal's political ideas should be viewed and assessed.

The administration of justice was slow and expensive and what was worse, corrupt. The Spanish procedural law had to be replaced by a procedural law patterned after the American because

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[33] For a complete description of the Spanish administration, see Malcolm, George A., *The Government of the Philippine Islands,* Chapter III.

it was not conducive to a prompt and effective administration of justice.

Dr. Rizal did not advocate expressly a bill of rights for the Filipinos except as this may be inferred from his writings. He advocated, however, certain fundamental principles of government. We have already discussed his advocacy of renewal of our representation in the Cortes and the need of freedom of the press in the Islands. He must have read about the protest of American colonists against "taxation without representation" which was one of the main causes of the American war of independence. Why should the Filipinos be obliged to pay taxes without having our spokesmen in the Spanish lawmaking body? If we were a part of Spain, why should we be discriminated against? We could not be treated as part of Spain for one purpose and treated differently for another purpose. Taxation and representation should go hand in hand.

At this distance, we can better appreciate the arguments of Rizal on behalf of the freedom of the press. Even his novels had to be smuggled into the Philippines because their introduction was prohibited by the authorities. The censors would not let them in. The few copies of the novels that found their way into the Philippines in spite of the vigilance of the authorities were read by Filipinos at night by candle light, for anyone found in possession of these novels was arrested, jailed or deported. The censorship applied also to other publications which, in the opinion of the censors, would be inimical to Spanish interests if allowed into the country.

Rizal did not advocate expressly in his writings a comprehensive "bill of rights" contained in an organic law by which the life, liberty and property of the Filipinos would be protected against the arbitrary action of Spanish officials. He, however, mentioned to Carnicero the need for religious freedom and freedom of the press. It is unreasonable to suppose that Rizal had in mind only these two basic freedoms. A thorough scrutiny of his works reveals that he wanted more than that. He wanted all the basic freedoms for the Philippines which he regarded as essential to modern society. When he talked of the "inalienable rights" of the Filipinos and condemned their individual or mass deportation without giving them a hearing, when he criticized searches of private homes without the court's order, when Filipinos were jailed indefinitely without trial, and, lastly, when he spoke of his people being deprived of liberty and freedom, he was thinking of the usual constitutional safeguards for the protection of life, liberty and property.

According to Rizal, liberty and freedom are not necessarily synonymous with independence. A nation might be independent although its people are not free, and the reverse of this proposition is equally true, that is, a nation might not be independent but its people are free. In advocating freedom for the Philippines, he was not advocating independence for his country. He merely wanted Spain to grant his people the same "inalienable rights" that free peoples enjoy elsewhere. These rights are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. His demands were very moderate indeed. Had these demands been granted by Spain, Philippine history might have taken a different course.

Rizal was in favor of religious freedom and, inferentially, of the separation of church and state. The friars wielded a tremendous power in the government quite out of proportion to their number. The *La Soberanía Monacal en Filipinas* (Monastic Supremacy in the Philippines) by Marcelo H. del Pilar is a factual presentation of the vast influence and power of the religious orders in the Philippines in his time. The friars were the "eyes and ears" of the government. One could be deported on a mere information of a friar. Was it not the friar-curate of Tondo, Father Gil, who discovered the secrets of the *Katipunan* through the confessional? There was no freedom of worship.

The Filipinos would be interested to know that even today there is no religious freedom in Spain as we have in this country. The *Fuero de los Españoles* (Bill of Rights) which was promulgated on July 18, 1845, provides:

> Article Sixth.—The profession and practice of the Catholic Religion, which is the religion of the Spanish State, shall enjoy the official protection.
>
> No one shall be molested for his religious beliefs nor the private exercise of his religion. No other ceremonies nor external manifestations except those of the Catholic Religion shall be permitted.

Even this insignificant concession to Protestantism was fought bitterly by Cardinal Segura. Under the law one could become a Protestant but his activities are very much restricted. He is not allowed to proselyte. Neither can he print or sell Protestant Bibles. Protestants are prohibited to establish seminaries for the training of their ministers. They have no juridical personality. The opposition to Protestantism appears to be based on religious and political grounds.

The freemasons fare worse under the present Spanish régime. They are apprehended and tried secretly. They have no right even

to a defense counsel. The Roman Catholic Church in Spain of which our own Catholic Church is an offspring has not made any significant progress towards liberalism since Rizal's time. It has not kept pace with the *Zeitsgeist* as one writer has said:

> The Spanish Church became, in a sense, a national Church, linked to the Holy See but different in its *fierce orthodoxy and its refusal to move and grow with the times.* Catholicism has survived for 2,000 years partly because the Vatican has known how to accept and adapt itself to the change and progress taking place in the world. Accommodation, tolerance, flexibility, patience, diplomacy—the Holy See could always call upon these characteristics when necessary. Not so the Spanish Church which has been a reflection of the extremism of the Spanish character.[34]

Salvador de Madariaga, Spanish scholar and statesman, gives the following account of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain:

> That the once glorious and liberal Spanish Church, the church which, with Vitoria and Suárez, had founded international law and, with Mariana, had defined the democratic prince, should have degenerated to the level of *curas guerrilleros,* or fighting priests, and the bogus mystics such as Sor Patrocinio, who, by simulating stigmata and heavenly visions, brought about cabinet crises, may be counted as one of the trials which Providence as history put in the path of a people given to the sin of pride. Those persons who prefer rationalistic explanations may note that Spanish Church was great while it lived on the culture of the great universities of the sixteenth century, and that its decadence followed that of the celebrated seats of learning. Ignorant and stubborn monks led the resistance to progressive measures during the nineteenth century. Larra has left us, in *Nadie pase sin hablar con el portero,* a vivid picture of the customs line against books established on the frontier between Liberals and Carlists by monks in the Carlist army. 'Recherches?' asks the monk, scrutinizing a French book found in the baggage of one of the unfortunate travelers going south. 'I suppose this fellow Recherches must be a heretic. To the fire with it.' Larra is, of course, writing fiction, but the elements of his fiction were but too real, and in the very month when the present lines were written, a local priest and a local mayor in a small Spanish town made a bonfire of all the books of Galdós which had been purchased by the municipal librarian.[35]

Spain under Franco presents many similarities to the Spanish régime in the Philippines in Rizal's time. The *Fuero de los Españoles* (Bill of Rights) gives the Spanish State some semblance of democracy but the government has the power to suspend the enforcement of certain rights (Arts. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18) by means of a decree-law (decreto-ley) when in its opinion such action is necessary. In the circumstances the grant of civil rights is more

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[34] Matthews, Herbert L., *The Yoke and the Arrows,* pp. 138-139.

[35] Madariaga, Salvador de, *Spain, A Modern History,* p. 157.

nominal than real. One finds the same power combination in Spanish politics—army, church, and falangism as there existed in the Philippines under the Spanish régime with the exception that, in the latter case, falangism did not exist then. But the combination of the Spanish armed forces and the friars was enough to defeat Rizal's proposed reforms. And if some minor concessions were granted by Spain during the closing years of her sovereignty, they were made reluctantly under pressure of circumstances which Spain was powerless to oppose. Rizal's proposed reforms were doomed from the start. Spain never learned a lesson from her American colonies. The Spaniards lacked the political shrewdness of the Anglo-Saxons.

Freemasonry was regarded as an enemy of the state during the colonial period. It still is in Spain. Masons were persecuted because they opposed tyranny and all forms of oppression. The first masonic lodges established in the Philippines by Malcampo excluded Filipinos because they were suspected of being subversive elements.[36] The leaders of the reform movement in the latter part of the 19th century were masons: Rizal, Del Pilar, López Jaena, Ponce, the Luna brothers, Juan and Antonio, and many others. Mabini was a mason. In spite of his physical infirmity, he labored under the most difficult circumstances in the founding of a new nation. José Abad Santos of our era was another mason. He preferred death to collaborating with a ruthless enemy.

I do not know of a nobler organization than freemasonry. This fraternity is not made up of atheists or agnostics as its enemies would have us believe. It has been misunderstood and maligned. Of course there are bad masons just as there are undesirable elements in any organization, but the institution of freemasonry should not be judged by the conduct of a few of its members. It has always stood for "liberty, equality and fraternity." No person could be admitted into the masonic fraternity unless he believes in God, the Bible, and the immortality of the Soul. Masonry has its decalogue, which, if observed, would elevate the moral and intellectual level of society.[37] The Filipino masons who were initiated in Europe were the forerunners of the nationalistic movement which culminated in Philippine independence. The shabby treatment of masons by the Spanish Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines will forever remain a blot in Spain's colonial record.

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[36] Kalaw, Teodoro M., *Historia de la Masoneria en Filipinas*, pp. 1-18.

[37] *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*, p. 17.

In a lecture read by Brother, Dr. José Rizal, in *Solidaridad* Lodge No. 53, in Madrid, Spain, in 1883, he said of Freemasonry:

> Thus Masonry preaches and practices the holy principles of liberty, equality and fraternity amongst all men, which consist the masonic virtues, the only virtues whose fulfilment will banish wars and abuses among men and will bring the reign dreamed of by all great reformers.

As the enlightenment of the masses is the basic foundation of Rizal's concept of democracy, it is necessary to inquire into his educational ideas. Rizal found much to criticize in the Spanish system of education in vogue in the Islands. Chapter XIX of the *Noli* describes the difficulties of a schoolmaster in the form of a dialogue between Ibarra and a schoolteacher. Ibarra was the son of an influential Filipino, Don Rafael, who died in prison because he got in trouble with the friars. He was educated in Europe and had advanced ideas about education. He was interested in the education of the masses according to the modern system he observed abroad. The teacher was critical of the educational system then in vogue. He wanted to experiment on a new teaching method and told Ibarra of the numerous obstacles to his plan.

In the first place, the teacher said that unless there was substantial financial aid education would not amount to much. Besides, students spent too much time memorizing the whole textbook in Spanish without understanding a single word of that language. The teacher wanted to introduce some radical changes in the method of teaching. He was opposed to physical punishment. The old saying that knowledge enters (the head) with blood should be tabooed. He put his ideas actually in practice but when the friar-curate and the parents of the students knew about it, he was blamed and was forced to return to the old practice, much against his will.

In the school place, it was necessary to have a suitable school building, properly equipped, in order to attract the students, instead of having the school under the *convento* which was not a suitable place for conducting classes. It was fit only for a stable. The friar-curate ridiculed the schoolmaster's knowledge of Spanish to the great embarrassment of the latter. He advised the teacher to put more emphasis on the teaching of religion. The school children spent more time on such subject as the catechism of Christian Doctrine than on any subject of practical value which would be more useful to them later in life.

Rizal's conception of a modern schoolhouse is told in his novel. Ibarra consulted Tasio, the sage, on a plan to build a modern schoolhouse which he had offered to his fiancée. As a practical proposi-

tion, the sage advised Ibarra that it was advisable to seek an understanding with the friar-curate before carrying out his plan. He thought the advice was sound.

The schoolhouse was modelled after those he saw in Europe. It was a building with two wings, one for the boys and the other for the girls. In the middle was a big garden with three fountains, shaded sidewalks with little plots where the children could cultivate plants during recess to keep the children busy doing something useful. The building would have storerooms, cellars and even dungeons for unruly students for the purpose of disciplining them. There would be a spacious lawn where the children could play in open air and for girls a garden with benches, swings, walks where they could jump the rope, fountains, bird-cages, and so forth.

The teaching in the university left much to be desired. The teaching of science subjects was deficient. Professors were not prepared. The Dominicans have never been noted for scientific achievements. The Jesuits are. You will recall Chapter XIII of the *Fili* in which Rizal described the class in physics. Chemistry and physics are physical sciences and should be taught by laboratory experiments and observations rather than by dialectics. Rizal had shown that this young Dominican teacher was incompetent to teach physics. He even doubted whether the earth is round. There was a physics laboratory but the apparatuses were not used. They were merely intended to impress the visitors. Besides, the professor had the habit of insulting his students or treating them with scorn which he had no right to do. This narrative is not a pure fiction. Rizal must have observed this incident while he was a student of the Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas. "The physics class of two hundred and thirty-four students," said Rizal, "went out as ignorant as when they went in, but breathing more freely, as if a great weight had been lifted from them."

The friars did everything possible to discourage the teaching of Spanish in spite of the fact that the Spanish government had taken various measures in favor of the compulsory teaching of Spanish in the Islands but those measures were not enforced in view of the opposition of the friars. No wonder that in more than three centuries of Spanish rule, the Philippines produced only three major poets—Atayde, Paterno and Rizal and a few minor ones.[38] In contrast to this, our record under the American régime is short of amazing. During the last fifty years, we have produced writers in

[38] De La Cámara, Eduardo Martin, *Parnaso Filipino* (Anthology of Filipino Poets in Spanish), Prólogo.

English by the scores—novelists, poets, short-story writers and dramatists. In non-fiction, we have essayists, biographers, and historians. Some of those writers have already won recognition abroad.

The only profession open to the Filipinos were priesthood, law, and medicine. The friars were then in control of education from the bottom up. There was an overemphasis on Christian Doctrine and sacred history while science subjects had not been given the importance that they deserved, and, what was worse, they were taught by incompetent teachers. While the Spanish system of education contains certain defects, in fairness to Spain, that country had made serious efforts to establish popular education and special schools for the training of Filipinos to meet the needs of the country for technicians in various fields, but her efforts not only came too late, but also inadequate.

In 1892, there were 2143 grade schools for boys and girls throughout the Islands. The Spanish government provided for a compulsory teaching of Spanish but in spite of this provision, Spanish made very little progress during more than three centuries of Spanish rule in the Islands, as a priest belonging to the Mission of Saint Vincent of Paul sadly remarked:

> One of the things which has called more my attention in the Philippines has been the lack of knowledge of Spanish on the part of the majority of the people, after three centuries of Spanish domination and in spite of the promulgation of such wise laws on the subject.

Commenting on the shortsightedness of the friars for opposing the obligatory teaching of Spanish in the schools, a noted Filipino historian said:

> It would be superfluous to discuss in this brief essay the reasons behind this social phenomenon. We can only affirm that it was truly lamentable for, had this beautiful language been generally spoken in this country, the difficult problem of a common language would not exist which today (1954) confronts the Filipino people, and the ties of friendship which unite the Philippines with Spain and her former colonies—the Latin American countries—would be closer for their natural benefit.[39]

A school of Botany and Agriculture was established by Governor Norzagaray (1857-1860) in what was known before the last war as the Botanical Gardens under a young Spanish scientist, Sebastian Vidal y Soler. It was the plan of the government to establish similar schools in other parts of the Islands. Besides being in charge

[39] Alzona, Encarnación, *El Legado de España a Filipinas,* p. 38. This work evokes the varied legacy left by Spain in the Philippines after a rule that lasted more than three hundred years.

of this school, he was inspector general of forests in the Philippines, chairman of the commission of the Flora and Forest Statistics and President of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country. He had to his credit several scientific publications relating to the flora and forests of the Philippines.

In 1889 there were created two schools of arts and trade, one in Manila and another in Iloilo, for the training of Filipino youths in engraving, wood-carving, masonry, iron works, foundry, etc. The enrollment in the school year 1895-1896 in Manila was 899 and 1007 in Iloilo.

Other vocational schools were established, such as a nautical school, a school of commerce, a school of painting, sculpture and engraving from which came our famous painters: Juan Luna y Novicio (1857-1899) and Felix Resurreción Hidalgo y Padilla (1853-1913).[40]

Aside from primary schools for girls established in 1863, there were also schools and colleges established from time to time by the Spanish government for the training of Filipino women in charge of Spanish sisters of charity.

Despite the defective educational system established by the Spanish government, the institutions of higher learning produced leaders of both sexes and some of them survived the Spanish and American occupations. They have been modernized and geared to the objectives of our present educational system as expressed in our basic law.

According to Rizal, the defects of the Spanish educational system were:

First, the system of popular education established in the Philippines in 1863 fell short of mass education which Rizal envisioned for his people. Rizal wanted the secularization of education. Liberty and freedom could not thrive in a country where the masses were not enlightened.

Second, there was too much emphasis on religious subjects all the way up from the grades to the university and little emphasis on science. The system was atuned to the perpetuation of friar supremacy. In the university the only system of philosophy taught was the scholastic philosophy.

Third, there was no academic freedom. A university cannot be developed into a great institution of learning unless the members of its faculty enjoy academic freedom. Added to this, was

[40] Alzona, Encarnación, *Op. Cit.*, p. 38, *et. seq.*

the strict censorship by the Spanish authorities of books, magazines and other publications coming from abroad. While it did not absolutely keep the Filipinos ignorant of what was happening in other countries, the system had slowed down the progress of the Filipinos because it had kept the people, on the whole, out of touch with progressive movements elsewhere. In Rizal's time Spanish universities did not enjoy academic freedom, and I doubt if they do enjoy it today.

In a letter to his parents and brothers dated November 26, 1884, Rizal narrated an incident which occurred in Madrid on November 20, 1884. Dr. Miguel Morayta read a paper before the students of the *Universidad Central de Madrid* at the opening of the term in which he proclaimed the freedom of science and the teacher. The lecture, according to Rizal, was "excommunicated" by the bishops. In turn, a student leader wanted to spouse the excommunication of the bishops. The liberal-minded students staged a demonstration against the action of the bishops. They went around the street shouting *"viva"* and "down with the bishops." The police and the civil guards went after the students by order of the governor. Armed with revolvers and sabres, they assaulted the students in the university and the latter fought back resulting in the wounding of many students. The police laid a hand on the Rector, seized the secretary and insulted the members of the faculty. The prison was filled with students detained by the police and the infirmary with the wounded. Rizal and Ventura barely escaped arrest. Two Filipinos were taken prisoners. One Filipino was mauled and struck with a sabre. The Rector, who was popular among the students, resigned in protest against the action of the police. A new rector was appointed in his place. At the instance of the new rector, the police occupied the University. There was more bloodshed. The students swore not to return to the university until the authorities gave them complete satisfaction. The people and the press were on the side of the students. Rizal concluded: "This is why I say that I am disillusioned for studying in Madrid; now it is no longer an honor for anyone to come from this dishonored, trampled, villified, oppressed and tyrannized center of learning. *Science should be free, and the professor as well."* Dr. Rizal did not state in his correspondence how the incident ended.

That was in 1884. Spanish universities did not enjoy the so called academic freedom, and I doubt if they enjoy it today after a lapse of seventy-six years after this incident. Writing in 1958 on the policy of the Spanish Catholic Church towards education, Salvador de Madariaga said:

It is obvious that clerical education is thoroughly bad by any standard, as shown in the efforts of Church schools to escape objective examinations; and that, far from checking the tendency to superstitution, the Church sedulously encourages it. Worse still, the Catholic Church of Spain is *strongly intolerant, and, if it could, it would prevent all development of independent thought in the country.* The Church has always applauded measures of a coercive character with regard to the free expression of opinion, and in all its activities there is a tendency to militancy, an aggressive attitude and a self-assertion which are as un-Christian as uncooperative. However deserving of praise some of its work in the realm of rural economy and in certain fields of scholarship may be, its influence on the country is essentially of a retarding and irritating nature. It adds one more problem to those which already burden the conscience and intellect of Spanish leaders. Instead of being, as of old, one of the most powerful instruments of government, it has become an element of strife and division, always ready to abuse its power by oppressing those who do not bow before its narrowly conceived authority.

What passes for education in Franco-Spain is severely submitted to military discipline, to clerical influence and to Fascist indoctrination. This indoctrination begins in the primary school, where courses defined by the Falange are compulsory.

In justice to Franco, it should be said that he has given Spain peace and stability during the last twenty years and has prevented international communism from taking hold of Spain.

Herbert L. Matthews who has resided in Spain for many years and knows the country intimately said of the present system of education in Spain:

Spanish education is certainly the most backward and inadequate in Western Europe. Teaching 'must conform to the principal dogmas.' 'The Spanish State guarantees the teaching of the Catholic religion, obligatory, in all institutes of instruction whatever their rank or grade and whether they be State or non-State schools.' The Church authorities will supervise all schools to be sure that 'the purity of the Faith, good morals and religious education' are maintained. The teachers, the books, the curricular for this education are under the direction, which is to say, also, the censorship of the clergy.[41]

Academic freedom is guaranteed by our constitution.

It may be inferred from Rizal's writings that he was against church-controlled education. He was a thorough believer in the unhampered teaching of science which was not quite possible so long as the friars controlled the highest institution of learning.

Rizal advocated an educational system that would develop, besides an enlightened citizenry, civic-minded, disciplined, and pa-

[41] *Spain, A Modern History,* Chaps. 13, and 15; Matthews, Herbert L., *Op. Cit.,* Chap. VIII.

triotic people. He himself gave abundant examples of these traits. An individual must have social consciousness. He should not think only of his individual advancement but also of the good of the society to which he belongs. Obedience to law and order is emphasized in his writings and redress of grievances must be sought by pacific means. But this obligation has its limitations. In the words of Father Florentino:

> I do not mean to say that our liberty will be secured at the sword's point for the sword plays but little part in modern affairs but that we must secure it by making ourselves worthy of it, by exalting the intelligence and the dignity of the individual, by loving justice, right, and greatness, even to the extent of dying for them—and when a people reaches that height, God will provide a weapon, the idols will be shattered, the tyranny will crumble like a house of cards and liberty will shine out like the first dawn.

According to Rizal, whoever wanted to take part in the crusade —fight for reforms—should, above all, renounce life and fortune. God and destiny would favor the crusaders because they were fighting not for egotistic reasons but for the sacrosanct love of country and the Filipino people. While some people fought for their individual interests, the Filipino crusaders were fighting in order that there might be justice, for the sake of liberty and the sacred rights of men. They were not revolutionaries. They did not want blood. Neither did they hate the enemies. They would resort to force only when all peaceful means had been exhausted and when they had been driven to the wall that they were compelled to fight for their lives or die. In such case God gives them the right to defend themselves as best they could. They therefore would be acting within their legal rights and, like the North Americans, they would be fighting for a just cause and they would win. This sums up Rizal's peaceful campaign for reforms which did not preclude the possibility of using force if necessary.[42]

A Filipino historian has criticized Rizal for issuing a manifesto condemning the premature outbreak of the Revolution as "an unconscious attempt to defend the class (middle class) to which he belonged" and that he, like others of his class, "loved order more than freedom." I think the criticism is unjustified. The author himself said that "an analysis of Rizal's attitude toward the Revolution reveals that there was nothing irrational or inconsistent in his alleged turn-about."[43] It is clear in his writings that he had always subordinated his individual interests to the interests of the nation.

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[42] Letter of Rizal to Del Pilar, dated June 22, 1889. *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. II, p. 99.
[43] Agoncillo, Teodoro A., *The Revolt of the Masses,* pp. 108-109.

He was not opposed to the Revolution if the Filipinos were military prepared and the Revolution had a chance to succeed. Otherwise many innocent lives would be sacrificed through reprisals. Looking upon the events of 1896, at this distance, it might be doubted if the Filipinos alone, without the intervention of the United States or any foreign power, could have defeated the Spaniards. It would probably have resulted in a protracted struggle without either side winning decisively until both parties became so exhausted that Spain would be forced to come to an agreement with the Filipino leaders granting us autonomy but short of complete and absolute independence.

Likewise, Rizal's friends and colleagues had abandoned all hopes of securing the much needed reforms from Spain through peaceful means. Edilberto Evangelista, the hero of the battle of Zapote, suggested to Rizal the organization of a revolutionary club in Hongkong. He only feared the opposition from the old and rich Filipinos whose interests would be threatened by retaliatory measures of the government.[44] José Alejandrino was of the same opinion.[45] Graciano López Jaena, the fiery orator, said the "Philippines would obtain independence by means of a revolution." He urged a change of policy from assimilation to independence.

When Rizal had the opportunity to put his educational ideas into practice during his exile in Dapitan, he taught his young pupils the dignity of manual labor through precept and example. With the aid of his students, he built the dam and waterworks that carried water from a mountain stream over a rough terrain for several kilometers to a reservoir. The waterworks was ingeniously built showing Rizal's knowledge of engineering and great resourcefulness. He taught his students the industrial arts and practical agriculture thus enabling them to be partly on a self-supporting basis.

Rizal realized that discipline is necessary in any society. He adopted a program of activities for his young wards in Dapitan which he strictly enforced. He admired the education of the French children. Writing to his parents on January 1, 1886, he said:

> I do not get tired admiring this education of the French children: it is like a story if compared with those children there, be they Spanish, be they Filipino. On the street, in the bus, in the carriages, in their promenades, in the house, everywhere, they behave well: they do not

[44] Letter of Edilberto Evangelista written in Ghent and addressed to Rizal in Hongkong, dated April 29, 1892. *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. III, p. 323.

[45] Letter of José Alejandrino written in Ghent and addressed to Rizal in Hongkong, dated April 13, 1892.

> shout, they do not cry, they do not disturb... They do not fight, nor shout; in the big bazars where the families go to do all kinds of shopping, there are big showrooms full of toys which are very pretty; well, the children go there, they look and listen to the tricks of the wonderfully made dolls, automats, horses, etc. etc.; you would not hear weeping or crying nor even a suggestion to their parents to buy them those toys... This education seems to me a conclusive proof in favor of the new system of moulding the soul: for the love of the good and honor.[46]

When well disciplined boys grow into manhood, they form a compact and homogenous body of citizens as envisioned by him in the *Liga* to whom the interests of the country was paramount, instead of everybody out for himself. One reason perhaps why he was wary of taking active leadership in the Revolution against Spain was that he was not so sure of the national unity of the Filipinos. He had before his eyes the example of the Filipinos in Madrid. Their dissension over the question of leadership of the Filipinos in Spain had convinced Rizal that the time for such a step was not yet ripe. If this happened among educated Filipinos much less could he expect unity among the illiterate masses. Even Bonifacio realized the importance of national unity in launching his *Katipunan*.

Once Rizal planned to establish a modern college in Hongkong. He prepared a well balanced curriculum which was the result of his observations abroad.[47] In his proposed college course, Rizal gave importance to science courses. He seemed to have implicit confidence in the ability of science to solve the world's ills. For the first time the importance of physical education was recognized by a Filipino educator. Another novel feature of his curriculum is the inclusion of physical education as a major subject. He believed in the saying, *mens sana in corpore sano*. A student must be physically fit during his college training. He himself was able to surmount his physical handicap through a systematic physical training. Coupled with physical training, are courses in music, painting and dancing. These courses have great cultural value. Such courses would develop the artistic capabilities of the Filipinos.

The importance of economics was not overlooked. While he lay stress on political reforms, he realized that the country should have a sound economic development. So in his proposed curriculum was included a course in political economy to give the students the basic foundations of economics. One of his proposed reforms was the establishment in provincial capitals of more than 16,000 inhabitants schools of arts and crafts. The Spanish government

46 *One Hundred Letters of José Rizal*, pp. 252-253.
47 *Toward General Education in the Philippines*, p. 49.

had established two such schools one in Manila and another in Iloilo but these were not enough. Rizal wanted to train as many Filipinos as possible in some gainful occupations with which to earn their livelihood and at the same time establish some domestic industries.

Contrary to the prevailing idea among us, Rizal, being a poet, was not a dreamer like most poets. He was a practical idealist, if the expression may be allowed. He demonstrated his grasp of the practical side of life while living as an exile in Dapitan. He taught his students many practical things that would be useful to them later in life. Aside from the practice of his profession, he engaged in agriculture and trading which brought him a modest income. He refused to patronize the Chinese merchants who controlled the domestic trade. One of the objects of the *Liga* was the "encouragement of instruction, agriculture, and commerce." The members were assured of "mutual protection in every want and necessity." There are other provisions showing Rizal's sense of economic nationalism.

> In all walks of life, preference shall be given to the members. Nothing shall be bought except in the shop of a member, or whenever anything is sold to a member, he shall have a rebate. Circumstances being equal, the member shall always be favored. Every infraction of this article shall be severely punished.
>
> He may demand that all members favor him in his trade or profession whenever he offers as many guaranties as others. For this protection, he shall transmit to his Popular Chief his real name and his footing, so that the latter may hand it to the Supreme Chief who shall inform all the members of the *Liga Filipina* of it by the proper means.

On January 1, 1895, he finished the draft of the statutes and regulations for the farmers' cooperative association in Dapitan.[48] If our leaders during the past half century were as sincere and as dedicated as Rizal, the aliens would have acquired such a commanding position in our domestic and foreign trade. The exploitation of Filipino producers by conscienceless Chinese merchants is given by Rizal in the *Noli*. San Diego might be fictitious but the conditions there as described by Rizal fitted many towns. The town lay on the lakeshore, amidst paddy fields. It produced sugar, rice, coffee, and fruits which were either exported "or sold for a small part of their value to the Chinese, who exploit the simplicity and vices of the native farmers."[49] Unfortunately, this situation still exists. To Rizal the only remedy was to curb the activities

[48] Retana, *Op Cit.*, p. 472.
[49] *Noli*, Chap. X (Derbyshire's trans.) p. 72.

of these alien merchants and to extend every protection to Filipino traders. In other words, the Filipino first policy was conceived by Rizal long before our present leaders ever thought of it or did anything about it.

As early as 1884, Rizal was already thinking of the future of our sugar industry. In a letter to his parents and brothers of November 16 of the said year, datelined Madrid, he expressed anxiety over Philippine sugar in view of the treaty that "Spain is going to negotiate with the United States on the free access of the Cuban and Porto Rican sugar to the New York market." He also said that England, informed of this development, would follow suit to obtain similar treatment for sugar coming from her colonies He added further that Philippine sugar entered the markets in New York, London and Spain in spite of heavy duties. Rizal was not very clear whether England was contemplating to negotiate a similar treaty with the United States alone or with both the United States and Spain because he said: "If England succeeds in entering into this treaty, Cuban and Porto Rican sugar will have to enter London also, and the result will be that Philippine sugar, after making a long trip and paying much freight and high duties, will find itself at a great disadvantage and with less demand in the markets in the Peninsula, America and England, hence, its total and complete ruin." Rizal was referring only to the treaty that Spain planned to negotiate with the United States. I do not see how Cuban and Porto Rican sugar could have free access to the London market unless England had similar treaty arrangement with Spain. He sought the intercession of Don Pablo Ortiga with the Spanish Foreign Minister "in order to obtain at least one-half reduction of the duties which the Philippines pays, and to satisfy Cuba completely, thus preventing that dear Spanish colony in the Orient from being ruined rapidly, which otherwise she will be in three years." Don Pablo apparently did not succeed in his efforts.

Please note that Rizal, far from being a visionary, was a very practical man. Of the small coterie of Filipinos in Spain, Rizal and Sanciangco [50] were the only ones who were preoccupied with the economic situation of the Islands. His preoccupation over Philippine sugar was motivated partly by self-interest but in protecting his own interest, he also protected the interest of the nation as sugar was then already an important source of revenue. The Rizal family derived most of its income from the sugar industry. If sugar failed, his family and others depending on the sugar industry would be

[50] *El Progreso de Filipinas,* Estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos por D. Gregorio Sanciangco y Gozon, Madrid, 1881.

hard up. Sugar was, in Rizal's time, one of the most important industries in the Islands and it still is. Rizal used the same arguments as our present sugar barons are using now.

In searching for the treaty referred to by Rizal, I came upon several executive agreements between the United States and Spain designed to improve the commercial relations between the two countries. The first of such agreements was signed in Madrid on January 2, 1884 whereby the Spanish consular officers in the United States would cease to impose or collect tonnage fees on the cargoes of vessels leaving the ports of the United States for Cuba and Porto Rico. In return for this concession, the United States will remove *the extra duty of ten percent ad valorem* which it imposed on the products and articles proceeding from Cuba and Porto Rico. This preferential treatment included, of course, Cuban and Porto Rican sugar.[51]

In view of the inability of the two countries to enforce the provisions of the executive agreement on March 1, 1884 as action by the Cortes on certain provisions of the agreement had to be obtained first, another agreement was signed in Madrid on February 13, 1884 containing similar stipulations presumably after the Cortes had given the necessary authorization.

Then on October 27, 1886 a memorandum of an agreement was signed by the two countries in Washington which broadened the scope of nondiscrimination in commercial matters between the two countries. On September 21, 1887, another memorandum of an agreement was signed by the United States and Spain in Washington providing "for the reciprocal and complete suspension of all discriminating duties of tonnage or imposts in their respective ports.". It authorized the American Minister at Madrid to negotiate with the Spanish Foreign Minister "either by an agreement or treaty, so as to place the commercial relations between the United States and Spain on a permanent footing advantageous to both countries." For the first time was the Philippines included in the treaty. It is not clear whether under this agreement Philippine sugar would enjoy the same treatment as Cuban and Porto Rican sugar in the American market. The agreement did not specifically say so. It seems that Philippine sugar was entitled only to the most-favored nation treatment. This agreement was extended until June 30, 1888, and further extended "until the conclusion of a more extended treaty of Commerce between the two parties interested or until one of them shall give notice to the other of its desire to terminate the

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[51] Malloy, *Treaties,* Vol. II, pp. 1680-1687.

agreement two months before the date on which it desires such termination." Rizal must have referred to the executive agreement of January 2, 1884 concluded several months before he wrote his letter referred to, for in a subsequent letter to his parents and brothers, Rizal referred to the conclusion of this agreement as a consequence of which the sugar industry "will die inevitably in three or two years."[52] He did not follow up the developments arising out of the commercial agreement of 1884 and the various agreements extending its scope. There were other matters that engaged the attention of both governments involving their commercial relations which need not be discussed here. Thus matters drifted along until the Spanish-American War.

Through Isagani, Rizal predicted the future of the Philippines. In a conversation with his sweetheart, Paulita, Isagani said:

> Within a short time all the Islands are going to be crossed with networks of iron rails... Then the most beautiful spots of the Islands will be accessible to all. Tomorrow we shall be citizens of the Philippines whose destiny will be a glorious one, because it will be in loving hands. Ah, yes, the future is ours! I see it rosetinted, I see the movement that stirs the life of these regions so long dead, lethargic. I see towns arise along the railroads and factories everywhere, edifices like that of Mandaloyon: (Mandaluyong?) I hear the stream hiss, the trains roar, the engines rattle! I see the smoke rise—their heavy breathing; I smell the oil—the sweat of monsters busy at incessant toil. This port, (Manila?) so slow and laborious of creation, this river (Pasig?) where commerce is in its death agony, we shall see covered with masts, giving us an idea of the forests of Europe in winter. This pure air, and these stones, now so clean, will be crowded with coal, with boxes and barrels, the products of human industry, but let it not matter, for we shall move about rapidly in comfortable coaches to seek in the interior other air, other scenes on other shores, cooler temperatures on the slopes of the mountains. The warships of our navy will guard our coasts, the Spaniard and the Filipino will rival each other in zeal to repel all foreign invasion, to defend our homes, and let you bask in peace and smiles, loved and respected. Free from the system of exploitation, without hatred or distrust, the people will labor because then labor will cease to be a despicable thing, it will no longer be servile, imposed upon a slave... We shall extend our hands to one another (Spaniards), and commerce, industry, agriculture, the sciences, will develop under the mantle of liberty, with wise and just laws, as in prosperous England.

Commenting in 1909 on this prophecy of Rizal, Charles Derbyshire, translator of the hero's novels, said:

> There is something almost uncanny about the general accuracy of the prophecy in these lines, the economic part of which so well on the

[52] *One Hundred Letters of José Rizal to his Parents, Brother, Sisters, Relatives,* p. 211.

> way to realization, although the writer of them would doubtless have been a very much surprised individual had he also forseen how it would come about. But one of his own expressions was 'fire and steel to the cancer' and it surely got them.

The population of the Philippines has almost equaled that of Spain. As a result, new cities, towns, and villages have sprung up. Our trade, foreign and domestic, has increased a hundred fold. So has our budget to cover up practically every conceivable service for the welfare of our people. If the railroad has not criscrossed the country as Rizal predicted, excellent automobile roads have. The remotest point in the Islands is now accessible by railroad, by motor vehicle, by inter-island vessels, and by aeroplane. Travel now is much faster and much more convenient than in Rizal's time. The industrialization of the country has been going on at a tremendous pace. More than a thousand factories, big and small, have been established since liberation. Big landed estates which we inherited from the Spanish régime have been broken up into small parcels for sale to actual occupants. We have modern labor legislation which put an end to the exploitation of Filipino workers. Politically, the Philippines is an independent nation now and a member in good standing of the United Nations and other international organizations, with a democratic constitution where sovereignty resides in the people and the press as free as the press in any other country in the world. We are catching up with Spain in many respects and in some respects even ahead of her.

To Rizal the Spanish-Filipino relations should rests on "community of thought and interest." According to him, there was no better bond than this. His very reasonable plea, however, was answered by Spain with fire and steel. But, as he had warned Spain many times before, she could not follow a policy of repression forever in dealing with the Philippines, for someday the century-old pent-up grievances against her would explode as they did with disastrous results for Spain. Rizal seemed to entertain a high regard for the military power of Spain to ward off foreign aggression against the Philippines by the combined Spanish and Filipino forces. He overestimated Spain's military power. In the naval battle in the Manila Bay, in the Spanish-American war, a few salvos from Dewey's fleet sunk Montojo's warships. The land fighting did not last long before the Spanish forces were compelled to surrender to the American forces. Since her defeat in the Spanish-American War, Spain has never been a military and naval power. Except for this little aberration in Rizal's prophecy, his prediction was, on the whole, correct. He was far ahead of his time. He could look

into the future with the vision of a seer. Were Rizal to rise from his grave today, he would have some difficulty, like Rip Van Winkle, in recognizing his own country because of the profound political, economic, and social transformations that have taken place since he was shot in cold blood in *Bagumbayan* Field.

Another novel feature of his curriculum designed for his proposed *Colegio Moderno* are courses in morals and religions. By "morals" is meant the principle of right conduct according to Christian ethics, and "religions" is meant a comparative study of religions. These courses should be taught by the right person. Otherwise they could easily degenerate into sectarianism. They should be taught by a lay teacher of vast learning and tolerant spirit. Dr. Rizal would be an ideal teacher of such courses.

"What is the religion of Rizal?", Prof. Ricardo Pascual raised this question. After a careful analysis of his writings, Prof. Pascual came to the conclusion that Dr. Rizal was neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, nor a Free Thinker but a rationalist.[53] Miguel de Unamuno thought Rizal was not a free thinker but a free believer (*libre creyente*).[54] In a letter to his mother written in 1885, Rizal said:

> What you said about my duties as a Christian, I have the pleasure of being able to tell you that never for a moment have I stopped believing in the fundamental principles of our religion: my childhood beliefs have given place to the convictions of youth, which in the course of years will take root in me: essence that will not undergo revision through examination and change of time and cease to be a matter of the heart; we should not strive to live in illusions and falsehood. What I do believe now, I believe through reasoning and it is because my conscience cannot accept more than what is compatible with thought.

This is an answer to a letter from his mother who expressed her concern that her son, because of his contact with the liberal minds in Europe, might have strayed from the Catholic faith. Rizal's mother was a devout Roman Catholic. It will be seen from the above quotation, that Rizal regarded himself as a Catholic insofar as the fundamental principles of the said religion were concerned. The term "religion" mentioned therein must have reference to the Roman Catholic religion. Rizal did not take the trouble of enumerating the "fundamental principles" of Roman Catholicism. What he criticized was certain practices and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church which are incompatible with reason.

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53 Pascual, Ricardo R., "The Religion of Rizal" in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 1-21.

54 "Epilogo," Retana, W. E., *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal.*

His reason and conscience were his only criteria. That is the reason why some writers called him a rationalist, although in his own mind he had not abandoned completely his original faith. But of course in the view of the Roman Catholic Church, one cannot be a half-baked Catholic. He must be one through and through or he is not.

As stated already, Rizal advocated a complete secularization of our educational system which would make it more responsive to the needs of the country, without sacrificing character education which is essential to good citizenhip. During the Spanish régime, the educational system was based upon the assumption that the Catholic Church is a "perfect Society" and therefore the teaching must conform "to the principles of Dogma and Morals of the Catholic Church" which still obtains in Spain. Under the Concordat of 1953 between the Holy See and Spain, the ordinaries are in charge of the supervision of schools "in matters concerning the purity of the faith, morals, and religious education." The ordinaries have the power to "prohibit or withdraw books, publications, and teaching material opposed to Catholic Dogma and Morals." The foundation of our educational system has been completely changed with the advent of American sovereignty and all the schools in the Philippines, public or private, came under the supervision and control of the government. Rizal's ideas on education have been incorporated in Article XIII, Sec. 5 of the Constitution of the Philippines which reads thus:

> All educational institutions shall be under the supervision of and subject to regulation by the State. The Government shall establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, and shall provide at least free public primary instruction, and citizenship training to adult citizens. All schools shall aim to develop moral character, personal discipline, and vocational efficiency, and to teach the duties of citizenship. Optional religious instruction shall be maintained in the public schools as now authorized by law. Universities established by the State shall enjoy academic freedom. The State shall create scholarship in arts, science, and letters for specially gifted citizens.

What are Rizal's views on foreign affairs? He made some predictions with respect to the Filipinos in the event they were forced by Spain's reactionary policy to declare themselves independent. The accuracy of his prediction, with the exception of some minor details, which, to use his own expression, may be due to "chance accidents" or to an "imperceptible and incomprehensible logic in the workings of history," may be ascribed less to his exceptional talent but more to the fact that he was an assiduous

reader and keen student of world affairs—the qualities which a political scientist must possess and which Rizal had displayed in his well reasoned article, "The Philippines a Century Hence."

> History does not record in its annals any lasting domination exercised by one people over another, of different races, of diverse usages and customs, of opposite and divergent ideals.

Rizal argued that in our case we were faced with two alternatives: either that the Spaniards and the Filipinos were amalgamated to constitute "one mass, socially and politically homogenous," or in case our demands for equal rights were not heeded by the mother country, we declared ourselves independent and expelled the dominators by force. As a general proposition, his observation on the outcome of the colonial system prevailing at the time he wrote the article in question was correct. But much water has passed under the bridge since then. He did not envision the possibility that independence might be granted by peaceful means. For instance, how did the Philippines obtain its independence? Certainly not by force. Our independence was a voluntary grant of the United States after almost three decades of peaceful campaign. Rizal foresaw in a vague sort of way the final liquidation of the colonial system.

Rizal was an optimist. He felt the world was moving inexorably forward in spite of the numerous obstacles in the way towards the freedom of mankind. He put the following words in the mouth of Basilio:

> Within a few centuries, when humanity has become redeemed and enlightened, when there are no races, when all peoples are free, when there are neither tyrants nor slaves, colonies nor mother countries, when justice rules and man is a citizen of the world, the pursuit of science alone will remain, the word patriotism will be equivalent to fanaticism, and he who prides himself on patriotic ideas will doubtless be isolated as a dangerous disease, as a menace to the social order.

Then in one of his most beautiful poems, *Mi Retiro* (My Retreat), the hero said:

> That faith I keep and I hope to see shine
> The day when the Idea prevails over might;
> When after the fray and death's slow decline,
> Some other voice sounds, far happier than mine,
> To raise the glad song of the triumph of right.

In the fight against tyranny and oppression, "there is yet much blood to be shed." This is also true before we could rid ourselves of ancient fanaticism. Though Rizal was ahead of his time, he

had his feet on *terra firma*. He said through Simoun: "The greatness of a man is not in living before his time ... but in understanding its desires, in responding to its needs, and in guiding it on its forward way." Rizal gave powerful reasons why the Filipnos, in the event they were forced to resort to arms to overthrow the Spanish domination, would in the end triumph. There would be no civil strife as in Latin America and the Islands would declare themselves a federal republic. During the short-lived Philippine Republic, we declared ourselves a republic but not on a federal basis. The Malolos government was based on a unitary principle and so is our government today.

There was, however, the danger from foreign intervention from certain European powers like England, Germany, France, and Holland and even the United States. After a careful analysis of the problems confronting each of these countries, Rizal finally reached the conclusion that the said European powers would stay aloof and leave the newly independent Philippines to itself. In his analysis of the problem posed by Philippine independence, he showed a thorough grasp of European politics and the United States Far Eastern policy.

At the time Rizal wrote the article referred to, there was a mad scramble for territories in Africa among European powers which absorbed their attention. No sensible nation would grab the Philippines, a poor and hostile country, after Spain had abandoned the Islands. The Dark Continent offered better opportunities for colonization. It was like a ripe fruit ready for the picking by anyone. There was no danger of hostile resistance from the native population except from among the rival colonizing powers themselves. In the case of England, she had enough possessions in the Orient including the vast Indian Empire. It was probable that England would look with favor upon an independent Philippines, for, in that case, she could obtain commercial concessions from the new government. If she really coveted the Philippines, she would not have returned Manila to Spain in 1763.

As regards France, after the Franco-Prussian War, she dedicated herself to building a vast colonial empire in Africa and in the Far East. In this she had the support of Bismarck whose policy was to encourage France in her colonial venture so as to erase from the mind of the Frenchmen the thought of revenge. Besides she was interested in those countries comprised in what was formerly known as French Indochina and in China. In addition to this, the French were not a colonizing people.

As to Germany she wanted to avoid international complications although in 1898 she showed unusual interest in the Philippines.[55] She came upon the scene rather late and it was only after 1884 that she entered the race for colonies through the pressure of the commercial class.

In the case of Holland, she was satisfied with her possessions in the East Indies. Sumatra alone offered greater opportunities than the Philippines "whose seas and coasts have a sinister omen for Dutch expeditions." She had to be careful not to lose Sumatra and Borneo.

Rizal discounted any fear of aggression from China which was then in serious danger of being partitioned by the European powers. It was only the active intervention of the United States through the advocacy of the Open Door Doctrine and the rivalry among the European powers themselves that saved China from actually breaking up.

Rizal expressed no fear from Japan. At that time Japan was not yet a great power. Its constitution was promulgated only in 1889 and the Diet was inaugurated in the following year. She was still laboring under a great handicap imposed upon her by one-sided treaties by which the Western powers enjoyed extraterritorial privileges in Japan. There was the rivalry between China and Japan which erupted into the Sino-Japanese War. Later she had to fight Russia over Korea and Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese conflict in 1905. Although Japan had an excess of population, Korea attracted her more than the Philippines.

Rizal expressed some concern over the possibility of American intervention because her interests lay in the Pacific. Although she had not taken part in the spoliation of Africa, it did not preclude her from dreaming of foreign possessions as manifested by her conduct over the Samoan question. If America should enter the race for colonies, she would be quite a troublesome rival. It will be remembered that it was the United States that opened Japan to Western intercourse and it was about the time that Rizal made the prophecy that the open door principle sponsored by the United States was shaping up. So far Rizal's prediction came true. He erred, however, in his conclusion that the United States would not intervene in the Philippines for several reasons: (1) the Panama Canal was not open yet; (2) the United States was not yet suffering from over population that she did not need foreign possessions for her surplus population; (3) in case she should openly attempt

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[55] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "The Kaiser and the Philippines", *Manila Times,* April, 1960.

it, she would be prevented by European powers; and (4) to hold colonies would be contrary to her traditions. Actually, the United States intervened in the Philippines at a critical moment which cast serious doubt as to her real intention. The Spanish master was replaced by the American master. The Filipinos lived under the American flag for almost half a century. The United States finally granted us independence to redeem the pledge which she had given many years before.

Rizal failed to see the growing influence of the expansionist element in the United States identified with the Republican Party. This element believed that Manila would serve as an *entrepot* in the trade between China and the United States. Besides, the occupation of the Philippines would prevent the Islands from falling into the hands of another power. Such a step was necessary to maintain American prestige in the Orient.

While Rizal had great admiration for the United States as a free country and for its first president, George Washington, who, in his opinion, had no equal in the 19th century, to him American democracy was for the whites only. He understood the motive of the United States in creating the Negro republic of Liberia. It was not purely humanitarian. He criticized the more obvious defects of American democracy, the Latin American States, and the colonial policy of European powers in no uncertain language. Through Simoun Rizal said:

> Europe applauded when the western nations sacrificed millions of Indians in America, and not by any means to found nations much more moral or more pacific: there is the North with its egotistic liberty, its lynch-law, its political frauds—the South with its turbulent republics, its barbarous revolutions, civil wars, pronunciamientos, as in its mother Spain! Europe applauded when powerful Portugal despoiled the Moluccas, it applauds while England is destroying the primitive races in the Pacific to make room for its emigrants. Europe will applaud as the end of a drama, the close of a tragedy, is applauded, for the vulgar do not fix their attention on principles, they look only at results.

Rizal predicted the final abolition of the colonial system. In this he was right. It came about sooner than expected. Recently the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a resolution by an overwhelming vote calling for the end of the world's remaining colonialism. As a result of the last world war, Asian colonies have been liberated from their former masters. Even in the Dark Continent, European colonizers have given up their colonial possessions. These new states are now independent and members of the United Nations. What Rizal dreamed some seventy years ago

has become a reality. The old colonial system is definitely on the way out and although its vestiges still linger in some parts of the world, its complete liquidation is only a matter of time. As Rizal's pointed out, the Spanish administration in the Philippines could not maintain its despotic rule, deny the Filipinos their civil rights, condone misgovernment and corruption and foment a policy of "brutalization" of the masses and at the same time expect the Filipinos to remain loyal to Spain. Unless the situation was remedied, it would end up in the revolt of the masses. The small uprisings in the past were easily quelled by the Spanish authorities because they lacked popular support. Disregarding this warning, Spanish power was overthrown in less than a decade after the publication of his famous essay. A Filipino historian calls the Philippine Revolution "The Revolt of the Masses" for indeed it was. Rizal envisaged the popular uprising as a result of Spain's failure to abandon her truculent policy of repression and to meet the growing demands of the Filipino leaders to institute certain reforms in the administration. According to Rizal, Spain could not keep down the Filipinos forever. The Filipinos had achieved material and ethical progress during more than three centuries of Spanish rule which was inevitable in the circumstances, and, therefore, Spain should adopt measures to meet these changed conditions. Otherwise, the country would explode and declare itself independent. This was exactly what happened.

Rizal spoke of the ultimate triumph of "right" over "might". He said that this could be realized only after a slow and painful struggle. In the end another voice happier than his shall sing the triumphal song. Here Rizal merely expressed the hope of all mankind for universal peace and justice. Some progress has been made in this direction, both domestically and internationally. While in some countries, the citizens are protected against the abuses of the government officials by a "bill of rights" embodied in their constitutions with an independent judiciary to enforce them, other countries are still groaning under a dictatorship where the citizens enjoy no such rights. Internationally, we have the defunct League of Nations and its successor the United Nations designed to settle international disputes through peaceful processes. The former failed and the second world war was the result. Will the latter follow in the footsteps of its predecessor? This is the big question mark. Wars, it seems, have not been finally banished from the face of the earth.

"The Philippines a Century Hence" and "The Indolence of the Filipinos," both published in the *La Solidaridad,* are the best

written essays of Rizal, the first in support of the Filipino demand for reforms and the second in refutation of the Spanish thesis on the indolence of the Filipinos.

Rizal admitted that indolence existed in the Philippines but it was not the cause of the backwardness of the country. It was rather the effect of the colonial system implanted by Spain in the Islands. The climate had something to do with our predisposition to indolence. The hot climate does not require vigorous exertion on our part as in the colder climate. So we have to adapt ourselves to the environment if we want to live longer. Nature has seen to it that our soil has been made more fertile and more productive as a compensation.

Among the Europeans who settle in the Philippines there is also a predisposition to indolence because of the hot climate to which they are not accustomed. But they can adapt themselves to the new environment if they would rid themselves of prejudices. What happened was that the Europeans who reproached the natives for being indolent did not work hard physically but lived upon the toil of the poor colonists and thus amassed wealth and fortune. Then Rizal asked this question:

> Who is the indolent one in the Manila offices? Is it the poor clerk who comes at eight in the morning and leaves at one in the afternoon with only his parasol, who copies and writes and works for himself and for his chief, or is it the chief, who comes in a carriage at ten o'clock, leaves before twelve, reads his newspaper while smoking and with his feet cocked up on a chair or a table, or gossipping about all his friends? Which is indolent, the native coadjutor, poorly paid and badly treated, who has to visit all the indigent sick living in the country, or the friar curate who gets fabulously rich, goes about in a carriage, eats and drinks well, and does not put himself to any trouble without collecting excessive fees?

This aversion to hard physical labor is also true of the Chinese who rarely engaged in agriculture. They became shopkeepers. This tendency to indolence is very natural among Filipinos as it is with other peoples in similar circumstances and we cannot alter natural laws.

Rizal observed:

> Man is not a brute, he is not a machine; his object is not merely to produce, in spite of the pretensions of some Christian whites who would make of the colored Christian a kind of motive power somewhat more intelligent and less costly than steam. Man's object is not to satisfy the passions of another man. His object is to seek happiness for himself and his kind by traveling along the road of progress and perfection.

Rizal proved that the so-called indolence of the Filipinos was the effect of the Spanish colonial policy which fostered and magnified this tendency. The Filipinos were industrious and the country was prosperous before the coming of the Spaniards, citing the testimony of Spanish historians themselves. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Filipinos had extensive domestic and foreign trade. They traded with neighboring countries, such as China and Siam. The Chinese traders were impressed by the activity and honesty of the traders of Luzon, who acted as distributors of Chinese products throughout the Islands. The native merchants travel for nine months selling Chinese goods and upon their return paid the Chinese for everything they bought even for those things that the Chinese merchants no longer remembered. They exported cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, betel-nuts, dry-goods, etc.

According to Pigafetta, the natives were courteous, kind and active commercially. Their merchandise consisted of cloves, cinnamon, pepper, nutmegs, mace, gold, etc. They raised rice, millet, oranges, lemons, panicum, etc. Philippine seas were traversed by junks, paraus, barangays and vintas carrying merchandise. Wealth was to be found everywhere in the Islands. Paragua (now Palawan) had abundance of food-stuffs. The inhabitants were all busy tilling the fields. The natives manufactured cannons (*lantakas*).

The Spaniards discovered that fifty years before their arrival in Luzon 1571, there were already Filipinos who could understand Spanish. A Moro who was captured by the Spaniards in Luzon who served as interpreter between the Spaniards and the native chiefs understood some Spanish. Where he learned the language no one seemed to know. There was much commercial activity in the southern islands. The island of Cebu was populous and abound in provisions. The port of Cebu was full of vessels from other islands as well as from far-off India. It was taken by force by foreign intruders and burned destroying foodstuffs. This caused famine among the Cebuanos for a while. But the traders from the neighboring islands brought in provisions which relieved the need of the Cebuanos.

Summing up the progress of the Islands before the arrival of the Spaniards, Rizal said:

> All the histories of those first years, in short, abound in long accounts about the industry and agriculture of the natives: mines, gold-washings, looms, farms, barter, ship-building, raising of poultry and stock, weaving of silk and cotton, distilleries, manufactures of arms, pearl fisheries, the civet industry, the horn and hide industry, etc., are things encountered at every step, and, considering the time and the conditions

in the Islands, prove that there was life, there was activity, there was movement.

Morga, who held high offices both in the Philippines and Mexico and enjoyed a high reputation among scholars for his fairness and justice, averred that the Philippines had declined in industrial and commercial activities after a few centuries of Spanish rule. They had forgotten much about farming, raising poultry, stock and cotton and weaving cloth as they used to do before the coming of the Spaniards. He was supported by other Spanish writers. The only conclusion that could be drawn from Morga's account is that the Filipinos, during the pre-Hispanic era, were not so indolent as they were pictured by the friars and Spanish officials. With their conversion into Christianity, their ethics and mode of life had been changed. There was some deterioration in their agricultural and industrial activities.

What were the factors responsible for this state of affairs? First, the failure of the Spanish government to protect the natives against their enemies and the abuses of the forced labor system. As a result of this, the natives became discouraged thereby losing their desire for work. For three centuries they suffered from the piratical raids of the Moros. These raids, which, according to Rizal, occurred from five to ten times a year, caused considerable destruction of human lives and property. Then the Spanish authorities required the natives to serve as oarsmen or soldiers in the Spanish expeditions to Borneo, the Moluccas and Indo-China to fight the enemies of Spain. Many of these Filipino soldiers and oarsmen never returned to their homes. The expeditions against the Dutch in the Moluccas and the trade between China and Mexico required the construction of huge wooden ships. The masts were made of lumber of huge size which could be found only in remote forests. These huge lumbers were hauled by thousands of natives to the shipyards. These natives were not given food by their Spanish masters but they had to seek the food for themselves. On top of all these were the abuses of the *encomenderos*. Because of these calamities, the natives had lost their incentive to work. The farms had been abandoned and neglected. Communities had been depopulated. Many industries which were flourishing upon the arrival of the Spaniards had disappeared.

Secondly, the conditions of the country as well as the policy of the government were such that there was little encouragement to labor. Any activity of the natives was always regarded by the Spanish authorities with suspicion. The Filipinos were prevented

from having contact with the outside world, even with fellow Asians. Trade was limited to Mexico and China from which only a few individuals, including the friars, benefited. As a result of this short-sighted policy, our foreign trade had shrunk almost to the vanishing point. Furthermore, the coastwise trade had dwindled because of piratical raids. Then there was the requirement that laborers must secure a government permit in going to their farms. This, coupled with the exactions of the *encomendero,* impoverished the country and dampened the spirit of the Filipinos to work. The power enjoyed by the provincial governor to engage in trade aggravated the situation. He had the monopoly of trade in his community. His main concern was to get rich as quickly as possible and this led to many abuses until this privilege to trade had been taken away from him. Rizal made the following observations which have not lost their validity in spite of the lapse of seventy years since his comment was made:

> The great difficulty that every enterprise encountered with the administration contributed not a little to kill off all commercial and industrial movement. All the Filipinos as well as all those who have tried to engage in business in the Philippines, know how many documents, how many visits, how many stamped papers, how much patience is needed to secure from the government a permit for an enterprise. One must count upon the good will of this one, of the influence of that one, on a good bribe to another in order that the application be not pigeonholed, a present to the one further on so that he may pass it on to his chief; one must pray God to give him humor and time to see and examine it; to another, talent to recognize its expediency; to one further on sufficient stupidity not to scent behind the enterprise an insurrectionary purpose; and that they may all spend the time taking baths, hunting or playing cards with the reverend friars in their convents or country houses. An above all, great patience, great knowledge of how to get along, plenty of money, plenty of presents and complete resignation.

According to Rizal, the most commercial and industrial countries are the freest, like France, England and the United States. Hongkong had greater trade than all our islands put together because "it is free and well governed."

Our aversion to manual labor which we inherited from the Spaniards had a deterrent influence upon our progress. Our addiction to gambling slowed down progress because those engaged in it do not produce wealth. Cockfighting is indigenous but card games were introduced by the Spaniards and found fertile soil in the Philippines because of our propensity to gamble.

Mention may be made also of certain customs and religious practices taught by the friars to our own people which encouraged indolence but enriched the mentors. Epidemics cannot be cured by invoking God with long prayers but by resort to science. Those countries which believe in miracles are "the laziest" and least progressive.

The very oppressive character of the government fostered indolence, when no one knew what the morrow would bring to him, whether he would face a firing squad as a rebel suspect or face deportation to isolated places in the Philippines or to Spanish colonies in north Africa on the flimsiest charge without evidence at all just because he was reported by the friar to be engaged in subversive activities, put him always on guard. The uncertainty of the future is not conducive to progress. As Rizal put it, "everybody yields to fate, shuts himself in his house or goes about amusing himself in the home to spend the few days that remain to him in the least disagreeable way possible."

The government did not encourage the economic development of the country. Agriculture and industry lagged behind. The government was apathetic to farmers. No aid could be expected from the government in case of bad crops. It did not take any steps to foster our foreign trade unlike the English who gave preference to products coming from her colonies. On the contrary, our products did not only enjoy any protection in the Spanish market but were subjected to high tariff and were not advertised at all in the peninsula. The friars owned the best lands in the country and exploited the tenants by continuously raising the rentals of the land. Rizal's family was one of the victims of this pernicious system. We now realize the evils arising from possession of large landed estates by a few where the tenants work under conditions resembling serfdom.

Rizal described the training of our young men as "brutalizing, depressive and anti-human." At the risk of some repetition, I wish to quote Rizal's description of the kind of education that our young men received in those days:

> There is no doubt that the government, some priests like the Jesuits and some Dominicans like Padre Benavides, have done a great deal by founding colleges, schools of primary instruction, and the like. But this is not enough: their effect is neutralized. They amount to five or ten years (years of a hundred and fifty days at most) during which the youth comes in contact with books selected by those very priests who boldly proclaim that it is an evil for the natives to know Castilian, that the native should not be separated from his carabao, that he should not

> have any further aspirations, and so on; five to ten years during which the majority of the students have grasped nothing more than that no one understands what the books say, not even the professors themselves perhaps; and these five to ten years have to offset the daily preachment of the whole life, that preachment which lowers the dignity of man, which by degrees brutally deprives him of the *sentiment of self-respect,* that constant stubborn labor to bend the native's neck, to make him accept the yoke, to place him on a level with the beast—a labor aided by some persons, with or without the ability to effect, like the breaking of a cord that is stretched too tightly. Thus, while they attempt to make of the native a kind of animal, yet in exchange they demand of him divine actions. And we say divine actions, because he must be a god who does not become indolent in that climate, surrounded by the circumstances mentioned. *Deprive a man, then, of his dignity, and you not only deprive him of his moral strength but you do also make him useless even for those who wish to make use of him. Every creature has its stimulus, its main spring: man's is his self-respect.*

In Rizal's view the indolence of the Filipinos is not wholly attributable to the Spanish colonial system. The Filipinos themselves are partly to blame because of their defective training and lack of national sentiment. He made this observation:

> Peoples and governments are correlated and complementary: a fatuous government be an anomaly among a righteous people, just as a corrupt government cannot exist under just rulers and wise laws. Like people, like government.

The Anglo-Saxons have similar saying:

> The spring cannot rise higher than its source. The people get the government that they deserve.

In another connection Rizal said:

> Governments are established for the welfare of the people, and in order to accomplish this purpose properly, they have to follow the suggestions of the citizens who are the ones best qualified to understand their own needs.

The above quotations are sound political maxims which are true only in a democracy. They reveal the influence of Anglo-American political philosophy upon Rizal. During his stay in London, Rizal must have imbibed these political ideas from the works of English and American political thinkers. He considered the United States and England as free countries and admired England's prosperity which was due to its wise and just laws. He criticized the United States for its treatment of the Negros. This racial discrimination is the weakest link in the chain of the American political system.The maltreatment of the Negroes has its roots in the

history of slavery. Improvement in the treatment of the Negroes must necessarily be slow. But it is surely coming. Were Rizal alive today, he would have to revise his concept of American democracy. President John Kennedy has promised the American people to abolish all forms of discrimination, religious and racial, until the United States has completely become a free society not only in law but also in fact. He promised to deal effectively with the bombing and lynching of colored Americans.[56]

From the writings of Rizal we glean that the Spaniards were, like Americans, suffering also from superiority complex. For instance, the Spaniards called the Filipinos contemptuously *"Indios"* and treated them as if they were not human beings. The limited training in the home and the kind of education and treatment they received from the friars, coupled with their superstitious nature which was aggravated by certain religious practices inculcated in them from their youth until they stepped out of school, made them robots. The system killed individual initiative and made them feel that they were inferior to other races. The Filipinos lost all ambitions to improve themselves beyond the limit set for them by their mentors without being branded as *filibusteros.* The upshot was stagnation and lack of progress. The dead hand of the past prevented the Filipinos from marching onward. What was necessary is the infusion of a revolutionary spirit among our people that would overthrow the past to give way to new and progressive ideas.

Another contributing factor to indolence for which we alone were responsible was the lack of national sentiment. Rizal hit hard certain "external practices" of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines, or to be more precise, certain practices of the friars, which, in his opinion, were mere devices to raise funds for the church. These practices, which retarded rather than advanced the progress of the country, had been thoroughly hammered by the friars into the minds of the natives, that it was difficult to shake them off. In other words, the friars had successfully brainwashed the Filipinos. Rizal blamed the Filipinos for "exchanging their religion for the external practices of another cult," implying thereby that such a change was undesirable. In fairness to Rizal, it must be stated that he did not denounce the fundamental tenets of the church but only certain "external practices" which did not jibe with his reason and conscience. The Filipinos therefore did not commit any mistake in giving up paganism and embracing Christianity. It was a definite gain of which we should be proud today. Western

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[56] *The Manila Times,* January 17, 1961.

civilization had its bad features. For instance, love of luxury and ostentation "without thereby improving the means of its subsistence to a corresponding degree," or, as we would say today in plain language, we have a champagne appetite on a beer income. What Rizal condemned was the indiscriminate acceptance of everything western by the Filipinos at the expense of everything native, such as our system of writing, our customs, our religion, our laws, our songs, our poetry, and our way of life. This is a sweeping indictment. I feel that Rizal's intense nationalism had carried him off a bit too far. What, for instance, could we have gained by preserving intact our old system of writing? The romanization of our alphabet was a decided improvement over our ancient alphabet. Even Turkey has given up the Turkish alphabet and adopted the Roman alphabet. What did we lose by sacrificing our ancient laws in favor of modern codes?

What Rizal was trying to prove in annotating Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* was that the Filipinos had a culture of their own upon the coming of the Spaniards and that we were not at all barbarians as the friars would have the world believe. It is true that during more than three centuries of our contact with the Spaniards, we lost a good many things that should have been preserved. Even our way of life had been greatly altered. But we also gained much through our contact with western civilization. This is inevitable in the process of amalgamation of two cultures. Our loss was not due so much to the voluntary act on our part as to the policy of Spain to impose its own culture on us. In annotating the work of Morga, Rizal intended to arouse in us a consciousness of our past, which had been erased from our memory, and to rectify what had been falsified, and, with this as basis, we could dedicate ourselves to the study of the future. In his lengthy preface to Rizal's edition of Morga's *Sucesos,* Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt said that, in spite of his great admiration for the learned annotations of the author, he had observed, more than once, that Rizal shared the errors of many modern historians who criticized the facts of by-gone centuries according to the concepts which belonged to contemporary ideas. This should not be. The historian should not judge the men of the 16th century by the standard of the 19th. He also disagreed with Rizal on some of the latter's criticisms against Catholicism. He believed that it was not in the religion itself but rather in the abuses of the friars where one could find the origin of many lamentable events.

There is no culture that is absolutely indigenous today. To keep one's culture absolutely unaffected by foreign influences is

impossible of attainment in view of the increasing contacts of peoples through the various media of communication. Japan adopted a policy of isolation which failed. She was forced to open her door to western intercourse. It is to be regretted that some of our customs and traditions, which should have been preserved, have disappeared in course of time. Some of our universities have been researching along this line and something has been accomplished already in the revival of our folk-songs and dances.

One writer claims that Rizal intended to create a national community as distinct from "the Spanish colony called *'Filipinas'* and from an ecclesiastical province of the Church."[57] This interpretation of Rizal's nationalism, though novel, is confusing. There was only one community involved — the Filipino community, although there were factors such as the influence of the church and the colonial policy of Spain that had prevented the growth of national sentiment among the Filipinos. Though we belonged to the same race, we lacked the feeling of oneness that should bind us together as a nation. The many uprisings against Spain in the past—there were more than one hundred according to a Filipino historian [58] — were prompted rather by specific grievances than by national interests. Filipino nationalism, as a political movement, probably dates only from 1872 when Fathers Burgos, Gómez and Zamora were garroted in *Bagumbayan* Field. It increased its momentum towards the end of the 19th century. There is a good deal of truth in what the poet, Lorenzo Pérez Tuells, said of Rizal:

> Adversity crowned you with thorns
> But, what matters death in Calvary
> If before you, Philippines, there was not.[59]

This desideratum brought about many evils: the absence of opposition to measures inimical to the interests of the people and initiative in such matters as would be beneficial to them. According to Rizal, a man in the Philippines is only an individual. He is not a member of a nation, for the Filipinos, as a people, then lacked national consciousness. There were some signs of growing nationalism among the Filipinos at the time of the publication of his famous essay on the indolence of the Filipinos, but this nationalism was dormant and required a powerful stimulus to arouse it. It is a curious irony of fate that the Spanish repressive policy in the Islands was largely responsible for the rapid growth of the na-

57 Majul, Cesar Adib, *A Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation*, p. 15.
58 Zaide, Gregorio F., *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, Vol. 1, p. 343.
59 Veloso, Alfredo S., *Anguish, Fullness, Nirvana*, p. 41.

tionalistic movement. The Revolution of 1896 which occurred some six years after the publication of Rizal's two famous essays already referred to would not have been possible if the Filipinos were entirely lacking in patriotism. You cannot create national sentiment in a decade or so. What Rizal meant was that the Filipinos lacked then militant nationalism. Ferdinand Blumentritt summed up the colonial policy of Spain thus: "They (Spaniards) pretend to be noble but do not know how to be just; they pretend to be a superior nation but do not know how to follow a prudent policy; they fear separatist ideas and compel the Filipinos to seek refuge in revolution."[60]

As a result of the lack of militant nationalism, everybody kept quiet when it was the duty of the people to speak up and protest against any measure prejudicial to them or whenever there was need for certain reforms for fear of consequences. The Filipinos who accepted the few administrative positions open to them were of the mollycoddle type who "could endure the exactions of the curate and of the (Spanish) officials." The main ambition of Spanish officials was "to amass a fortune and return home." The officials in the lower bracket were inefficient while those in the upper bracket were indifferent to the welfare of the country. Added to this were the frequent changes of personnel and the many administrative obstacles thrown in the way of progress by the Spanish authorities. These factors were responsible for the backwardness of the Philippines. To Rizal only education and liberty could arouse the Philippines from lethargy.

The Reverend Father Pablo Pastells, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, who acquired some fame in connection with his debate with Rizal on religious matters, advanced the following arguments in support of Spanish sovereignty over the islands:

> First, that the right of Spain to the occupation and later to the sovereignty of the Philippines was a divine and natural right;
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> Second, that the prescription of the fact of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines with its attending circumstances, sanctioned the primitive right, rendering it undisputable;
>
> Third, that the fruits of the Spanish occupation and sovereignty of Spain obtained for the benefit of the Philippines, thanks to the system of legislation, government, administration and culture adopted and employed by Spain corroborate the fact and the right of her sovereignty; and that abuses committed in all branches (of the government) by the personnel of the same, even when they should be corrected, cannot be an argument in order to destroy the fact or the right of her sovereignty;

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60 Morga, *Op. Cit.*, (Rizal's ed.) Prólogo, p. XX.

> Fourth, that the Filipino separatism constitutes, especially at present, a worst blot of nameless ingratitude;
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> Fifth, that separatism in the Philippines is impossible of execution, unsustenable in practice and in the last analysis productive of contrary results; and
>
> Sixth, lastly, that united with Spain the Philippines shall travel triumphantly to the goal of the stadium of progress; but, separated from her, she will inevitably plunge herself into chaos of anarchy, slavery, and savagery.[61]

Under international law, there are various ways of acquiring sovereignty such as by discovery followed by actual occupation and prescription. I mention only these two modes of acquiring sovereignty because Father Pastells seemed to have them in mind when he alluded to the sovereignty of Spain over the Philippines. His discussion was far from clear. Added to this confusion of thought was the assertion that Spanish sovereignty over the Philippines "was a divine and natural right." Was the Philippines *res nullius* and therefore subject to discovery and occupation? According to Morga and other early Spanish writers, the Philippines was a bustling community before the arrival of the Spaniards. The country was prosperous. Its agriculture and its many industries were flourishing. It had commercial relations with China, Siam and other neighboring countries. It had extensive coastwise trade. The Filipinos were not "barbarians" as the friars alleged but had their own culture. Of course they did not have a national government as we have today but they had native chiefs who exercised jurisdiction over their respective territories. The facts do not bear out Father Pastells' assertion that the Philippines was *res nullius* and therefore subject to discovery and occupation.

What divine or natural law sanctioned the discovery of the Philippines and its subsequent occupation by the Spaniards in such circumstances? If this right of discovery and occupation came from God or nature, then obviously it was final and there was no appeal from it. This kind of argumentation was resorted to by Father Pastells to give finality to Spanish sovereignty over the Islands, and by the friars to justify an illegal or immoral act. Religion was used as a shield for such purposes as Rizal said:

> What is taking place in the Philippines is terrible. They abuse the religion to enrich their landed estates, religion to seduce innocent youth, religion to get rid of the enemy, religion to disturb the peace of married folks and their family if not the honor of the wife. Why should I not combat that religion with all my powers when it is the

[61] *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 4, pp. 71-82.

chief cause of our sufferings and tears? Responsibility falls upon those who abuse its name. Christ did the same thing with the religion of his country which the Pharisees had abused so much.[62]

The colonial powers proceeded also from the theory that the natives being "barbarians" were incapable of possessing rights. So the natives were dispossessed of their lands by the colonizers and those who resisted were either killed or driven away. This policy was followed by the European powers in the Western Hemisphere.

According to Father Pastells, Spanish title to the Philippines became "undisputable" by prescription. It is questionable if the Filipino people ever acquiesced in the Spanish occupation of their country. The numerous uprisings against Spain throughout the Spanish domination do not bear out this thesis. It would be more logical to say that Spain's title to the Philippines rested on brute force, which, unfortunately, is still recognized in international law. It is the so-called right of conquest as a means of acquiring title under the law of nations. A noted American authority has this to say:

> If the inhabitants of the territory concerned are uncivilized or extremely backward people, deemed to be incapable of possessing a right of sovereignty, the conqueror may, in fact, choose to ignore their title, and proceed to occupy the land as though it were vacant. In such case the conquest refers merely to the military or physical effort by means of which occupation becomes possible.[63]

According to Rizal, the Filipinos upon the arrival of the Spaniards were not "barbarians." They had their own political, economic and social institutions. The term "civilized" is highly relative. It was coined by the West as a standard for determining the degree of progress that other peoples of non-European stock have attained. Why should the Filipinos of 1521 be judged by Western standard? This legal theory has had a far-reaching consequence upon our lives. The Filipinos, being a conquered and uncivilized people, had no rights. The conquerors could dispose of their lands. This is the jungle law by which Spain acquired sovereignty over the Philippines, the moral compunctions of Father Pastells nothwithstanding.

The late Don Felipe Agoncillo, the diplomatic agent of the first Philippine Republic to the United States, to work for its recognition by the powers and to oppose the Treaty of Paris, presented a novel and an interesting argument in opposing the said treaty. He said that Spain and the Philippines were united by the blood compact

62 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Part 2, pp. 527-528.

63 Hyde, Charles Cheney, *International Law*, Vol. I, p. 357.

between Legazpi and the native king, Sikatuna, and by the constitution of Cadiz in the framing of which Filipino representatives took part, implying therefrom that Spain, by her sole act, could not dissolve that union, much less could she dispose of the Philippines without the consent of the inhabitants thereof. The memorial presented by Agoncillo to the United States senate was the ablest document penned by him in the preparation of which he had the benefit of the advice of an American expert in international law.[64] He presented powerful arguments in favor of the recognition of the Philippine Republic by the United States and other powers and against the ratification of the Treaty of Paris.

> 1. The Philippine Republic has been for many months entitled to national recognition, possessing, as it has, since June 18, 1898, a government both *de facto* and *de jure,* capable of enforcing its laws at home, or carrying out its undertakings with foreign Government, and of maintaining itself against Spain.
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> 2. It was no longer possible for Spain under any circumstances to regain possession of the Philippines; a point most essential to be considered in determining whether a new, independent nation should be recognized.
>
> 3. Spain had no power to deliver possession to the United States of the Philippine Islands, having been driven from these islands by the just wrath of their inhabitants.
>
> 4. Spain, therefore, having been driven away, as I have stated, and the inhabitants having established a government satisfactory to themselves and maintaining order throughout the territories under its control, what justification can any other nation advance for interfering with my country or refusing to extend toward it the obligations of international law? Could Spain give to any nation a better right than she possessed? She could not confer possession, for she did not enjoy it, and any foreign right of possession claimed by her and been extinguished by the destruction of her sovereignty over my country. She could not create by treaty or otherwise, as against the Philippine Islands, any right, except it be the right to conquer them, and if such right be claimed, it exists not because of cession on the part of Spain, but because of its own inherent force, and must be as powerful on behalf of any other nation as it is on behalf of the United States. If, therefore, America claims the right to make war upon my countrymen for the purpose of conquering them, and thus destroying another republic, so equally may Germany, France and England, or any other powerful nation claim the same right.
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> 5. It is contrary to the law of nations for one nation engaged in a common cause with another to despoil its associate.[65]

Thus, the Treaty of Paris was concluded between the United States and Spain regardless of the objection of the Filipinos. This

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64 Ralston Jackson.

65 Bernabe Africa, "Agoncillo's Diplomatic Mission", *The Philippine Social Science Review,* Vol. II, pp. 163-168.

was against American traditions and precedents. The Philippines passed from sovereign to sovereign like pawns in a game. The Americans, of course, rectified the wrong done to us a half century later by the grant of complete independence. The former policy of colonial powers of exploiting their colonies has been condemned by the enlightened opinion of the world. More than a dozen new independent states, former colonies of European powers, are now full-pledged members of the United Nations. The old colonial system is now going through a process of liquidation. The world is moving forward slowly and painfully towards the fulfillment of Rizal's prophecy—the rule of law and the brotherhood of man.

The last argument of Father Pastells sounds very much like the arguments of American imperialists during our long struggle for freedom. The good father sounded the alarm against separatism. The only salvation of the Filipinos, according to him, was union with Spain for it would mean progress. Separation from her would plunge the country into anarchy, slavery, and savagery. I wonder where would the Philippines be today if it had remained under Spain. For one thing, democracy would have been crucified and the country would suffer from lack of material progress. The Spanish government would follow the same pattern of administration that it had followed during more than three centuries of Spanish domination of the Islands. Has the Philippines been visited by those dire consequences of separation from Spain as predicted by Father Pastels? The answer is no, if we except the three-year occupation of the country by the Japanese. Assuming that Spain was in the position of the United States as regards the Philippines, at the outbreak of the last world war, the combined forces of the two nations would not be strong enough to ward off Japanese invasion and subsequent occupation of the country. Worse still, Spain would not be in a position to recover the country. The only defense of Spain is that in view of Spain's neutrality in the last world war, Japan would respect the Philippines being a neutral territory. This is a doubtful assumption in view of Japan's designs upon the countries in South East Asia, more particularly the Philippines. Japan did not respect the neutrality of Thailand.

We have a government capable of maintaining peace and order throughout the country. As far as material progress is concerned, the Philippines has accomplished greater progress during the last three decades than during the Spanish rule of more than three hundred years. Father Pastells, like other prophets of disaster, turned out to be a false prophet.

Viewed at this distance, Rizal was a conservative reformer until about 1890. If he had changed his mind afterwards, it was because he was fully convinced that it was futile to secure the much needed reforms from Spain by peaceful means. He was opposed to armed rebellion against Spain and, in fact, he had no direct participation in the Revolution of 1896, for two reasons: the Filipino masses were not prepared for independence by education and training. The unity and enlightenment of the masses were necessary to a successful revolution and to the maintenance of an independent status in the event the revolution should succeed. Hence, as a practical measure, he organized the *Liga Filipina* to weld the Filipinos together into "one compact, vigorous, and homogenous body" as a first step in this direction. Rizal wanted also to impose discipline among his people, which was wanting then. The organization should reach the village level. Although on its face, the *Liga* was not a revolutionary organization, the possibility of using force in the event of a showdown with Spain was not overlooked by Rizal. The very fact that the *Liga* was a closely knit organization whose members and officials were subject to a rigorous military-like discipline seems to support this view. Besides, one of the objects of the *Liga* was "Defense against all violence and injustice." It is reasonable to assume that the defense in such cases would take the form of armed defense which might become national in scope depending upon the circumstances. If violence was used by the Spaniards, the *Liga* could be expected to retaliate in kind. Unfortunately, Rizal was deported to Dapitan when the *Liga* was in the process of organization. It died a natural death and replaced by the more radical *Katipunan* of Andrés Bonifacio. Rizal favored revolution only as a last resort and if there was some probability of success. Though Rizal had no direct part in the Revolution, his novels and other writings had the effect of inciting the Filipinos to revolt against Spain. Nowhere is the influence better expressed than in the following oft-quoted verse of Cecilio Apostol.

> Sleep in peace in the shadows of nothingness,
> Redeemer of a Motherland enslaved!
> Weep not in the mystery of the tomb
> Over the Spaniard's momentary triumph,
> For if a bullet your cranium destroyed
> Your idea, in turn, destroyed an empire![66]

[66] Veloso, Alfredo S., *Anguish, Fulness, Nirvana,* p. 110.

and in the following lines from our beloved poet, Pepe Palma:

> And 'twas your (Rizal)) work, yours alone:
> For without you, our country would still not see broken
> The hangman's rope that was crushing her neck
> And the dawn of day shining in her skies.[67]

At first blush, Rizal's advocacy of the policy of assimilation did not seem to tally with his nationalistic ideas. By assimilation is meant that the Filipinos should be treated like Spaniards in all respects. There should not be any discrimination between them. The two races should be amalgamated "to continue one mass socially and politically homogenous." However, in the same breath, he lamented the loss of our individuality as a nation, such as the disappearance of our old customs and traditions, our songs, our poetry, our laws, our ethics, our system of writing, etc. If this amalgamation was carried to its logical conclusion, it is difficult to see how our native culture could remain intact. There is ample evidence that Rizal intended the assimilation policy only as a temporary measure, a sort of *modus vivendi,* because, in his opinion, separation from Spain was not possible then. In his own words, history had no record of a lasting domination of one people over another when both belonged to different races and possessed divergent cultures. Rizal merely bided his time.

Rizal admired the Anglo-American political philosophy for being more practical and more conducive to progress. The United States and England are progressive because they are free. He criticized American democracy, however, because it is for the whites only. He condemned all forms of racial discrimination and the supposed superiority of the whites over colored races. He was a nationalist of the evolutionary type. In his reform program, he would start from the bottom up. Hence, the enlightenment of the masses and individual freedom are conditions *sine qua non* for its success.

Rizal's views on foreign affairs were realistic. In his extensive analysis of what would happen to the Philippines in the event they became independent from Spain, he reached the conclusion that no nation, with the possible exception of the United States, would intervene in the Philippines. And should the United States make such an attempt, she would be prevented by European powers from doing so. Later events proved that his conclusion was not wholly accurate, for the United States did actually intervene in the Philippines in 1898 under circumstances which, even such a

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

keen student of international politics as Rizal never dreamed of. There was no intimation in his lengthy article of the possibility of a Spanish-American war on account of Cuba and its repercussions in the Philippines. Perhaps he minimized the growing interest in the Pacific of the expansionist elements in the United States. The closest approach to Rizal's prediction that European powers would not allow the United States to occupy the Philippines was the attempt of Germany to interest other European powers in the partition of the Philippines in 1898. Her attempt failed. While Rizal was preoccupied with the domestic and international aspects of the Philippine problem, he projected his vision into the future of mankind. His idealism transcended national boundaries. He believed in the fraternity of races and brotherhood of man as the only means of banishing all wars in the future. His messianic zeal may be ascribed to the influence of liberalism and masonic teachings which he had imbibed during his long sojourn abroad.

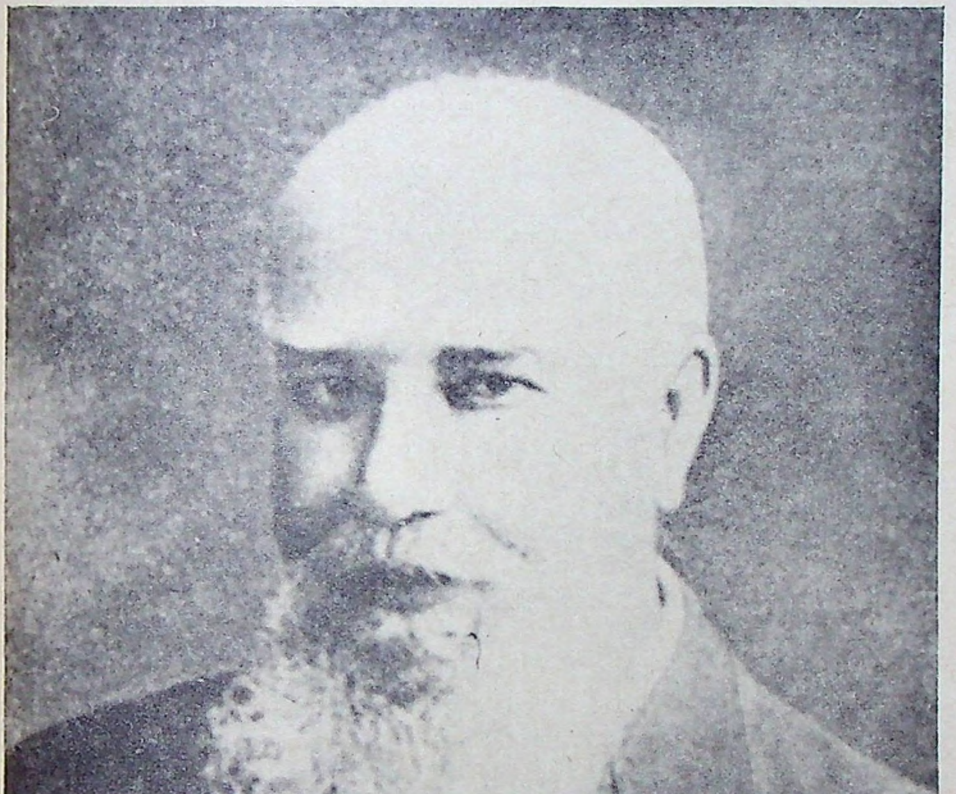
OUR FOREMOST OPHTHALMOLOGIST

Geminiano de Ocampo

Exactly what was the training that Dr. José Rizal received as an eye specialist? In this article, one of the leading ophthalmologists in the country today presents a detailed account of the training our national hero received while in Paris and Heidelberg. The author, president of the Philippine Ophthalmological Society, is the owner of the refraction set once used by Rizal in Hongkong and Kalamba, and other valuable Rizaliana relics.

Rizal graduated in medicine at the Central University of Madrid seventy-seven years ago. Even at that time, ophthalmology was a distinct medical specialty. In fact it is the oldest specialty in medicine and in Europe it has never been tied up with otolaryngology or ear, nose and throat. Rizal knew that if he ever hoped to operate on his mother, his undergraduate medical training was not enough. He must have further post-graduate training in ophthalmology.

Like any medical graduate at present who intends to have training in ophthalmology, Rizal must have been confronted with such problems as: where to take these post-graduate studies; to whom should he go; under what conditions could he be trained; as a matriculant in regular course, tutorship or assistantship under recognized ophthalmologists, or merely as a visitor in eye clinics and hospitals? While there were some basic regular courses in ophthalmology in Germany as Rizal mentioned in one of his letters, there were no organized residency training programs as there are at present here or in big ophthalmological centers of Europe and America. The main post-graduate training at that time could be obtained by assistantships or tutorships under famous professors and ophthalmologists. Rizal worked as assistant to Drs. de Wecker and Becker, two of the leading ophthalmologists in Europe at that time and for all time. He attended lectures, worked in the Eye Clinics and Eye Hospitals, assisted and performed operations and visited as many eye clinics in the different places where he had been. He was not only trained by the best master ophthalmologists



DR. LOUIS DE WECKER
Parisian ophthalmologist who grieved over the death of his favorite pupil.

and eye surgeons of the time, but had also visited different eye clinics for broadening and comparison.

It will be seen from a part of one of his letters how he chose his professors. From Heidelberg on February 9, 1886, Karlstrasse 16, Rizal wrote to his parents and brother, stating among other things: "On the night of my arrival, desiring to obtain information about a good professor of ophthalmology, I inquired for the beer saloon where the students meet, and they directed me to the *Gulden Bierbrauerei.* There I found in effect some eight or nine yellow caps in the corporation *Schwate* (*Swabia*). I introduced myself to them and in my half German, I asked them. At once they stirred, questioned one another and gave me all the necessary information."

As much as possible, I have tried to consult original letters and works and to put together the following data about the post-graduate studies in ophthalmology that Rizal had.

Post-Graduate Studies in Paris. — He took up post-graduate studies in ophthalmology for two years (1885-1887) in different places in Europe particularly in France and Germany. After finishing his doctorate in medicine in Madrid he went to Paris in the autumn of 1885 and studied ophthalmology under Dr. Louis de Wecker. He worked as an assistant at the de Wecker Clinic, from November 1885 to February 1886. Alip[1] states "The clinic of Dr. de Wecker was at 55 rue de Cherche-Midi and is presently used also as an eye clinic of Drs. Laingnier, father and son. It has a 30 bed capacity."

Mrs. Paz P. Mendez,[8] wife of our present Minister-Councellor in Paris said that "the owner of the present clinic is Dr. A. Laignier whose father Dr. M. Laignier was Rizal's contemporary and who was associated with Dr. de Wecker. The elder Laignier was the head of all doctors then undergoing training. The building which is still being used as a clinic by the younger Laignier has 40 rooms and has never undergone any major reconstruction since Rizal's time."

Mrs. Mendez continued her account of the de Wecker Clinic as follows: "There is a courtyard of cobbled stones leading to a gate in the center. Behind the gate stood the imposing two-and-a-half story mansion in which Rizal trained in ophthalmology." Dr. A. Laignier, according to Mrs. Mendez, wrote to her that his mother who is still alive remembers Rizal as a "refined, friendly and industrious man, who was held in high esteem by Dr. de Wecker and his colleagues in the clinic."

"In Rizal's time, the staff at de Wecker clinic consisted of Professor de Wecker as director, with Dr. Masselon as second man. Doctors from all over the world who came to train at the clinic became famous in their own countries. Patients, many of them belonging to royalty, came from all over Europe for treatment.

"Dr. Laignier has heard his father say that when Drs. de Wecker and Masselon read in the morning paper *Le Figaro* about the death of Rizal, Dr. de Wecker grieved over the death of his favorite pupil, young enough to be his son. Long afterwards, he would tell his assistants and his trainees about this intelligent young doctor who died in the flower of his youth, a martyr to his country's ideals."

In Rizal's letter[9] to his parents and brothers, dated December 4, 1885 from Paris, Boulevard Arajo 65, he stated: "In my last letter I mentioned to you about my ophthalmic studies in the clinic of Dr. de Wecker. I go there every day and learn much every time there is a new operation or a new eye disease. Dr. de Wecker made me attend his clinic and asked me to buy an ophthalmoscope, an apparatus that serves to examine what happens inside the eye, which cost me $12.00. The professor takes care of me. He told me that I should go to his house on Sundays and gave me a card. According to those who have seen it, the house or hotel of the doctor is a palace, a marvel in jewels and art objects of which he has a big collection. This man is very rich, has properties in several places, which is believed to amount to millions. He had a patient, the Duchess of Medinaceli, who one day paid him 40,000fr. Here they treat eye patients and train one to be a fairly good surgeon."

"I am still practicing with Dr. de Wecker. This is going to cost me much, but it will be useful some day. The instruments and cost of living are dear."

Then on January 1, 1886, Boulevard Arajo 65 to his parents, he stated among other things; "At the de Wecker Clinic, consult daily 50 to 100 patients. There are days when ten major operations are performed. There are many cases of squints. Yesterday, we operated on a female cook, who was more crossed-eyed than Emilio and Mariano put together. In two minutes she had her eyes in their proper position. Yesterday also, Wecker removed the eye of a young man who was hit by a baron who lives at the Avenue de l'Emperatrice. The baron paid 18,000 francs for compensation. The child who is only 13 years old lost his eye but it will be replaced by another made of glass which will not be recognized because it will move like a real eye. During the operation he cried only once because it is not painful. Children of 4 to 5 years, with

less squinting, go to the clinic. Also old patients about 70 to 75 years. Those as old as 85 years can be operated. I remember an old man of 69 years, who could not see since the age of 8 years, was very much satisfied. A few days ago there came a tall young man, about a palm taller than I, very elegant, handsome but one of his eyes could not see and was whitish. Wecker blackened it, which is an easy job altho it takes time. Since it is a cosmetic operation, he could not complain of pain and he behaved well. It is true that the eye is anesthetized, so that patient got up after the operation and said that he had not felt any pain. There are some who do not know they are operated and only know it after they begin to see. If I receive sufficient money I shall pay $12 a month so that I shall have the privilege to assist in all operations, all the treatments, and once in a while to operate with much advantage. You can not imagine how much can be learned in this clinic. We, the doctors here, are one Italian, one Greek, one Austrian, one North American, three South Americans, two Spaniards, Four French, one German, one Polish and myself. We all understand French. Once in a while I talk in Italian, and the American in English. The Greek do not possess anything Greek such as those who have studied Greek history have imagined. This is short, bearded, brownish deformed person. He is a Greek of the age of Pericles. One would take him for a barbarian."

Then he continued: "In the meantime I shall study German and some other things, besides eye diseases. In Germany there are many good professors. With respect to my studies about diseases of the eye, they are going well. I know how to perform all the operations. I shall have to train in studying the ocular fundus which needs much practice. In Germany, I am told that they teach this well, but one has to matriculate and pay $10.00 a month; I am going to Germany with nearly $100 which will be reduced to $75 deducting the transportation fare. If I find that the cost of living is cheap I shall matriculate and it may not be necessary to help me in two or three months. In six months, I hope to speak German, study and follow my specialty. In five months living in France with Filipinos, I learned French."

Rizal mentioned further something about the residence of Prof. de Wecker. "The residence of my professor de Wecker is at Avenue d'Antin 31. It is a magnificent edifice of a very elegant appearance, even in those places where there are many beautiful places. In Spain, I have not seen something similar. At the entrance are marbles of different colors well laid out and a big chimney to regulate the air when one has to remove one's overcoat in the midst of a

salon that is surprisingly beautiful. At the entrance there are porters to take your cane, umbrella, etc. and conduct you to the first floor by a stairway covered with carpet and old Spanish tapestries. The waiting room where one is announced to the owner of the house, is full of magnificent Swedish, Spanish and Italian paintings. Here there is a Rudesculi and a Roman Tulio by Rosa Bonheur and a very precious Rafael. Inside there are statues in marble and in orange, a fishing boy as a gift of the Queen of Italy, and there is also a magnificent Portuguese bed which some believe costs two to three thousand dollars. The second floor is that which is reserved for receptions and here is the dining room with its big chimney, with tables of malachite and gold, paintings of flowers and fruits delightful to look at. The floor and chairs have white elegant silk with drawings of gray-blue and violet. In a small stair all carpeted, one reaches the third floor where the sister and her two daughters live. This part of the house is also decorated but with a different taste although also excellent. The walls are reddish and golden, well matched. The chairs and picture frames indicate the youthful character of the lady and her two daughters. The hall for serving, that for study and that for the piano are all appropriate and adequate. We found the toys and the dolls placed on the chairs as for a reception. Those who have seen this place consider it to be one of the best in Paris and one more or less can think of the good taste of the owner who could harmonize the elegant and the serious, the old and the modern. Wecker speaks German, French, English and Spanish. Luna, when I presented him on Christmas, was much impressed and enchanted."

Heidelberg, Germany.—From Paris, Rizal transferred to Heidelberg where he stayed six months (February 3 - August 9, 1886). "Rizal first lived in a 4-story house at No. 16 Karlstrasse, about 300 meters from the University of Heidelberg, from February 3 to February 17, 1886. Not far from this building and forming a part of the University of Heidelberg was the Augen Klinic (Eye Clinic) under Dr. Otto Becker . . . After fifteen days Rizal moved to an apartment building, three stories high, just across a narrow plaza or square from the University. This was at Ludwig Platz, No. 12 Grabengasse, now named Universitatstrasse. This is a much smaller building than that at Karlstrasse.

According to Ambassador Ingles,[6] the University Eye Clinic is in the same building as Heidelberg University, at No. 20 Bergheim Strasse. It was founded by Prof. Dr. Otto Becker in 1875. Rizal did not actually enroll and study at the university. Rizal had

not matriculated. He had, however, special permission from Dr. Becker to attend his lectures and clinic. Dr. Becker gave three lectures in the summer semester of 1886, *"Augen Klinic," "Furktionspruefiung des Auges,"* and *"Repetitorium der Augenheilkunde."* Ingles stated "it is clear that Rizal's only established connection with the University of Heidelberg was his association with Prof. Dr. Otto Becker, director of the Universitats-Augen Klinic; that is, he worked in the clinic and attended the lectures in ophthalmology given by Dr. Becker at the University during the summer semester of 1886." He stated further that "Dr. Jose Rizal has finally been recognized as among the 'important personalities' who 'heard lectures' at the Heidelberg University."

On February 24, 1886, Rizal wrote to his parents and sisters from Heidelberg, Karlstrasse 18: "It has been 13 days now that I have assisted at the Eye Clinic (Augen Klinik) of this city under the supervision of the other famous ophthalmologist Otto Becker. He is not as famous nor as great a surgeon as Dr. de Wecker of Paris, but in Germany he is very famous and has written much on his live. Do not mistake these two oculists. At first, I could understand only a few words, because German is difficult to read by its rare construction, but now I am beginning to learn the words and within six months I hope I can speak it well enough. Here we do not have as many operations as in Paris. The 24,000 inhabitants which this city (Heidelberg) has can not supply very many patients altho this is the only eye clinic here. Paris has 2,000,000 inhabitants, it is true, but it has very many ophthalmologists. When I learned enough of the great advances in German science and I can speak this language with some perfection, I am thinking of going to London or go back to Paris which is the 'intellectual city' par excellence, where thinking continuously boils—and study some more under my first professor, who has invited me to return to his clinic and I have promised him.

"Tomorrow I shall transfer to Ludwigplatz 12, near the University. I hope I can live on $25 a month for board and lodging. One-half of the day I dedicate to the study of German, the other half to the diseases of the eye."

Then on March 11, he wrote to his parents from his new residence at Ludwigplatz 12: "As I have written in my last letter, I am here at this new house in front of the University, where I intend to stay all the time I am in this city, until I shall leave for Berlin in a few months. I continue assisting at the hospital and studying every day ophthalmology and German.

"In the Hospital, I practice and examine the patients that come every day. The professor corrects our mistakes in diagnosis, help us in the treatment and if I do not see as many operations as I saw in Paris, here I study more the basic principles and fundamentals. If I receive enough money by April or May, I hope to enlist or matriculate in some regular course in ophthalmology, in Leipzig, Halle or Berlin.

"If God permits, I am thinking of not staying in Germany later than November, so that I can go to England by December and stay there in the spring of 1887, to return to Paris to observe the operations of Dr. de Wecker who as a surgeon seems to me better than those I have seen so far. From there, I will go back to the Philippines and conveniently put up an Eye Clinic."

Alip mentions in his book "I Traced Rizal's Footsteps in Foreign Lands,"(1) that Rizal met two worthy personages in Heidelberg, namely Dr. Otto Becker and Dr. Xavier Galezowski, two outstanding ophthalmologists of the city." According to Retana,(4) Rizal worked under Galezowski. But according to the American Encyclopedia of Ophthalmology, Dr. Xavier Galezowski was a Parisian ophthalmologist and practised in Paris. It is therefore very doubtful if Alip's statement is accurate.

Leipzig — Retana states that according to Blumentritt, he also practiced there although most probably only observed at ophthalmological clinics.

Berlin — Rizal left Heidelberg for Berlin on August 9, 1886, after passing thru Mainz, Frankfurt, Leipzig and Dresden. According to Viola,(4) Rizal was assistant to Drs. Sulzer and Schweiger, German ophthalmologists in Berlin. I have not come across any letter of Rizal from Berlin mentioning any of his ophthalmological activities there.

Vienna — Rizal passed Vienna on his way home to the Philippines in 1887. According to Bantug;(2) Rizal visited the clinic of Ernst Fuchs. According to Alip, "Vienna fascinated Rizal and Viola so they stayed there, as in Leitmeritz, for four days (May 21-24, 1887), lodging at the big Metropole Hotel. Here he met Dr. Ernst Fuchs." Altho Rizal must have visited the Eye clinic at Vienna where Fuchs was professor of ophthalmology (not Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat) as Alip(1) states, it seems that in four days in Vienna, he could have gone around the Augen Klinik, and saw how Fuchs worked or operated on some cases. I doubt, however, whether he "assisted in some operations in Fuchs' clinic" as Alip avers.

DR. XAVIER GALEZOWSKI
Did Rizal study under this renowned Polish specialist who had a clinic in Paris?

Professors of Ophthalmology.—Although from Rizal's letters[7 & 9] there are only two professors of ophthalmology under whom he trained, (de Wecker and Becker) some of his biographers claim that he must have also attended the clinics of Dr. Sulzer and Schweiger in Berlin. However, he must have visited several eye clinics such as those of Galezowsky in Paris and in Leipzig as well as that of Ernst Fuchs in Vienna. If it is true that he worked in some eye clinics in Brussels according to Bantug,[2] this must be in 1889 and only probably as a visitor.

Undoubtedly the most famous of his teachers was *Dr. Louis de Wecker.* The *American Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Ophthalmology* [10] gives the following pertinent data about Louis de Wecker (1832-1906): "He was a celebrated Parisian ophthalmologist of German birth and parentage, inventor of the de Wecker's (pince-cissau), for the division of after-cataract, and of de Wecker's double strabismus hook for the advancement of the recti tendons. He had an enormous practice and was known in every portion of the civilized world. He also devised sclerectomy as a cure for glaucoma and introduced tattooing for leucomata for visual and cosmetic purposes. He was famous for his operative devices and instruments as well as for his literary performances, consisting of many textbooks and articles in ophthalmology."

To this may be added additional data found by Mrs. Mendez,[8] at the Bibliothéque de la Ville de Paris, (Library of the City of Paris) on her first visit, when the librarian handed for the year-book for 1885-1886 with the following entry: Wecker, Louis de—Docteur-medicine, oculist, avenue d'Antin 31; maison de Sante, rue de Cherche-Midi, 55." The old avenue d'Antin is now known as the "Franklin D. Roosevelt avenue."

According to Mrs. Mendez, Dr. Lafray, one-time secretary of the French Opthalmological Society, has heard that Dr. de Wecker was Jewish, but turned Catholic in the last year of his life. The story is that he was befriended by a royal patient, probably a queen, on whom he had operated successfully. A devout Catholic, she felt concerned for his soul and converted him.

Additional data about de Wecker may be found in *La Clinique Ophthalmologique,*[3] February 2, 1956, where his picture appears with a long article which can be summarized in the statement: "De Wecker dominated our specialty (ophthalmology) at the beginning of this century, (19th)." This refers to French ophthalmology.

About Otto Becker, the *American Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Ophthalmology*[10] states: "He was one of the greatest ophthal-

mologists, investigators and teachers of ophthalmology in any land or age. His most important writings are 'On Anatomy of the Normal and Diseased Lens', 1883, and 'Pathology and Therapy of the Lens.' He was better known as a teacher and investigator than as a writer. At Heidelberg University he succeeded the famous Herman Knapp."

Ambassador Ingles[6] adds the following to the data about Becker: "Dr. Otto Becker was nominated professor of ophthalmology on August 3, 1868 and later became director of the *Augen Klinik* which post he held until his death on February 2,1890."

About the other ophthalmologist with whom Rizal came in contact the *American Encyclopedia and Dictionary*[10] states: "Schweiger, Karl Ernest Theodor (1830-1905). A famous German ophthalmologist. He succeeded Von Graffe as Professor of Ophthalmology in the University of Berlin. His writings are numerous and valuable. He was associated with Herman Knapp as German editor of the *Archives of Ophthalmology*. He was author of *Handbuck der Augenheilkunde* (Berlin, 1871) which attained to fifth edition and another justly celebrated book, *Klinische Untersuchungen uber do Schielen,* and many important articles."

Sulzer, Dr. (1858-1918) — A celebrated Parisian ophthalmologist, one of the editors of *Annales d'Oculistique*. His list of writings is a long one.

Galezowski, Xavier, (1832-1907) — A distinguished and world-renowned Parisian ophthalmologist. He was born in Poland. He was at one time *chef du clinique* to Desmarres. During the course of a long and active professional life he invented a number of instruments and devised many operations that still bear his name. He founded the *"Reculit d'Ophthalmologie"* and was for a long time its editor.

Paul Baillart in *"Souvenirs sur L'ophthalmologie, et Quelques Ophthalmologistes du Debut du Siecle*[3] sttaes, "The name of X. Galezowski will justly be included among those French ophthalmologists that had greatly influenced this epoch. His clientele was almost as big as that of de Wecker."

About Ernest Fuchs (1851-1930), Duke-Elder[5] states: "It is difficult to think of the work done on the pathology of the eye without at the same time thinking of Professor Ernst Fuchs, professor of ophthalmology at Liege (1880-85) and then at Vienna (1885-1915), one of the greatest of ophthalmologists and one of the most delightful of men. Although a clinician of exceptional ability and international fame, it was as a pathologist that he justly earned his

reputation. His whole life indeed was devoted to the elucidation of the morphological basis of diseases of the eye, a field in which he was not only the pioneer but always retained his position as an acknowledged master. His portrait graces the lecture room of the *Augen Klinik* (First Eye Clinic) in Vienna." But he was not the head of the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic at the Vienna General Hospital, as Alip states. There are two eye clinics in Vienna. The ear and nose clinics are separate. The Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat tradition is of American origin. No such thing existed and exists now in Europe.

Alip adds the following about Ernst Fuchs: "He was directly descended from the family of Madame Fuchs, who was governess of the mother of Empress Maria Theresa." Both Ernst Fuchs and his son Adalbert Fuchs (also an opthalmologist) visited Manila. Ernst about 1922, and Adalbert about 1937.

Books in Ophthalmology:

Rizal mentioned "Medical Ophthalmoscopy" by Gowers in his diary.

In one of his letters to Basa from Dapitan on December 18, 1894, he mentioned among other books those by de Wecker and Trousseau, another French ophthalmologist.

His library cards on ophthalmology included the following:

1. Deval (ch) *Traite Theorique et Pratique des Maladies de Yeux.* Paris 1876 1 vol.
2. Mauthner (Dr. Ludwig) *Vortage aus den Gesamtgebiete des Augenheilkunde.* Weisbaden, 1889, 1 vol. 8.
3. Drawin (Dr. Deph) *de la pupille; anatomie, physiologie, semiologie.* Paris, 1876, 1 vol. 8.
4. Meyer (Dr. Edward) *Maladies de Yeux.* Paris 1887, 1 vol.
5. Miard (Dr.) Antony, *de l'Ametropie et de la myopie.* Paris, 1873 1 vol. 8.
6. Wells (J. Soelbert) *Diseases of the Eye,* London, 1869, 8.
7. Wharton, Jones, *Traite Pratique, de Maladies de Yeux.* Traduit par. M. Fuecher, Paris, 1862, 1 vol.

Distractions and other activities of Rizal during his post-graduate studies in ophthalmology. It is well shown from his letters that Rizal had limited funds for his ophthalmological training. It is also evident that he was very much pre-occupied with other activities, like the writing of the *Noli Me Tangere,* his reformist activities for his country and the sufferings of his family at home as well as his many other incursions into other fields of science, art

and literature. Yet despite all these distractions, it may be said that his ophthalmological training was sufficient and adequate under the best masters of his time. It is no wonder that he was confident in establishing an Eye Clinic in the Philippines, as he expressed in one of his letters. His ophthalmological books and ophthalmic instruments further show that he was not only prepared but was also sufficiently equipped for his chosen specialty of ophthalmology. He was indeed fully qualified to have on his professional calling card the title: Dr. Rizal, Ophthalmic Surgeon.

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RIZAL THE PHYSICIAN

Sixto Y. Orosa

The author of this article is another physician by profession and a historian by avocation. He has written a comprehensive history of Sulu and lately has specialized on various aspects of the life of the national hero.

It is quite proper that "Physician's Day," the last day of Health Week, should fall on June 19, the birthday of Jose Rizal, for Dr. Rizal is undoubtedly the Filipino physician's most eminent colleague.

One cannot speak of Rizal as a physician, however, without first alluding to him as a student whose hours of painstaking and perservering work, diligent and disciplined ways eventually led him to become an outstanding bona fide member of the medical profession.

At the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, Rizal was a thoroughly systematic and methodical student who spent his time as he allocated it—for study, for physical exercise, for recreation (this included painting, drawing, sculpture), for social calls, etc. For instance once he had made up his mind to study at a certain hour, nothing could make him do something else. "He was more careful with his time than the miser with his gold" (Laubach). He was equally careful with his money. He observed this careful and systematic budgeting of his time and money throughout his student days, and indeed, through his entire life-time. Yet, he was not stingy with his time or money whenever it was to help others. Indeed he was generous, perhaps to a fault. He would readily help a countryman financially although he himself was in financial straits. He invariably returned favor with favor.

Several contemporaries of Rizal attested that our hero had classmates in the Ateneo more brilliant than he, but with this difference—Rizal studied harder. That was why he got ahead of his schoolmates. Further, he studied for a purpose: after his mother was unjustly imprisoned, after Father Burgos, Zamora and Gomez were cruelly garroted to death, after he had witnessed injustices committed by the Spaniards in Calamba without receiving any

redress, "he decided to make the suffering of his people the business of his life."

Rizal received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the Ateneo in March, 1877 with the rating of excellent in every subject. At this juncture allow us to make a digression by stating that in the opinion of several educators the recipient of this degree in the time of Rizal was better prepared than the present-day candidate for the medical course proper. For one thing, in those days the A.B. graduate spoke and wrote good if not literary Spanish. Again, according to our educators, the average A.B. graduate nowadays does not speak or write good English. The A.B. graduate in the student days of our hero was also well grounded in Greek, Latin and the humanities.

In 1878 Rizal, nearly 16, enrolled in medicine in the University of Sto. Tomas. He took this course believing that he could help his people best as a physician, for epidemics were then rampant; and also to enable him to serve his mother who was losing her eyesight because of cataract.

Because he was convinced that he could work better for his country by going abroad, he left for Europe on May 3, 1882. In Madrid he enrolled simultaneously in Medicine and in Philosophy and Literature. His meager pension arrived irregularly and there were times when he had to live on a thirty-five-centavo-a-day food budget. In 1884 he finished the degree of Licentiate in Medicine, and the year following, he finished the course leading to the degree of Doctor of Medicine. For several reasons, however, among them the lack of funds with which to pay the corresponding fee, he did not receive the doctorate's degree. Even as an intern he kept careful and complete notes of the patients in the wards assigned to him. He did this likewise as a practising physician.

Rizal then proceeded to Paris to specialize in ophthalmology under Dr. Wecker, and after about six months in this city, he went to Berlin for the same purpose, under Dr. Schulze. Both these renowned specialists found Dr. Rizal so competent they both made him their associate.

Rizal practiced medicine in Calamba, after his return from Europe, during the period from August 1887 to February 1888. During this brief time he had many clients, effecting spectacular cures in several difficult cases and performing some startling operations, amongst them several cases of cataract, then a novelty. When he lost a case, although conscious that he did his best, he felt it very keenly for many days. At one time he thought of

giving up the practice of medicine. Some chapters of the *Noli* show that Rizal was not only a clinician of no mean ability but also a physician versed in legal medicine.

Rizal also practiced medicine in Hongkong from 1891 to 1892. His professional card showed that he was a general practitioner ("Physician") and also an Ophthalmic Surgeon. Although in a foreign land his practice in this British colony was quite large. It was here that he successfully operated on one eye of his mother for cataract.

During his four year exile in Dapitan Rizal was not one to be idle. He continued as a general practitioner and eye specialist. He drew patients not only from Mindanao and the Visayas but also from Luzon and even from foreign lands. Here Rizal operated on the other eye of his mother. The aging lady, ignoring the instructions of her son, removed the bandages from her eyes prematurely. The incident, which nearly ended in disaster, made our hero say: "Now I understand why physicians should not treat those of their kin" (Ocampo).

While in Dapitan Rizal studied the pharmacology of various Philippine medical plants. As he had previously studied psychology he became adept at treating certain mental cases. He beat the "herbularios" at their game, specially in certain psychiatric cases, by prescribing decoctions of certain herbs or applying macerated leaves on certain parts of the body after psychologizing the patients.

Rizal's interest in sanitation and public health was amply demonstrated in Dapitan. For instance, he worked on eliminating the flies and mosquitos. He also gave Dapitan its water supply in 1895. "This supply comes from a little mountain stream across the river from Dapitan, and follows the whole country for the whole distance. One should consider here that Dr. Rizal had no resources except his own ingenuity, courage and tenacity to construct the aqueduct, which had for its bottom the fluted tiles from the house roofs and was covered with concrete made from lime burned from the sea coral. The length of this aqueduct is several kilometers, and it winds in and out among the rocks and is carried across gullies in bamboo pipes supported by rocks or brick piers, to the distribution reservoir" (Public Works Reports, 1912, prepared by an American Engineer). This water system is still the admiration of present day engineers. However, according to reliable information, this wonderful gift of Rizal is being allowed to deteriorate.

We might now ask: What made Rizal a good, successful, exemplary physician? To what we have already stated we shall add the following: 1) He had an adequate, extensive and intensive educational and cultural background. He read medical books and journals in different languages, notably Spanish, English, French and German. 2) He had system and method; knew how to apportion his time amongst his many activities, worked hard and studied seriously. He knew how to concentrate where concentration was needed. 3) He was observant, thorough, had a searching analytic mind, was not satisfied with routine, did not accept postulates without investigating their why and wherefore. 4) He kept records of his patients carefully. 5) He had great adaptability. He had good, refined, nay, charming bed-side manners. He knew how to get along with people, and would easily pass for what we call *simpatico.* He had a serene, sweet, smiling facial expression, attractive eyes and a mellow voice which was never heard at a high or loud pitch. 6) Money considerations were completely secondary to him. He never accepted fees from the poor, from a colleague or the latter's relatives or dependents, or from a wealthy clint if he felt he in any way owned him the slightest favor.

7) He was completely ethical, strictly observing everything that medical ethics demanded. Certainly he was not one to grab a client from a fellow physician. He was truthful and reassuring to his patients. His equanimity was proverbial. 8) He was very modest. He was never known to brag about his medical or other accomplishments. He was ever ready to sacrifice self for the sake of harmony. 9) He endeavored to be up to date by keeping pace with the advances of medical science. 10) He was a good researcher. He described a tiny snail which proved to be the intermediary host of a deadly diseases-bearing fluke (Schistosomiasis). He studied Philippine medicinal plants. He was resourceful; he knew how to improvise things. 11) He was a naturalist. He loved the free country and its fresh air and so advised his clients to take in plenty of it when this was a factor in effecting cure. He collected nearly four hundred specimens of animals and plants and sent them to the Dresden museum, Germany. Three of these animal specimens were named after him (*Rizal*). 12) Rizal was tolerant, open-and-broadminded and had deep sympathy and understanding for his fellow human beings. Their suffering distressed him. Referring to a friar who wanted to be treated by him, he wrote to a friend, "I beg you to tell him not to believe about those false ideas, that I am a man, a physician and it pains me to know of suffering of another man like me; that a patient who comes

to me though he had been my worst enemy, is nothing but a patient to my eyes and whom my duty dictates to cure, alleviate and console . . . " (Epistolario Rizalino).

In Dapitan, Father Antonio Obach, the Jesuit priest with whom Rizal had differences of opinion on religious and political matters, fell through the bamboo stairway of the convent. Rizal and his boys collected shells from the seashore and made mortar which they employed in building a fine stairway, "which has come down to our days" (Bantug). Although the following tribute was paid Rizal as a specialist, we believe it equally applies to him as a physician and surgeon: "Rizal had all the qualities that would make an ideal ophthalmic surgeon—a keen and analytical intellect, lightness of touch and artistry of a painter, courage and imperturbability, a broad and deep knowledge of medicine and ophthalmology, and last but not least, he had been properly and adequately trained by master ophthalmic surgeons" (Ocampo).

It has been said that a physician is an educator. This was particularly true of Rizal. He not only educated his people in the ways of health and to health, but lifted the masses from the morass of ignorance. He worked to dignify them, to make them aware of their rights and obligations, to love their country, live for her and die for her if need be, even as he did. We do not have to go abroad to look for an ideal physician to become our model and symbol. We have in the Philippines our own Rizal, an exemplary physician, citizen and patriot to look up to and emulate. Let us study Rizal and his ways. Let us imbibe the Rizal spirit and endeavor to live and practice medicine the Rizal way.

LARRA'S INFLUENCE ON RIZAL

José Antonio Fernández de Castro

What author influenced Rizal most in the writing of his two novels? The Cuban writer of this article, Fernández de Castro, claims that Larra, who wrote under the pseudonym of Figaro, moulded the hero's views. Maria Lourdes Carballo translated this monograph which first appeared in the university publication, "*Universidad de la Habana*" in its August-September 1937 issue.

Many aspects of Larra remain to be studied—
Nor have the broader implications of his work been completely surveyed—

F. COURTNEY TARR (1936)

In the most interesting "Epistolario Rizalino" (compilation of Rizal's letters), published in Manila by the Filipino writer Teodoro M. Kalaw, Director of the National Library there, which contains José Rizal's letters that he wrote as well as those received by him, are found several references to Larra and his work. Although casual in nature, these references to the genial Madrilenean satirist have given me a view of the high opinion that this admirable artist and Oriental writer had of Figaro's work. Also, a reading of Rizal reveals the influence that Larra's ideology left on the works of the immortal Malayan revolutionary.

Born in the Philippines in 1861, José Rizal was a poet and novelist of Tagalog blood and Spanish phraseology.

He studied as a child in the Jesuit School in Manila, but left after the Spanish government and the religious groups unleashed a series of persecutions on his fellowmen. Rizal was obliged to go to Spain where he graduated from the University of Madrid with the degree of Doctor in Medicine and master in Philosophy and Letters. Then he traveled through the Europe to widen his knowledge and prepare plans for the liberty of his country. All throughout his life Rizal was the bitterest enemy of colonial and religious rule, as he saw it imposed on his native land by the Spanish government and the Catholic Church.

Constantly harassed by these two dominating oligarchies, Rizal learned to develop his mind in the midst of rigid conditions, sacrificing all on the altars of his ideal.

His was one of the most consummate minds ever produced in the history of colonial countries. This young Oriental of Chinese and Malayan ancestry with no trace of Aryan blood (sic) was considered a scholar by the Europeans in the different disciplines of the arts and sciences. In Paris he stood out as an ophthalmologist and his researches in philology and ethnography in the German centers of learning were highly admired.

He was also a musician, painter and sculptor and incidentally, an inspiration to many women in different countries.

During the Revolution of 1896, and as early as 1892 when Rizal was in exile in the solitary town of Dapitan, the Spanish authorities hurriedly sent him to Spain in order to get rid of him. They feared that his very presence in the archipelago would give greater impetus to the freedom movement, which this tireless militant had praised and fostered, if not actually headed. On the pretext that Rizal had asked to join the medical troops of the Spanish army fighting a similar movement in Cuba, the Captain General of the Philippines had him shipped almost forcibly to Barcelona. Landing at Barcelona where a big and influential Filipino colony flourished, Rizal was immediately detained at Montjuich Castle for twenty-four hours. Well guarded by police, he was returned to Manila, where a chain of absurd accusations were hurled at him, keeping him in determinate imprisonment. The machinations of a Military Tribunal influenced by the friars who controlled the government in Spain condemned Rizal to be shot for treason. The sentence was carried out on December 30, 1896, before a people afflicted by the death of their beloved leader.

During the remaining hours of his life spent in the Royal Fort of Santiago, Rizal wrote the world-famed poem *"Mi Ultimo Adios"* singing to his "idolized country" in tender and virile lines.

In spite of having been a militant fighter against cruel oppression which in his country was identified with Spanish monarchy and her allies, the author of *El Filibusterismo,* like José Martí, drew nourishment for his soul from the books of the great Spanish writers, all lovers of liberty. Foremost among these is Mariano José de Larra, for whom Rizal felt a deep admiration, as his letters constantly reveal.

After the appearance of his tremendous first novel *Noli Me Tángere,* published in Berlin in 1887, Rizal had to leave his coun-

try again in the year 1888, because of the revolutionary ideas he preached in the book. He left Manila and after visiting Hongkong, Macao and Japan (where he studied its pictorial art before it became fashionable in Europe) he went to San Francisco. From this city he wrote his friend and countryman Mariano Ponce in Barcelona in a letter dated April 30, 1888, asking him for copies of the books of Figaro to be delivered to London where he would proceed after traveling through the United States:

> "I am now in America, bound for Europe. I intend to spend some time in London, from where I will write you. Please get me the complete works of Larra and mail them to me (José Rizal, Esq. Biliter Street 12, London). I will pay for them with the proceeds from the sole of my books in Barcelona. Larra's books are published by the *Biblioteca Universal.* If I do not have enough money in Barcelona and you (or somebody else) could pay for me, I shall remit the amount to you on my arrival at London, including cost, shipment etc... The books can be mailed as printed matter etc. I am sorry to have to bother you but I am eager to read these maserpieces in order to bring me up-to date with the language."

I find the preceding paragraph greatly important for the purpose of this work, to point out as much as possible the influence of Figaro's works on the writing of the Filipino revolutionary. I shall expound further on this.

If we recall that José Rizal was a man of fine taste and wide literary culture, we can appreciate the great respect he had for Larra as a writer. This Oriental patriot, about whom the Cuban critic Antonio Irairoz wrote an interesting article,[1] was a wide reader of Spanish, Latin, French, Italian and English classics; he mastered these languages as well as Dutch, German, Japanese, Russian, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and an infinity of Oriental languages.

At the very moment that he was ordering the books of this author, Rizal was preparing to write the second volume of *Noli Me Tángere: "El Filibusterismo."* Rizal's attention was drawn to this man, whom he wanted to read again, and through an exchange of letters acquired a mastery of the Spanish language which the Filipino undoubtedly showed in his two best-known literary works.

To read Figaro was an obsession with Rizal. Upon his arrival in London, he wrote again to Mariano Ponce, on June 5, 1888, reminding him of his order of "a copy of the complete works of

[1] Irairoz, Antonio. *José Rizal,* Habana 1929. This Cuban writer was a former Ambassador to Spain and now lives on his *finca* outside Habana.

Figaro or Larra, published by the Universal Library" to be sent to London. Ponce hurriedly sent to London on June 13, a "collection of articles" of the author.

Three days later, Rizal, from his London address at 37 Chalcot Crescent, wrote to his friend, acknowledging receipt of his letter and the articles, but added:

> "Although I am very pleased with your remittance, because you have sent me the best articles of the best Spanish prose-writer of this century (with the last phase underlined) please send me his complete works published by the *Biblíoteca Universal,* similar to the *Physical World, Works of the Duke of Rivas,* etc. I prefer the complete works of any great author to his selections. I shall keep, however, what you have sent me, and compare them with the complete works, for I think that every little work of a great author is worthy of study, and it is very hard to determine which are the superior and which the inferior works."

In the transcribed paragraph, Rizal enlarges on his views on Larra. Rizal once said that Larra was a creator of "masterpieces" in Spanish. Now he call him "a great man" and impatiently awaits the complete works of Figaro, because the selections sent him are not enough, for he intends to make a study of the Spanish writer, among whose works "it is hard to determine which are the superior and which the inferior works."

On the 22nd of the same month, Ponce answers Rizal's letter of the 16th, giving an account of difficulties in the postal service. The volume he orders exceeds the limit weight by "two kilograms," and there is no postal package service between Spain and England. Ponce apologizes for sending him the "incomplete"[2] edition and begs him to wait in patience for the complete works.

Most remarkable in this repeated wish of the Filipino revolutionary to read Larra "in his complete works" is that it manifested itself amidst a confused and active life. His *Noli Me Tángere* is the target of the bitterest criticism on the part of his detractors, his political enemies, i.e. the Spanish government and the Catholic Church in the Philippines, and of the underlings of these two institutions, a criticism that even the personality of the author could not halt.

Rizal replied to these criticisms (relayed to him by Ponce) by gathering references and looking for new markets for his book

[2] According to descriptions of Larra's books given and the approximate dates mentioned, I would think that the edition requested by Rizal was published by Montañer and Sison in Barcelona, 1886, entitled "Complete works of Mariano José de Larra." The volume first sent him by Ponce could have been any one of these two which were published simultaneously in Barcelona: "Figaro—Collection of Works," 1884, or "M. J. de Larra—Collection of Selected Works," 1885, with a prologue by J. Ixart.

in order to spread its revolutionary ideas. Yet, on June 27, he writes again to Ponce, asking him to send "Larra's book" through some Filipino friends in Paris, and adds his gratitude for his mistake in the remittance, for,

> "The edition you sent me is very useful and if you had not sent it to me, I would have ordered it the moment I learned of its existence. You need not apologize—in fact, I have much to thank you for."

Finally, on July 4, Ponce sent the "Complete Works of Larra" through a mutual friend living in Paris. He informs Rizal in the same letter that, as a result of serious happenings in the Philippines, the Spanish authorities have declared "a state of siege on Manila and other provinces, in order to do away with certain distinguished citizens," alluding no doubt to the followers of the independence movement in that Spanish colony.

Rizal allows a few days to pass. Then, on the 21st of the same month, he sends him a postal card in Tagalog, thanking him for "Larra's big book"[3] and the news concerning their country.

On July 27, Rizal again writes to Ponce this time in Spanish. Obviously he has read the volume, for he says:

> "I like Larra's book immensely. I find him weak though, in his plays."

This opinion of the eminent Spanish satirist is well founded for if he was genial and incomparable in his original productions, the same thing cannot be said of him in his plays. Whether as translations or adaptations of French dramas (of Figaro's contemporaries), these are in their entirety neither very original nor brilliant.

Rizal had long had a deep admiration for Larra, and must have been acquainted with his plays. He must certainly have read his *"Al Pobrecito Hablador"* even before June of 1888, otherwise how could such a man as Rizal, of so many and varied intellectual and ideological activities, come to think of so uncommon a writer, in the midst of his travels? Larra's books, even for the intellectuals among the Spaniards of those times, and much less the masses, were no light reading matter. At the time Rizal had ordered the books, he was in San Francisco, after crossing the Pacific, where he had come from Japan, a fugitive from his home, leaving behind him his beloved library.

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[3] This line confirms the opinion that the edition which Rizal wanted to reread was that edited by Montañer and Simon, for the volume in its format contains almost 900 pages. It is indeed a "big book."

But to the parched spirit of Rizal during this period, Larra's work was a solitary fountain, a clear spring that freshened and invigorated the avid mind of the Filipino. Enough to read the first novel of the Tagalog writer, his *Noli Me Tángere* to perceive Larra's deep influence, not only on the style, but in the creation of the characters, in the similarity of sentiments and aspirations.

Fray Dámaso, one of Rizal's characters, thinks, speaks, and acts like the Carlist curate of *"Nadie Pase sin Hablar con el Portero."*

On the other hand, Rizal portrays his hero Juan Crisóstomo Ibarra in the *Noli Me Tángere* with the same frank delight of Larra with his hero Macias in his novel *"El Doncel"*.

In Chapter LXIII of the *Noli Me Tángere,* Rizal describes the anguish of the boy Basilio one Christmas Eve. In *El Filibusterismo,* the description is repeated but enlarged, in homely, quiet, desperate tones, with Basilio now a full-grown man. The sharp contrast of the two pictures shows clearly that Rizal must have had Larra's article *La Nochebuena* (1836) in mind. The difference lies in that what is philosophic in the Madrid writer is bitter, miserable though prosaic in the thoughts of Basilio, who from a frightened little boy became an oppressed subject in Rizal's two novels.

The social gatherings in Capitán Tiago's house, so skillfully painted by the Filipino writer, are not much different from the Madrid *"tertulias"* which Larra's *"Pobrecito Hablador"* used to frequent in the dark days of Church oppositions.

If they ever were to discuss religion (the Catholic religion in whose fortunes they were both to engage, which they sought to change and whose reforms they fought) the two would do it in similar wordings. Let us recall Larra's preface to *"El Dogma de Los Hombres Libres"* which he so brilliantly translated from Lamenais' *"Paroles d'un Croyant,"* let us recall his collection of articles, in particular the ones entitled *"El Casarse Pronto"* and *"May"*, especially the last lines which Larra himself later left out, and compare them with the words with which Ibarra (image of Rizal) expresses the very same question.

In spite of their defense of religion (a superficial defense to a certain extent) the reader should remember that both the Madrid satirist as well as the Tagalog poet were renownedly anti-clerical. Rizal recommends Voltaire to a young countryman seeking culture and Larra was a propagator of revolutionary thought, i.e. anti-religious.

The anti-clericalism of Rizal, just and heart-felt, could have been more pointed than Figaro's, because Rizal in Berlin was more at liberty to write and publish than Larra in the Madrid of his time. But Figaro's is no less intense for that. Larra's ideas, in his description of the profligate priest, disclose a reaction analogous to Rizal's as he describes the many friars who crowd the pages of his books. One almost were to suspect that the same person had inspired both literary creations. It is a well-known fact that the Filipino revolutionary suffered deeply in his private life from the interference of friar and priest. Larra, in his first years as a writer, had become a close friend of a clergyman professing to be a Liberal. Later and during the time that he wrote his article *"El Casarse Pronto Y Mal,"* the literary phrases he uses to describe the scholar friend who causes the death of Augusto, lead me to believe that that priest could be the model of the profligate priest, for whom Larra expresses great scorn, a rancour that is understandably human.

To add a greater analogy neither of the two writers uses his literary talent to exploit the tragedy he lives, and this reticence of personal grief makes their works poetically more intense.

The abrupt end to the lives of both young writers was felt on more than one occasion, by the Spaniards in 1837, and by the Filipinos in 1896. Their followers and readers need no references or clarification on this point.

I must not overlook the common ideological influence which has not been sufficiently emphasized by their critics. I refer to the influence of Enrique Heine, the prosist, the revolutionary propagandist, the "liberated Prussian" who was, in fine, the author of *L' Intermezzo*. Larra is the only intelectual Spanish contemporary of Heine (excepting Domingo de Monte of Cuba) who knows and values rightly the works of this German writer. Larra dedicated an article to him in 1836, which has only recently been added to his collection. These concepts of Figaro have helped his few critics to point to Heine as one of the transcendental influences on the genial Spanish satirist.

Rizal's works show a similarity of influence. A study of them will easily show the poetic stamp left on the literary style of the Filipino by the writer of *"Los Dioses en el Destierro"* and *"De la Alemania."* (Is there a Pereda, or a Varela, or a Doña Emilia, or any other Spanish writer of 1886 with the poetic flexibility or satiric elasticity in his novels of this Malayan writer whom his contemporary Spanish critics would ignore?)

To conclude this comparative criticism, I would like to remind the reader of one of the rare characters of Rizal, a peninsular who was not an exploiter, and thus revealed human and spiritual qualities. Dismayed by the bloody and painful spectacle before him, and powerless to protest aloud, he asked himself in Latin: *"Ulbinam Gentium Sumus?"* which is nothing more or less than the little of one of the best known but least understood of Figaro's articles; "Amidst what people are we?"

And now let us compare Rizal's opinion of Larra calling him an author "of masterpieces"; "the best Spanish prose-writer of this century," "great author" and "great man," with the opinion of others. Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo in 1883, in one of those rare occasions, praised Figaro in words which have fortunately come down to us by our beloved Azorin who took note of them.

To the author of "History of Esthetic Ideas in Spain," where mention of Figaro is found only once, this writer is inferior as a writer of novels of manners [4] to Estebanez Calderon and Mesoneros Romanos, two gentlemen who are remembered now only because they were Larra's contemporaries, who spoke kindly of the work of Romanos.

Don Marcelino said of him: "Not only was he the most prolific thinker of his time, but he succeeded in giving form, in a poetic way, to his pessimistic concept of life, to his ominous, but transcendental, vision of life."

But Don Marcelino immediately adds that Figaro "wrote much on art and theatrical criticism, although in short articles. Upon reviewing them now, one is amazed to see so many spontaneous growths and many incontrovertible maxims for the esthetic future."

One could ask the Sage from Santander why he did not examine in his valuable though one-sided History, those "incontrovertible maxims for the esthetic future" that flowed according to his respectable judgment, from Figaro like "true spontaneous growths" of which "the author was not aware."

What prompted Menéndez y Pelayo to write those somewhat vague phrases about Larra? Is it possible that a writer as sound as the author of *"Los Heteredoxos Españoles"* would attribute a pre-Freudian unconsciousness to Larra, portraying him as emitting, by spontaneous generation, those divinations which ultimately are "incontrovertible maxims of the esthetic future?" or is Don Marcelino hesitant to pass judgment on Figaro?

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[4] In the prologue to volume X of the Complete Works of Lope de Vega, edited by Menéndez y Pelayo, there is a reference to Larra's novel *El Doncel*.

I am inclined to believe that Doctor Menéndez, as our Manuel Sanguily called him, was afraid to confront Larra's works because his ideas did not conform with Catholic views.

I hope to find, between the somewhat evasive judgment of Menéndez y Pelayo and my own concerning the Filipino revolutionary, an antithesis that will finally judge Larra.

When Rizal was rereading Larra in London, and finishing his novel *"El Filibusterismo,* he was as old as the Spanish writer who cut short his life by his own hands. Well did the Filipino revolutionary know his people (delivered to centuries of governmental unruliness and vile obscurantist exploitations) well enough not to proffer his anti-friar arguments, strongly anti-friar, in his militant novels. In the same manner did Larra develop his arguments in the prologue to his courageous translation of *"Paroles d'un Croyant,"* by Robert de Lamennais. Some of Larra's ideas, boldly anti-clerical for his time, fearlessly pro-liberty, are enlarged and reproduced by Rizal in his writings, especially in his famous "Letter to the Young Women of Malolos."

Except for differences in time, place, style etc. it can be affirmed that some ideas in this work (Letter to the Women) of the Filipino revolutionary are intended to open the innocent eyes of his ill-treated compatriots, and which Larra could have written for the Spain of his era, addressing them to the people of Valladolid in 1825 or of Seville in 1828. In spite of its having been written in Tagalog, its Spanish translation has turns of phrases reminiscent of Figaro, for according to testimony just mentioned, Rizal loved to read and reread the works of Larra.

Besides the similarities already mentioned, there are still others as profound. Both make use of literature to propagate their ideologies, which have many points in common. Each one, in his own way, handles the art of writing to express the intellectual progress or retardation of the times in which they lived. Larra denounces to posterity such figures as the Minister, the robust Carlist priest, the rebel, the rake, etc. all Spanish, human, universal, in their molds. Rizal portrays the *gobernadorcillos,* the *castilas* (men who were to the Philippines what the conservatives were to America at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the volunteers to Cuba) and the friars, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans who abounded in the Philippines. The distance of fifty years between Figaro and Rizal shows an indisputable kinship, a bond between them. Never, too, did either of them descend to vulgarity in style.

If it were not pushing the point too far, I would go into a comparison between other works of both writers like their letters. Figaro wrote the Civil-Governor of the province of Zamora, Don Pedro Pascual Oliver, in reply to comments of the obscure gentleman on a certain article of the latter. Likewise, Rizal wrote to the equally obscure gentleman, Don Vicente Barrantes, regarding the Tagalog theater. True to his name, Don Vicente aimlessly hurled his attacks as he did in his famous debates with the Cuban writers Rafael Maria Merchan and Manuel de la Cruz. Although their ideas were conceived and framed with distinct ends, a similarity runs throughout to prove the influence of Larra's works and literary technique on the Filipino writer. I am sure, too, that in the numerous newspapers articles of Rizal (some of them written after rereading Larra), and in his contributions to the *La Solidaridad,* these influences can be seen with greater clarity and force.

After pointing out the stamp left on Rizal's spirit by a constant reading of Larra, the Filipino's somewhat banal phrase found in his letter of July 27, 1888 will be better understood. It was a phrase that he emphasized after rereading once more the "Complete Works of Figaro" which he had been clamoring for five long months.

"I like the book immensely, I like that woman very much, I like that country very much" is a Latin-American expression, and judging from Rizal's phrase, also Spanish Filipino, whenever a book, a woman, a country, a political theory or a philosophical theory takes hold of us completely. When we see eye to eye with a book, a philosophical theory, a passage, a woman, we have only one way of saying it: I like it immensely. Rizal in using that phrase that apparently is too trivial when applied to Larra, has given the highest praise that a man of his descent, mental education, spiritual habits and activities could ever give another man. Rizal "liked Larra immensely." Why say it in other words?

The natural anti-friar feelings of Rizal found their image in Figaro. As Azorín said, Figaro was the most fearless anti-friar of his time, as evinced by repeated allusions in the works of our beloved writer.

This very anti-clericalism of Larra (a fierce and righteous hatred that influenced Rizal and other men dedicated to similar enterprises) was the very cause that prompted Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, a learned, well-informed, but over-Catholic writer to avoid passing full judgment on Larra. And when he found himself obliged to do so to complete the thesis he was writing, he did so in a disconcerting way.

I am reminded of Piñeyro's words about Don Marcelino: "Since he did not have the glory of writing an essay on 'Catholicism, Liberalism and Socialism,' he wanted to be remembered as the author of 'In the Bosom of the Holy Catholic Church.' Don Juan Donoso Cortés is precisely the writer who most truly represents Spanish thought in the nineteenth century, and is the human and intellectual antipode of the unforgettable author of *'La Planta Nueva'*."

A reluctant admirer of Cortes' genuine worth, Menéndez y Pelayo felt a vast distance between them. "Not even his life could please him.—Fancy that, friends—Don Marcelino writing of an adulterer in the flesh.—not in literary works—and a suicide who did not even have the grace of dying in a Byronic way."

Larra was, to Dr. Menéndez, a pure filibuster, a heretic. For this reason, his views on Figaro could not be as sure or his judgment as right as Rizal's. The Filipino identified himself with the Madrid satirist in aspirations and ideals. Not satisfied with patterning his prose after *"El Pobrecito Hablador,"* he also follows his critical methods and bases the character of his novels on the same mold.

As a final argument, let me quote Rizal's own words in a letter to his friend Mr. Blumentritt, in which he exposes his idea of the *Noli Me Tángere* and then explains his literary method:—

> "I have recounted our errors and our faults. I have exposed our acceptance of miseries, in utter helplessness. When there was reason for such miseries, I have exculpated them. I have not grieved over our misfortunes, but laughed at them.
>
> Who will wish to read a book filled with sadness? Sorrow is best hid under laughter!"

—words that seem to flow from Figaro's pen.

MYTHOLOGY IN RIZAL'S NOVELS

Armando J. Malay

The two novels of Rizal are replete with allusions from Greek and Roman mythology. Here, for the first time, a local writer has traced the origins of these references. Mr. Malay recently wrote a book on Filipino folklore, and is on the editorial staff of the *Manila Times* and a local university where he teaches journalism courses.

In many of Rizal's writings, particularly his two novels, one finds allusions to Greek and Roman mythology. This is to be expected, since Rizal received, both in the Philippines and in Spain, the classical education of his time. In these days of more practical education, students who are not assiduous enough might gloss over the allusions to Greek and Roman mythology in Rizal's writings, and thereby miss much of the beauty of these works. How Rizal made use of the numerous gods, goddesses and other other-world figures of Mt. Olympus will be shown in this article. For convenience, the novel *Noli Me Tangere* will be taken up first. Pages refer to the English translation of the two novels by Dr. Jorge C. Bocobo, published by R. Martinez and Sons in 1956.

During his idyll on the *azotea* with Maria Clara, Crisostomo Ibarra renewed his profession of love for the young woman. "The thought of you," he said, "has neutralized the effect of the lotus of Europe which obliterates from the mind of many of our traveling countrymen the hopes and the misfortune of our beloved country!" (page 48) Here Rizal made reference to the Lotus Eaters in Homer's *The Odyssey.* Ordered by Ulysses (also known as Odysseus) to find out what kind of people inhabited a certain island, his sailors found a hospitable people who served them the lotus plant which, when eaten, makes the eater lose all thoughts of home and wish to remain in that country. Ibarra's mention of the "lotus of Europe" was rooted in fact in Rizal's life. When he first arrived in Spain in 1882, Rizal found other Filipino young men, most of them sons of rich families, squandering their time and money on the fleshpots of Spanish cities, forgetting the sufferings of their

native land. Rizal himself inspired these Filipino "lotus eaters" to forget their ways and to work for their country.

During the same idyll, Maria Clara recalled how as children they would take a bath in the river. "All of a sudden you disappeared, and when you returned you brought a garland of orange leaves and blossoms which you placed on my head, calling me Chloe; for yourself you wove another wreath made of vines." (page 51) Chloe is the female half of a pair of unsophisticated lovers in a Greek pastoral, the male half being Daphnis.

Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers, comes in for mention in Chapter X which describes the sylvan town of San Diego, the home of the Ibarras. Speaking of the forest on the edge of the town, Rizal says, "Tropical vegetation develops freely; thickets, brambles, screens of intertwining vines pass from tree to tree, hang from the branches, cling to the branches and to the soil; and as if Flora was not yet satisfied, she plants on plants; moss and fungi live on many a slit bark, and air plants, like gracious guests, mingle their embraces with the leaves of hospitable trees." (page 65)

Rizal used the Medusa twice, once to describe the head of the chief sacristan who killed little Crispin and then to describe Doña Consolacion, the mistress of the *alferez*. Medusa was one of the Gorgons, women monsters with wings and snaky hair. No mortal could look at them and live. Rizal's description of the chief sacristan: "But a head appeared from out of the bottom of the little staircase which led to the main story. This head, like that of the Medusa, froze the words on the little boy's lips . . . It was a long, thin head, with long black hair . . . " (page 95) Doña Consolacion was also described as a Medusa (page 289) evidently because of her ugly face and the unkempt hair which resembled the snaky hair of the original woman monster.

One of the most beautiful uses of Greek mythology by Rizal is found in chapter XXIV, where the lecherous Father Salvi is shown gloating over the exposed legs of Maria Clara and her girl companions as they waded in the brook. As Father Salvi, hidden in the bushes, followed the girls, Rizal described him thus: "Pale and motionless, the religious Actaeon beheld that shy Diana." (page 171) Actaeon was a famous hunter and one of the students of Chiron, the good and wise Centaur. He was changed into a stag when he accidentally came upon Diana (also known as Artemis) as she was bathing. His own dogs tore him to pieces. Diana, on the other hand, was the twin sister of Apollo, daughter of Zeus and Leto. She was the Lady of Wild Things, hunstman-in-chief

to the gods. She is also called Phoebe or Selena, although the names were not hers originally.

For his donation of a schoolhouse to San Diego, Ibarra was hailed in one of the Manila papers as "the devotee of Minerva who had gone to the Mother Country to greet the genuine soil of the arts and sciences, x x x." (page 204) Minerva, Zeus' favorite child, is the embodiment of wisdom, reason and purity.

The Manila newspaper correspondent who attended the lavish fiesta of San Diego, makes reference to two mythological figures, Terpsichore and Morpheus. Wrote the correspondent: "Homage was therefore paid to Terpsichore in many houses, especially in that of the cultured Filipino millionaire, to which we were all invited for dinner x x x (page 217) Therefore, while I recover my vigor in the arms of Morpheus, or that is to say, in the rattan bed of the convent, I wish to say goodnight to you, my distinguished friend, and until tomorrow which will be a grand day." (page 217) Terpsichore, one of the Nine Muses, was the Muse of the dance, while Morpheus was the son of the God of Sleep who was skilled in assuming the form of any and every human being. He acted as the messenger of his father and appeared to mortals in a dream.

Many references to Ulysses, or Odysseus, as he is less known, are found in the *Noli* and the *Fili*. This appellation was tagged by Rizal on only one character, the fake doctor Tiburcio Espadaña. "But as man proposes and necessity disposes, she who had such an urgent need of a husband was constrained to be contented with a poor man who had been cast away by the Extremadura of Spain and who having had to wander in the world for six or seven years, at last found, as a modern Ulysses, in the Island of Luzon, hospitality, money, and a weary Calypso, and his lady love, but woe! she was not of sweet disposition."

After he struck his impossible wife, Doña Victorina, with his crutches, Espadaña escaped and "like a Philippine Ulysses, he wanders from town to town, from province to province, from island to island, followed and pursued by his Calypso with eye-glasses." (page 5, Fili). Ulysses, a prince of Ithaca, was one of the chief warriors of the Greek army where he gained the reputation of being the craftiest and cleverest. He is particularly famous for his adventures after the fall of Troy. One of his adventures was that with Calypso, a nymph whom Ulysses met on his journey home from Troy. She lived in Ogygia where she entertained Ulysses for seven years and refused to let him go. Ulysses finally left her.

In describing the fate of Doña Consolacion after the *alferez* left for a promotion in Spain, Rizal, who had previously called her a Medusa, compared her to another tragic figure in Greek mythology. "The poor Ariadne, upon seeing herself forsaken, also devoted herself, like the daughter of Minos, to the cult of Bacchus and the tobacco habit." (Page 484). Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, the king of Crete, fell in love with Theseus, an Athenian prince, who with other Athenian youths and maidens, was to be offered as a sacrifice to the Minotaur. Ariadne, to save Theseus, sent for Daedalus and asked him how she could bring about Theseus' escape. After exacting a promise of marriage from Theseus, she told him how he could escape. The project being successful, she sailed away with him but she never reached Athens as Theseus deserted her on the island of Naxos. She became the wife of Bacchus, the god of wine.

While waiting for the dinner to be served (Chapter XXXIV), the guests of Capitán Tiago were engaged in talk which became somewhat heated. The *alcalde* tried to pacify the disputants, saying: "But *señores* I don't see why we should speak of gains or losses, what would these amiable and discreet young ladies, who honor us with their presence, say about us? To me, girls are like Aeolian harps in the dead of the night: we must listen to them and lend them an attentive ear, so that their ineffable strains which lift up the soul to heavenly spheres of the infinite and the ideal x x x" (page 255) Aeolian harps, invented by James Oswald in the 1740's, were named after Aeolus, the god of the winds. An Aeolian harp consists of an uncovered box with strings across the top. Placed in a draught of air, it may give forth musical sounds. The Aeolian harp is the favorite symbol of Romanticism.

Told that he was poetizing, the *alcalde* revealed that he used to write poetry in his younger days. This caused the newspaper correspondent with whom the *alcalde* was conversing and drinking to ask: "So that His Honor has been unfaithful to the Muses in order to follow Themis?" (page 256) The Muses were nine, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, who presided over songs or different kinds of poetry, and also arts and sciences. They are Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpe, Melpomene, Polymnia or Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Thalia and Urania. Respectively, they were the muses of epic poetry, history, love poetry, lyric poetry, tragedy, sacred poetry, choral dance and song, comedy, and astronomy. Themis is the goddess of law and justice. She was a Titaness, daughter of Uranus.

Unable to make up his mind whether to pay homage to the Virgin of Antipolo or the Virgin of the Rosary, Capitán Tiago

was described by Rizal thus: "Therefore, Capitán Tiago, a prudent and timorous man, could not easily make a decision like Paris, the Trojan." (page 449) Paris, prince of Troy, asked to give the Apple of Discord to any of three goddesses (Hera, who promised him power; Athena, who promised him glory; and Venus, who promised him the fairest woman of the world), readily gave it to Venus, thereby getting Helen, wife of Menelaus, and starting the Trojan war.

Capitán Tiago was called the Filipino Croesus (page 213). Croesus was the last king of Lydia and was celebrated for his wealth.

In describing the view of San Diego from the church tower, Rizal describes a coconut tree bursting with nuts "like prolific Astarte or Diana of Ephesus with her numerous breasts." (page 65) The Diana of Ephesus, sometimes called Astarte, was pictured as having many breasts as she was renowned as a giver of fertility.

The nonchalance with which the *alcalde* announced that the *Capitán General* was arriving at four o'clock in the afternoon, adding "We may dine calmly," evoked from Rizal the following: "Leonidas could not have said better in the Thermopylae Pass: 'Tonight we take our dinner with Pluto'." Pluto was a great underworld god who ruled Hell (or Hades). The Greeks dreaded going to his kingdom.

Rizal's second novel, *El Filibusterismo,* not only is shorter than *Noli Me Tangere* but has much fewer allusions to Greek and Roman mythology than the first book. As a matter of fact, Rizal's reference to Greek and Roman gods and goddesses in the *Fili* are mostly repetitions from the *Noli.,* e.g., Ulysses, Bacchus, Aeolian harps. There are quite a number, however, which are not mentioned in the earlire book.

In the chapter on "Manila Types" (Chapter XXI), Tadeo sees three young ladies: "dry, bony, with deep-set eyes and wide mouths, and gaudily dressed." Tadeo exclaims: "The three Parcae!" (page 205). Parcae is the Latin name for the Three Fates. They were Clotho, who spins the thread of life; Lachesis, who disposes the lots; and Atropos, she who could not be turned and carried the abhorred shears and cut the thread of life.

Isagani, the idealistic student, was going to have a showdown with the flirtatious Paulita. Fearing their engagement would be broken, "he took with him the only two notes from Paulita, two little pieces of paper on which there were a few lines hurriedly written, with some erasures and a fair spelling, circumstances which,

however, did not prevent the love-smitten young man from keeping them with more love than if they had been autographs of Sappho herself or of Polymnia, the muse." (page 233) Sappho was one of the famous Greek poets of the seventh Century, B.C. He, with other notable Greek poets like Pindar, was responsible for the beginning of the long tradition of Greek lyric poetry. Polymnia (sometimes spelled Polyhymnia), as stated in the previous paper, was one of the Nine Muses.

Isagani was given to some musings over some islanders (Moslems?) whom the Spanish army were fighting. "But weak as they (islanders) were, their gesture seemed to him beautiful, and the names of the enemy, whom the newspapers did not hesitate to call cowards and traitors, sounded glorious to him; they succumbed with glory at the foot of the ruins of their clumsy forts, with more glory than those ancient Trojan heroes; those islanders had not kidnapped any Philippine Helen." (page 235) The Trojan heroes were the warriors, like Hector, who had bravely defended Troy from the Greeks until, through Ulysses' cunning, the Greeks were able to enter the city and raze it to the ground. Helen, "she whose face launched a thousand ships," was the most beautiful woman in mythology. She left her husband, Menelaus, for a Trojan prince, Paris, bringing about the Trojan war and the subsequent destruction of Troy, once a proud and rich city. Helen was brought back to Greece where she was later killed by an enraged brother-in-law.

After the wedding of Paulita Gomez to Juanito Pelaez, the writer Ben Zayb thought: "Psyche and Cupid appear on Mount Olympus!" (page 321) And Rizal adds: "The groom really had the roguish features of the little god of love, and with a bit of good-will, his hump at its height could be taken for a quiver; the hump could not be concealed by the severity of his evening dress." (page 321)

Psyche (meaning soul) was the youngest of three daughters of a king and was so beautiful men from all parts of the world came just to look at her. They neglected the altars of Venus, who unreasonably got so angry with Psyche that she sent her son Cupid to make her fall in love with a hideous monster. The God of Love, however, fell in love with Psyche and they were married with the condition that she must not try to find out who he was. Psyche broke her promise and was punished by the vengeful Venus by giving her several impossible tasks. She accomplished them with help from different creatures and was reunited to Cupid. Taken up to

Olympus, she was made immortal. Cupid is often pictured as a mischievous little boy but sometimes he is shown as a grown man. He carried on his back a quiver of arrows from which no one, not even Zeus or Jupiter, was immune.

The final chapter of the *Fili* depicted Father Florentino throwing Simoun's box of jewels to the sea. "Then the old man with the effort of his Herculean arms, cast the valise into the sea." (page 358) Hercules was the strongest man on earth and had the supreme self-confidence which magnificent strength gives. Without his help, the gods of Olympus could not have subdued the Giants.

The arrival of the *Capitán General* and his lady at the wedding feast given by Timoteo Pelaez for his son Juanito and the letter's bride, Paulita Gomez, was compared to the appearance of Jupiter and Juno, no less. "Jupiter arrived with Juno, turned to a fireworks display: diamonds on her hair, diamonds around her neck, on her arms, on her shoulders, everywhere! She wore a magnificent silk dress, with a long train, adorned with embossed flowers." (page 322) Jupiter, the *Magnum Jovem* (Great God), whom the poet Virgil called "the great father of the gods above," was the husband of Juno. Son of Saturn and Cybele, Jupiter was born on Mt. Ida, in Crete, and nourished by the goat Amalthaea. When quite young, Jupiter rescued his father from the Titans; and afterward, with the help of Hercules, defeated the giants, the sons of earth, when they made war against heaven. Jupiter was worshipped with great solemnity under various names by most of the heathen nations. The Africans called him Ammon; the Babylonians, Belus; and the Egyptians, Osiris. He is represented as a majestic personage seated on a throne, holding in his hands a scepter and a thunderbolt; at his feet stood a spread eagle. Juno had the same father and mother as Jupiter. She was the queen of all the gods and goddesses, and mistress of heaven and earth. The mother of Mars, Vulcan, Hebe and Lucina, she prompted the gods to conspire against her husband Jupiter, but the attempt was frustrated, and Apollo and Neptune were banished from heaven by Jupiter. Juno is the goddess of marriage and the protectress of married women; and she had special regard for virtuous women.

Father Florentino's apostrophe, embodying the stirring message of the *Fili,* carries a mythological allusion. "Where are the youth who shall consecrate their roseate hours, their illusions and their enthusiasm to the good of their homeland? Where are the youth who shall shed their generous blood to cleanse so much same, so many crimes, so much abomination? Pure and spotless the vic-

tim has to be in order that the holocaust may be acceptable!... Where are you, Oh youth, who shall embody in yourselves the vigor of life that has fled from our veins, the purity of ideas that has been stained in our brains and the fire of enthusiasm that has been extinguished in our hearts? ... We await you, Oh youth: come, for we await you!" (page 357)

In sacrifices (or holocausts) to gods—whether Greek, Roman, and even the pagan gods of the Philippine hinterland—the person or animal sacrificed must be "pure and spotless." If it is a human sacrifice, those immolated are young men who have had no knowledge of women and/or virgins. If it is an animal that is to be sacrificed, it should be white in color (like a chicken) and young. The gods do not accept "experienced" sacrifices, hence Rizal's message is that if the sacrifice from Filipinos would be acceptable, it should be that of the uncorrupted youth.

A Filipino nationalist might wish that Rizal had used fewer allusions to Greek and Roman mythology, and more from his own country which is so rich in this subject. But Rizal had to cram so much writing in a short lifetime and he made use of literary devices which he already knew as a result of his western-oriented education. Besides, it must be remembered that majority of his writings, especially the two novels, were written for Europeans so that they might "offer remedies to the social cancer" gnawing at the vitals of the country. The use of Greek and Roman myths, therefore, was almost a compulsion for the purpose for which Rizal wrote his novels and essays. That he was not oblivious at all to the treasury of Philippine mythology is evidenced by the fact that he wrote the popular myth of the Tagalogs, *Mariang Makiling*. Doubtless, if Rizal had lived longer, he would have regaled us, the beneficiaries of his brilliant mind, with much more of our own mythology.

RIZAL AS A POET

Arsenio P. Dizon

Below is a translation by Dr. Encarnación Alzona of a lecture read in Spanish by Justice Dizon before the students of the College of Law, University of the Philippines, in 1935. Written in poetic prose, the author opens "the golden screen of his (Rizal's) spiritual mansion," but confines himself to "entering the poetical garden" that is "full of flowers of celestial beauty," and approaches only those "with the most seductive fragrance." In presenting these selected poems of Rizal, he points out their sheer beauty and tenderness, their patriotic fervor and poignancy. The lecture is an inspired and felicitous interpretation of Rizal's poetry. Justice Dizon belongs to the gradually diminishing group of Filipino men of letters who write in the beautiful Castilian tongue and enrich our literary heritage.

In courses in Spanish literature it is customary to cite as an example of an audacious thought what Espronceda [1] expressed in these notable verses:

> Stop and hearken to me, Oh Sun, I salute thee!
> And ecstatic before thee, I dare to speak to thee!
> My fantasy, ardent like thee,
> Seized with anxiety to admire thee,
> Leads its intrepid wings to thee.

I am very much afraid that the subject of my short talk will remind many of those present of the audacity of the thought of that great poet. I am not unaware that to speak about a great man before an audience that knows and esteems him is not only a grave responsibility, but a hazardous task. But I find solace in the thought that, in the accomplishment of my task, the great love, the cordial admiration, that I myself feel toward the greatest man of our race

[1] José de Espronceda (1808-1842) was a Spanish romantic poet, novelist, and radical politician. His poetical works especially are familiar to cultured Filipinos. (Tr.)

will serve as an efficacious shield against the dangers that surround my undertaking.

The ways of honoring a great man in real and concrete form are various and multiform. Thus, when the Sacred Host is raised by consecrated hands, there are those among the faithful who become so humbled before the august presence of the Redeemer that, with the eyes of faith, they divine through that form of immaculate whiteness the presence of the Savior, and full of holy unction, incline their head toward the ground and murmur a prayer; but there are also those who, for the same reason that they divine with the same faith and certainty the presence of the Savior, raise toward Him their eyes as if to look serenely at His face and feel in their souls the ineffable joy that the contemplation of what is pleasing to us brings. In this state of mind one day I raised my eyes to the high pedestal on which our love has placed forever our hero and I read his poetical works in order to impregnate my soul with their aroma that, like the soft light of our twilights, elevates and purifies our thoughts, speaking to us of spirituality.

I must tell you, however, that I do not intend to embark upon a profound, minute, and definitive criticism of Rizal's poetry, judging its value and metrical perfection in the light of the recognized canons of the art. Such a task is clearly beyond my strength, and destiny reserves it to a finer pen and more select mind than mine. I will not do more than open the golden screen of his spiritual mansion, and shall confine myself to entering the poetical garden that with singular fondness he cultivated in the course of his life of thirty-five and a half years—a garden small, indeed, with regard to its physical size, but full of flowers of celestial beauty—going near only to those which I feel are of the most seductive fragrance. In short, mine will be a work of literary popularization.

To the south of Kalamba, perhaps since the beginning of time, stands Makiling, a mountain of legends that projects its protecting shadow over the town and its peaceful inhabitants. Toward the north the town is cut by a river whose waters, in the rainy season, come down from the high mountains of Batangas with deafening noise, but which slide gently through its course the rest of the year. On the eastern part of the town is a "cool lake," immortalized in his novel, and towards the west are discerned the mountains of the neighboring province of Batangas; our imagination believes it sees a little yonder a volcano that even in its tranquil days inspires or instills a vague fear in the soul. In this town, continously open to the breezes that have kissed the high peaks, that hears day and

night now the soft murmur of the water of the river, now the roar of the waves that the wind swells, our poet was born.

It has been said, and I believe with much truth, that environment—what is seen at birth, what accompanies us in the course of our first years and strikes our sensibility—influences powerfully the formation of character and the external manifestations of the spirit. It is not strange therefore that Rizal, born in a town of such characteristics, should bear in his soul a profoundly poetic sense.

First manifestation: According to Antonio Luna, "His poetic numen was revealed when he was only eight years old with a poetical composition which was the object of admiration of the Tagalog poets of the province."

"The Embarkation"

At the age of fourteen, Rizal, then a student-boarder at the Ateneo Municipal, wrote a hymn entitled "The Embarkation" that merited public recognition. In verses of five syllables he describes to us the departure of Magellan's caravels for the East, a voyage that resulted in the discovery of our country.[2] Although possibly this composition may not have great poetic value, yet it reveals the obvious facility and mastery with which a boy of fourteen expresses his ideas and emotions in Spanish language and verse, which cannot fail to impress the reader.

At about the same period he wrote, among other compositions in verse, the following: "Elcano, a Spaniard, the First to Circumnavigate the Earth." "The Battle: Urbiztondo, the Terror of Jolo," "To the Child Jesus," "The Conquest of Granada," and "Memories of My Town."

"Memories of My Town"

This last piece has a special interest, because it expresses a melancholy feeling that in not a few occasions pervaded the spirit of Rizal and of his fellow students. The Ateneo student-boarders at that time and until 1921 lived under strict discipline, isolated almost completely from the world. From June to March, with the exception of two or three occasions, the students did not go out of the walls of the college, except for a stroll through some of the streets of the city, brigade by brigade and in rows of three abreast. It was not strange, therefore, that now and then they were assailed by a profound nostalgia that made them remember their town, its centuries-old forests, its rivers of limpid water, and its breezes

[2] That is, the Spanish discovery of our country. (Tr.)

loaded with the intoxicating perfume of the mountains and the sea. Thus Rizal said:

When I recall the days
That saw my childhood of yore
Beside the verdant shore
Of a murmuring lagoon;
When I remember the sighs
Of the breeze that on my brow
Sweet and caressing did blow
With coolness full of delight;

When I look at the lily white
Fills up with air violent
And the stormy element
On the sand doth meekly sleep;
When sweet 'toxicating scent
From the flowers I inhale
Which at the dawn they exhale
When at us it begins to peep;

I sadly recall your face,
Oh precious infancy,
That a mother lovingly
Did succeed to embellish.
I remember a simple town,
My cradle, joy and boon,
Beside the cool lagoon
The seat of all my wish.

Oh yes! With uncertain pace
I trod your forest lands,
And on your river banks
A pleasant fun I found;
At your rustic temple I prayed
With a little boy's simple faith
And your aura's flawless breath
Filled my heart with joy profound.

Education Gives Luster to the Motherland

When he was in the sixth year of the bachelor of arts course, he sang in royal octaves the benefits that "education shows generously on peoples" in a composition entitled "Education Gives Luster to the Motherland." It is possible that *ripios*[3] abound in it; that hyperbaton at times muddles the limpidity of the thought; it is possible that the composition may not have "the delicacy of his other compositions," as one of his biographers said; but it cannot be denied that above all these defects and the lack of delicacy and tenderness—sentiments which the innate aridity of the subject

[3] *Ripios* are words used to fill up a verse. (Tr.)

precludes—clever ideas fill the composition. Before a sun that dies in beauty at the close of the day, upon bringing to our lips a flower of intoxicating aroma, in the midst of the solitude of the countryside when already "the night has pinned her bright diamonds on the velvet of a summer sky," or before the sea that rises in surges that afterwards vanish, converted into foam on the fine sand of the beach, it is easy for the soul to be moved and for the poet, replete with inspiration, to pick up the lyre and draw from its strings tunes full of color and tenderness—of poetry, in short. It is not so when the environment is merely prosaic. What I admire then is that Rizal, speaking on a single theme which had very little of the poetic, could nevertheless say such clever as well as beautiful things in the following stanzas:

Wise education, vital breath,
Inspires an enchanting virtue;
She puts the Country on the lofty seat
Of endless glory, of dazzling glow,
And like the cool breeze at its gentle puff,
Brightens the perfumed flowers' hue;
Thus education with a wise guiding hand,
A benefactress, exalts the human band.

Where wise education raises a throne,
Vivacious youth with strength's edified,
Who with firm stand error subdues,
And with noble ideas is glorified;
It breaks immortality's neck,
Contemptible crime before it is shied:
It tames barbarous nations,
And it makes of savages champions.

Throughout his life Rizal was a lover of education. He considered it the benefactor and dignifier of humankind, the best guide of youth, and the most efficacious means of eradicating error and vice that degrade it. What surprising ideas are contained in the little head of a fourteen-year-old lad!

"To the Philippine Youth"

In 1879 when the Liceo Artístico-Literario of Manila sponsored a literary contest in prose and poetry, awarding a special prize to the best work submitted by a "native" or "mestizo," Rizal, who was then taking the medical course at the University of Santo Tomás, took part in the contest, submitting an ode of a truly classical flavor, in essence as well as in form, entitled "To the Philippine Youth." Its motto is in complete conformity with the

central idea of the composition for it says: "Unfold, oh timid flower!" At that time, our social and educational spheres were dominated by an exclusiveness that drew its roots from the supposed superiority of the white man to the native. It cannot be gainsaid that three centuries of colonial rule have instilled slowly and imperceptibly into the mind of the native population a certain sense of inferiority, something like a consciousness of its own insufficiency and the idea of the greater ability of the foreigner in the art of good government and in high intellectual pursuits. That suffocating and depressing ambiance was what Rizal called "the ardent zone where dwelt the shadows." The opportunity that the Liceo offered —a gesture that Rizal wished to regard as the expression of the general feeling of the Spanish colony—was the "shining crown" in the following lines:

See that in the ardent zone,
The Spaniard, where shadows stand,
Doth offer a shining crown,
With wise and merciful hand
To the son of this Indian land.

Undoubtedly, the unexpected decision of the Liceo Artístico-Literario seemed to him a gracious gesture of rapprochement, something like a tenuous ray of hope filtering through black mists. And always avid to vindicate his race by giving samples of his own worth, he lost no time to encourage the "timid flower," "fair hope of my motherland," and the poets, singers, sculptors, and painters, natives, inciting them to "unfold" and soar to the clouds "on wings of your fantasy," to dissipate "man's sorrow's blight" with the sweetness of their songs, to imprint life and infuse a soul in rock or in marble and to transfer to the snowy whiteness of the canvas the riot of colors that preside at our sunsets, or the singular charm of our countryside, or the majesty of our mountains and forests. And the ode concludes with a characteristic note of gratitude. He exclaims:

Oh, joyful, joyful day,
For you, fair Philippines!
The Almighty blessed be
Who, with loving eagerness
Sends you luck and happiness.

A distinguished author has said with a great deal of truth that this poem "irradiates" something and notwithstanding the incorrectness of some verses, the style has "power" and "passion." The incorrectness of the meter is at times of slight importance.

When inspiration descends upon genius and incites him to pick up the pen to express great ideas, and vehement passions dominate him, it would be unreasonable to require him to observe grammatical and metrical rules. Genius, at such a solemn moment, would not hesitate to break the old molds, to trample hallowed pragmatic sanctions that restrain the free clapping of his wings, provided he can stamp on his verses true spiritual sincerity, making them a faithful picture of what his mind has created, or of the deep emotions that have vibrated the strings of his sensibility. And thus his poems, rightly appreciated, turn out more exquisite. If the artist should approach the untractable, uneven, and rustic rock that reigns supreme on the mountain peak and with his tools proceed to polish it, giving it a smooth or even surface and rounding out its shape, we would say he had defiled a masterpiece of nature.

"Beside the Pasig"

"Beside the Pasig," a drama written by Rizal in 1880 for the Academia de Literatura Castellana of the Ateneo Municipal de Manila of which he was the president, is, it seems, the only work written by him for the stage. Its argument is very simple and the action takes place in natural surroundings. A group of boys, waiting along the bank of the Pasig River for the passing of the Virgin of Antipolo, discuss whose offering is best. Satan, who sees Leonido separated from his companions, tempts him—like Jesus Christ on the mountain—with fabulous riches and power, and failing to attain his purpose, threatens him. The boy, or rather the Filipino people, resists his cajoleries and defies the anger of the fallen angel.

Strictly speaking, it is nothing else but a dialogue between two principal characters, so that, judged by the rigid rules of the stage, it will be seen that the work is not of high quality; but in it are noticeable certain touches that redeem its "infantilism," as Retana [4] says. Thus, for example, behind the silly and puerile dispute of the little boys over the merits of their respective offerings, we see a streak of judiciousness in Cándido, who tells him:

> Well then, don't quarrel, friends;
> Of value's every gift;
> But one thing I beg of you,
> That... with will to me you list:
> A banca we'll adorn
> With fairest decoration

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[4] W. E. Retana, Spanish writer, author of the first extensive biography of Rizal, *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal,* 512 pp., with 16 illustrations, published at Madrid, 1907. (Tr.)

In it and in this stream
Smoothly we shall sail on.
Flags and pennants, we shall put
On it, of a thousand tints.
You'll carry all your flow'rs;
You... bring the cage; you, rockets;
This one with sonorous flute,
Will go while he plays
Thus sailing we shall go
Until the Lady we see.

You fool! Aren't you afraid
Impious child, of my anger's pow'r?
Don't you know mine are the air
You breathe, the sun, the flow'rs
And the undulating stream?
At my pow'rful voice that creates
From beneath the waters emerged
These isles lit by the morn—
Isles that once were beautiful;
And while faithful to my holy cult
On my altar their pray'rs they raised,
I saved them a thousand times
From hunger, from fright, from death.
The fields everywhere abound
With verdure scented sweet.
Without labor they produced
Out of the merciful earth
Then pure, the yellow yields;
O'er the meadow wandering
Are the mottled kids, the light
Stage and the cattle fat;
The diligent bee
Quietly made its hive,
And offered to man honey sweet;
The crow at rest in its nest
A painful, detestable
Calamity augured not;
This rich country then enjoyed
A very happy age,
That in its delight was like heav'n;
And now, devoid of joy,
Sadly groan beneath the pow'r
Of strangers and slowly dies
In the impious hands of Spain!

It is worth noting the fact that Rizal takes advantage of the right juncture to say that, before the coming of the Spaniards, our country had its own civilization and was happy, but once in the hands of the foreigner both treasures were lost.

And see now what persuasive force these verses carry and the impressive image the poet creates in the last lines to bring out the smallness of man:

See my pow'r and my strength?
The pow'rful spirits that rule
O'er the universe
Obey my voice:
They follow my famous flag;
Now listen to me:
If humbly your new sect you abjure,
And repentant you come
To my altar with pleasing zeal,
I'll make you happy, prosperous,
And you'll have whate'er you crave;
The river that flows at your feet,
That along drags diamonds, pearls;
The air that you breathe,
Where a thousand little birds fly;
Those plants, those flow'rs,
Those houses and those yards,
They'll be yours if right away
Your new faith you disown;
If you abhor the unpleasing name
Of the One for whom this gaiety is.
But, woe to you, if obstinately
You long to disobey me,
For at your feet right now
The earth will ope.
In its bosom burying you
Just as buried in the sand is
The water's little drop
When the sun dries the plants.

Finally, I take the liberty of reading to you this fragment at the commencement of the drama, recited by Cándido:

How beautiful is the morn!
Aurora with her lights
Is caressing the flow'rs
Which embellish the mead.
The Pasig! Do you hear
On its banks the bamboos' murmur?
Do you hear of the little bird
The cooing varied and soft?
You tell me: so much beauty,
So much ornament, elegance,
That with magic, Nature displays;
And that quiet running stream
O'er which the bancas glide,
Do they not enchant and charm you
With their language eloquent?

Don't they tell that their contentment
By the pious Virgin's inspired
Living on this day
With pompous magnificence?

The psychological, and even the biological, effect of this recitation on the listener or reader is surprising and marvelous. When Cándido, breathing deeply and with eyes turned upward, says, "How beautiful is the morning!", it seems to us we will see soon a crowd of boys emerging behind him from the thickets near the Pasig; and like everyone, upon seeing the divine glory of the skies at the break of dawn and filling his lungs full of the wholesome and balsamic air of the meadows through which the river passes, like an endless silver snake, he cannot escape the action that Mother Nature exerts over his spirit and he feels in all his being a strange sensation of vitality and pleasure. The same thing happens to whoever hears or reads these quatrains of Rizal. Certainly no poet can aspire to greater heights, to a more singular glory, than to be able to move and thrill the soul of his readers and listeners.

Besides, I do not know why these verses remind me of those of *Tenorio* of Zorrilla [5] that say:

Isn't it true oh, angel of love,
That on this bank of seclusion
More sweet one breathes the air
And purer shines the moon?
This breeze that wanders filled
With scents in the countryside
Of the flowers wild that grow
On that pleasant riverside;
That water clean and serene
That the fisherman's bark
Doth cross without any fear
Who waits and sings till dark,
Is it not true, my dove,
That they all breathe of love?

During his sojourn in Europe, between the years 1882 and 1887, Rizal wrote various poetical compositions of distinction. A contemporary who knew him as a very young boy, Manuel Xeres y Burgos, tells us that, despite his youth, Rizal was already very judicious and that he rarely took part in the games of his companions. By nature he was not really a sad boy but somewhat retiring and was endowed with a delicate sensitivity. When he realized that he was far away from his native land and among

[5] *Don Juan Tenorio,* a drama by José Zorilla y Moral (1818-1893), Spanish poet and dramatist. (Tr.)

strangers, the memory of so many dear ones he had left behind affected his mind in such a way that his poems written during this period are like a moan of pain, mournful lamentation of a soul that is languishing hopelessly in solitude. The entry in his intimate diary dated 31 March 1884 gives us an inkling of the innermost recesses of Rizal's soul:

> When they talk to me about my country, dormant remembrances are awakened in my heart. Now and then a vague melancholy takes possession of me and displays before my eyes the whole past. This happened to me often when I was a child. I experience it also now, though rarely, but with much intensity. So many young women who could have illumined my life even for one day and nevertheless there is absolutely nothing of the kind. I'm going to become like those travelers who go through a path strewn with flowers: they passed by without touching them with the hope of finding something uncertain, and the road becomes more arid and they find themselves at last in a bare region, regretting the past. My days run swiftly and I find that I'm very old (many call me so) for my age. I lack the gaiety of young hearts, the smiling countenance of tranquil and satisfied hearts, the animation of those who trust in their future and nonetheless I believe I haven't done anything that is not well thought of and liked. I believe I'm honest, I have no regret except perhaps having deprived myself of many pleasures. I feel that my heart has not lost its capacity to love, only I don't find any one to love. I have used this sentiment but little.

In the poem he dedicated to Miss Consuelo Ortiga y Pérez,[6] he said:

> Do you want to know what causes this tedium,
> Delirium of disgust or of sorrow?
> Why so young a soul, of love I didn't sing,
> Why so much grief, do you want to know?

But he does not tell us the reason, for in his humility he believed that his troubles and sorrows could not interest anyone, and what is better than for them to go down to the tomb with him? What could be the cause of his tedium? An impossible thing, an ambition, a madness, dreams of the soul, a passion perhaps . . . ?

"They Ask Me for Verses"

His melancholy, something like the dejection of his soul, is faithfully expressed in the first two *décimas*[7] of his poem entitled "Me piden versos." His lyre had long ago become mute; his Muse no longer smiles at him; his soul neither enjoys nor feels. In the third *décima* he recalls his departure and from his breast escapes

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[6] The daughter of Don Pablo Ortiga y Rey, president of the Council of the Philippines, whose residence at Madrid was frequented by Rizal and other Filipinos. (Tr.)

[7] *Décima* is a Spanish stanza consisting of ten verses of eight syllables. (Tr.)

a deep sigh for the "Motherland which is never forgotten," and says that he was a poet, because in his country:

> There I was taught how to sing
> By the birds with their constant trilling,
> By cascades with their murmuring chores;
> And along its spreading shores
> By the sea with its noisy swirling.

Rizal the patriot is revealed in the fourth *décima* wherein he says that the ideal, the inspiration, that guided him to write was no other than his desire to sing the glories and the beauty of his country, and to say to the wind:

> Fly; and her greatness lift
> And forthwith make it known!
> Sing it from zone to zone
> To the firmament from the earth!

Poet, humble patriot, and at the same time he shows himself a soothsayer in the stanza which says:

> I left her!... My native shore,
> A tree leafless and dry!
> It no longer repeats the sigh
> Of my melodies of yore.
> The vast seas I did cross o'er
> To change my lot was my dream,
> Which my madness did not seem
> To note that, instead of the good
> I sought, the sea with me ploughed
> With death's apparition grim.

And finally, as if the vital energies of his spirit had been exhausted after his rapid flight through the ethereal regions of memory and before the spectacle of his fatal destiny—a moral torment so great that it forced even Jesus Christ himself to exclaim: "Father, if it is possible, remove from my lips this cup" — Rizal, all anguish, as if squeezing all the nostalgic grief of his soul, says:

> All of my fair illusion,
> Love, fervor, eagerness high
> Over there are left 'neath the sky
> Of so flowery a region:
> Don't you ever ask for a song
> Of love from the stiffened heart;
> Because, amidst the desert
> Wherein I roam restlessly,
> I feel my soul's agony
> And away my numen did part.

For me the notable thing in this poem is that it is in reality a self-portrait of Rizal's soul, sketched with fidelity by a master hand. It is presented to us as good, melancholic, and excitingly beautiful in the midst of a picture of depressing colors under a sky illuminated by northern lights. In it capers an extraordinary spiritual sincerity that, with the word and form as vehicle, guides us lovingly toward the inner kingdom, toward the modest ivory tower of the patriot. So that between its lines we divine—I say it poorly—we feel there runs an endless vein of melancholy and nostalgia, there floats an air of painful discouragement; but sometimes also the light of patriotism gleams and sparkles when least expected, when the air seems to us more somber, dominating and subduing everything. In short, there are in it Poetry and Patriotism, wings of the same bird, distinct and separate, but unbreakably forged in a common ideal. Rizal was thus: poet-patriot, patriot-poet, throughout his life—the personification of the singular consortium of these two greatnesses.

"To the Flowers of Heidelberg"

I can say that, with the exception of some of the best stanzas of "My Last Farewell" and "My Retreat," no other poem of Rizal moves and affects me more profoundly than the one entitled "To the Flowers of Heidelberg." Under "the frowning German sky," his exquisite sensitivity, his nostalgic and patriotic soul, enticed him toward romanticism. I imagine that in one of his afternoon strolls along the banks of the Neckar, he must have seen fragrant flowers sown by "the traveler on the way"; he must have inhaled their intoxicating aroma, and thus refreshed in his remembrance of his beloved land, he entrusted to them the mission of going there, saying:

> And 'neath her cerulean skies
> That keep my loves in their bow'rs,
> Tell them about the faith,
> For his native land, the pilgrim sighs!

He begs them to tell his native land with the eloquence of their mute language that his first thoughts of the day were for her and her "eternal spring"; that during the most intense poetic hours, when the aura dandles the flowers and lulls them to sleep with her caresses,

> He too was murmuring
> Songs of romance in his native accents.

Who will not feel the blood in his veins curdle, who will not feel something oppressing his heart, upon hearing these verses:

And tell about that day
When I did pick you on the wayside,
Amongst the ruins of the feudal castle,
On the Neckar bank or woodlands shady;
Relate what to you I did tell,
When with great care betwixt
The pages of an old book I pressed
Your petals flexible.

Bring thou with you, oh flow'rs!
Love to all my amours,
Peace to my country with fecund soil,
To her women virtue, to her men faith,
To sweet and good beings health
That shelters the home holy and paternal...

When upon the shore you alight,
The kiss on you I press
Place it on the wings of the breeze
That it may go with its flight
And kiss all that I love, adore, and caress.

If the success of a poem is measured by the effect it produces on others; if the true greatness of a poem depends not so much on its metrical perfection but on whether or not it succeeds in interpreting our longings, in voicing those vague and indefinable sentiments that man feels, that agitate his soul, but that in general he is incapable of expressing, then it can be said that this poem of Rizal is truly great. It is the poem of the Motherland; it is the poem of Remembrance—two of the greatest loves of man on earth.

"My Retreat"

At Dapitan where Rizal was exiled about the middle of the year 1892, he built his house.[8] I quote what Retana says about it:

> On the site he decided was most adequate Rizal built his house—a modest house, in the style of the country, of nipa and bamboo, with wooden posts and floor. It measured eleven and a half by ten meters, a house almost square, that served to shelter him during the day, and as time went on, he lived in it definitively and spent the time there with Miss Josephine Bracken, the Irish girl who was passionately in love with him. Besides, adjoining the house, he built a barn, also of light materials, or rather of bamboo and nipa, wooden posts and floor. (*Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal,* 298-299.)

At the request of his mother, some of his biographers assert, he wrote the poem entitled "My Retreat" in Alexandrine verses, exquisitely sentimental. What graceful style, what elegant descrip-

[8] Rizal's house was in Talisay in the jurisdiction of Dapitan. (Tr.)

tion, what most natural and real beauty caper in it! Listen how he describes his lot and house:

Beside the wide expanse of fine and sandy shore
And at the foot of the green covered mountain,
I built my hut in the grove's delightful core,
To seek in the woodlands' tranquility serene,
Repose for my mind and from my griefs refrain.

Fragile nipa is its roof, bamboo frail its floor,
With rough timber its pillars and beams are made:
It is true my sylvan shack is naught but poor;
But in the mountain lap in dreams it is laid,
Day and night the sea lulls it and gives it serenade.

But the picture described is not exclusively that of a hospitable shore, of eternally green mountains and of a humble hut in "the lap of the eternal mountain." Under the shadow of old trees through whose foliage are filtered tenuous rays of light I see a man who is seeking "Repose for his mind and from his griefs refrain." He has spent the morning and early afternoon partly on the field and partly in his improvised school, and now already the day is dying slowly. He wanders in the "pleasant woodland," he is moved by the serene quietude of the forest, and upon raising his eyes, he sees up there between the leaves that break their intimate embrace, a piece of blue sky and the glitter of a star. It is the poet who seeks solace for his bitter grief, who wants to forget the injustice of men, in the contemplation of the sublime spectacles of nature.

Hear now the solemn hymn he dedicates to solitude:

The barking of dogs, the trill of wingéd warblers
And the kalaw's hoarse voice are heard there only:
No importunate neighbor or a vain intruder
Imposes himself upon me or obstructs my way;
Near me, I have only the forest and the sea.

Of the mysterious and unfathomable sea, of the placidly sad sea, he tells us:

The sea's everything! Its dominant domain
Brings to me the atoms of beings far away;
Its smile, like a limpid morn, enlivens me,
And when in the afternoon my hope proves vain.
The heart finds reflection in its melancholy.

At night it is a myst'ry!... Its lucid sphere
Is overspread with thousands and thousands of light;
A refreshing zephyr wanders, the heavens flare,
The waves in their sighs tell the soft blowing air
Of stories that were lost in the past's dark night.

Hope which, like the phoenix, is reborn with every dawn only to die in the afternoon, the serene November nights, the stars whose divine splendor glistens on the tranquil waters, the eternal idyll of the waves and the wind are described with precision and brevity in these two stanzas.

After relating in touching verses—which I am not quoting in order not to lengthen this talk—the kind of life he led in his exile, he says:

> Thus in my obscure retreat the days pass by,
> From the world where at one time I lived, torn away
> For my fortune rare I admire our God on high:
> A lost pebble, to be clad with moss wish I
> To hide from all the gift I have in me.

When we see in our time men of little worth who believe themselves benefactors of the motherland; when we look around us and we see nothing but worldly vanity, ambitions, an eternal comedy of mean passions, we are confounded by the holy humility of the patriot who confesses to be "a lost pebble" with no other ambition but "To hide from all the gift I have in me." He who was worth more than anybody else, who deserved more honors and more genuine happiness than anyone else of his time, did not want to aspire for anything, because he believed himself an insignificant person. What a lesson for our vociferous and vain age!

Rizal, a sentimental man, the genuine stamp borne by the true beloved of the gods, was dominated all the time by remembrance, so that he says:

> I live with the mem'ries of those I have loved before,
> And their names by others uttered now and then I hear:
> Now some are dead, others think of me no more;
> But, what does it matter? I live with the thoughts of yore
> And no one can wrest from me the yesteryear.

The verses of this composition that are most touching for the remembrance that they evoke are the following:

> I breathe the aura that perhaps had passed o'er
> The fields and rivers of my native town;
> Bringing back to me what to it I've confided before:
> The kisses and sighs of an adored being of yore,
> The dulcet secrets of a love first sown.
>
> Upon seeing the same moon silv'ry as before,
> I feel drifting back to me the old sorrow's blight;
> Awakening mem'ries of love and faith I swore...
> A patio, a terrace, a bower and the shore,
> Silences and sighs, the blushes of delight...

A butterfly feeling thirsty of light and color,
I dream of other skies and vaster strands,
I left, barely young, my loves and native shore,
And wand'ring round no doubts, no fears I bore,
I spent the spring of my life in foreign lands.

And like a weary swallow, I wished later
To return to the nest of my love and my parents' home,
Unexpectedly roared a windstorm so severe:
My wings were broken, in ruins was my dome,
Trust sold to others, destruction everywhere.

Leonor Rivera, how much Rizal loved you!

The patriot was then being persecuted. In the most violent moment of the storm Providence opened to him the serenity of a port of fair weather and rest. But the sad remembrance of a lost love, the ugly specter of forgetful friendship, the memory of beloved ones already dead, and the tearful image of the unredeemed Motherland continually tortured him and drowned the enchanted voice of the pure springs of solace that secretly ran under the hard rock of his exile.

You must have undoubtedly noted that I have quoted almost one-half of the poem. I could not do otherwise. One finds in it so many gems that one becomes giddy and for fear of leaving out one, for one does not know which to choose, he decides to take them all. It is not rich and exuberant in rhyme, but it is notable for the sonority of the verses and the torrent of cordial tenderness. The imperial grace of the Alexandrine stanzas and the inexhaustible richness of the language of Cervantes never had a better use.

As a distinguished man of letters has already said — Jaime C. de Veyra—in "My Retreat" the stage and the actor are depicted wonderfully: Man and nature caper fully, and while at the same time the author's sentiments vibrate, there pass in review lightning and tempest, the sun and fields, the sea and the sky, the birds and the flowers, all in their majestic reign, all the enchanting and marvellous that man sings about and with which he identifies and unites himself.

"My Last Farewell"

And now, at last, we step on sacred ground!

To contemplate a placid sunset, to hear the last song of a dying swan, to catch with the ear the last note of a touching melody that is lost in space—these are some of the greatest pleasures that a mortal can enjoy. The "Last Farewell" is the greatest poem of

Rizal, not only because it was his last, but because it offers us the moving spectacle of a man who conquers himself. Facing an unjust death to which they condemned him, his noble and Christian soul raises neither complaints nor curses, nor even ardent protests of innocence; his heart does not distill gall or rancor; he did not want undoubtedly to profane his last moments with any mean passion, but he sanctified and saturated them with love, with love for his motherland, for his own people.

It is the poet-patriot who speaks in the first stanzas—he who wants to die for country and home; he who dreams of a worthy and happy future for his people. Everyone knows that from the sublime to the ridiculous, there is but one step; that it is in making protests of patriotism when one is most prone to say vulgar things that provoke laughter or are lost in the void. The verses of this composition do not suffer from this defect.

However, the poet-patriot speaks when he says:

> If over my tomb some day, you would see blow,
> A simple humble flow'r amidst thick grasses,
> Bring it up to your lips and kiss my soul so,
> And under the cold tomb, I may feel on my brow,
> Warmth of your breath, a whiff of your tenderness.

Though resigned to his fate like a Christian, he is nevertheless assailed and dominated by the desire that almost borders on delirium to be in perpetual communion with his motherland and he asks, like a child, that the native land, a great and generous mother, kiss him, so that he may feel on his brow the whiff of her tenderness. Who will deny that in these verses there is a soul, that there is a heart?

And then he thinks of death! He sees a humble cross that marks his grave, and what does he ask in exchange for his sacrifice and his great love for his motherland? Kind moonlight, a sigh of the wind, a canticle of peace, a tear, a prayer that is raised piously to the heavens for his repose. What fountains of love, of meekness, of tenderness and charity these verses disclose!

Afterward he shivers, as in his grief he sees his grave "forgotten by all." Who does not foresee oblivion? But his soul, great and generous, rebels against the weakness of the moment and having recovered his serenity, he asks, he entreats:

> Let it be plowed by man, with spade let it be scattered
> And my ashes ere to nothingness are restored,
> Let them turn to dust to cover your earthly space.

He did not ask to be remembered, he did not ask that marble or granite immortalize his memory; he asked only that he be allowed to be converted into the tiny dust of the valleys and cities, because in that way he would remain forever in his native land and with his own people. So that, as if in triumph, he exclaims:

> Then it doesn't matter that you should forget me:
> Your atmosphere, your skies, your vales I'll sweep;
> Vibrant and clear note to your ears I shall be:
> Aroma, light, hues, murmur, song, moanings deep,
> Constantly repeating the essence of the faith I keep.

Remaining are the last notes of the song of the hapless bard! I, who felt so brave in the beginning of my task; I, who could fix my gaze at the sun, I dare not put my unworthy hands on these last chords that rend the soul, on these most noble sentiments that comprise and summarize the greatness of that soul. The last two stanzas of the poem are, I believe, for us to recite quietly like a prayer in the inviolable intimacy of the home or inside the precinct of God.

Gentlemen: In this rapid excursion through the beautiful lands of poetry where our souls, avid for emotion, have seen bloom in its full glory and splendor the Red Rose of Patriotism, the Ilan-ilang of Melancholy, and the divine Sampaguita of Tenderness, I have accompanied you, not guided you. Now it is time for us to part! May it remain on the lips of all for a long time, if not forever, the sweetness of the Hyblean [9] honey that they have tasted this afternoon that oozed directly from the soul of the poet!

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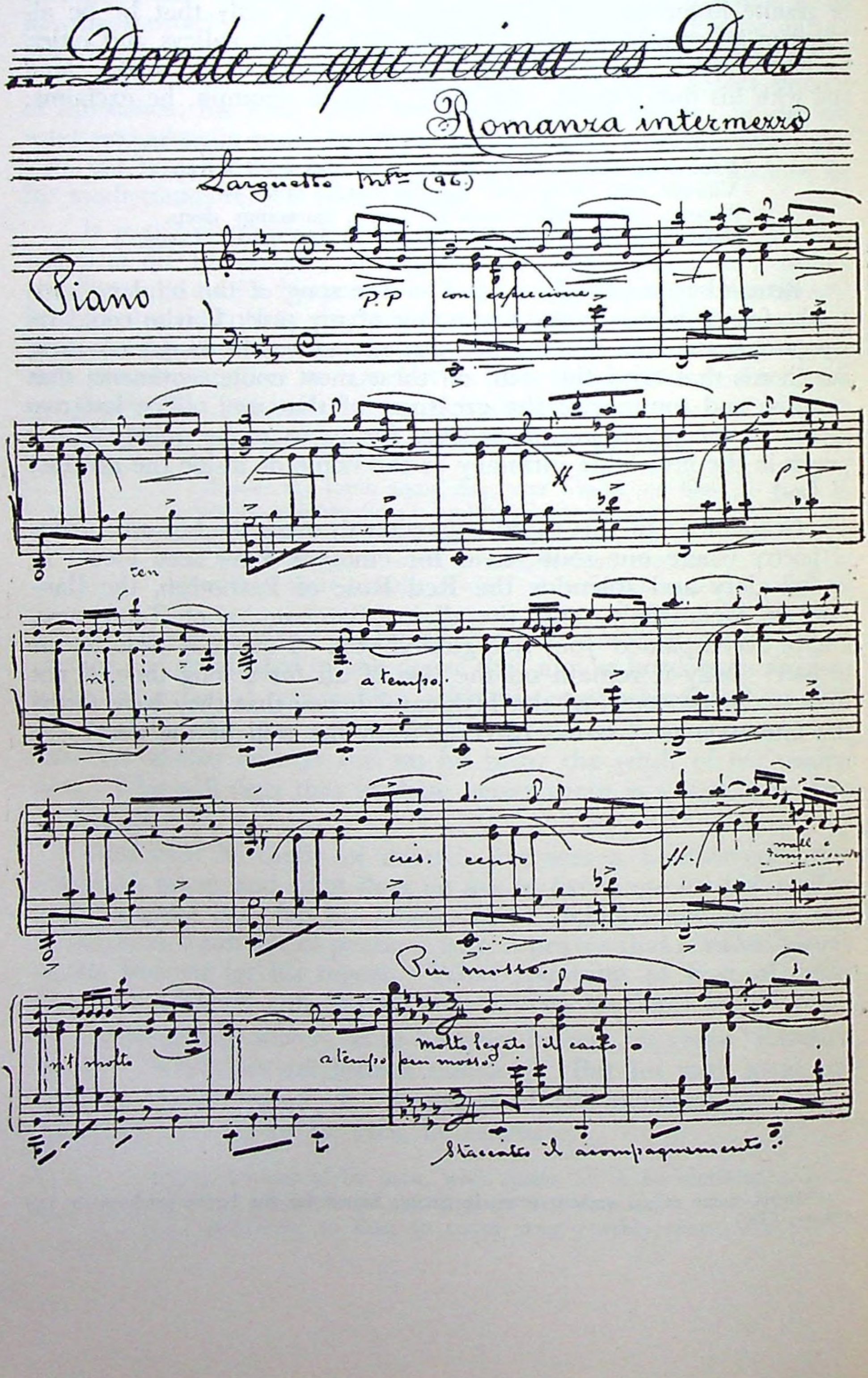
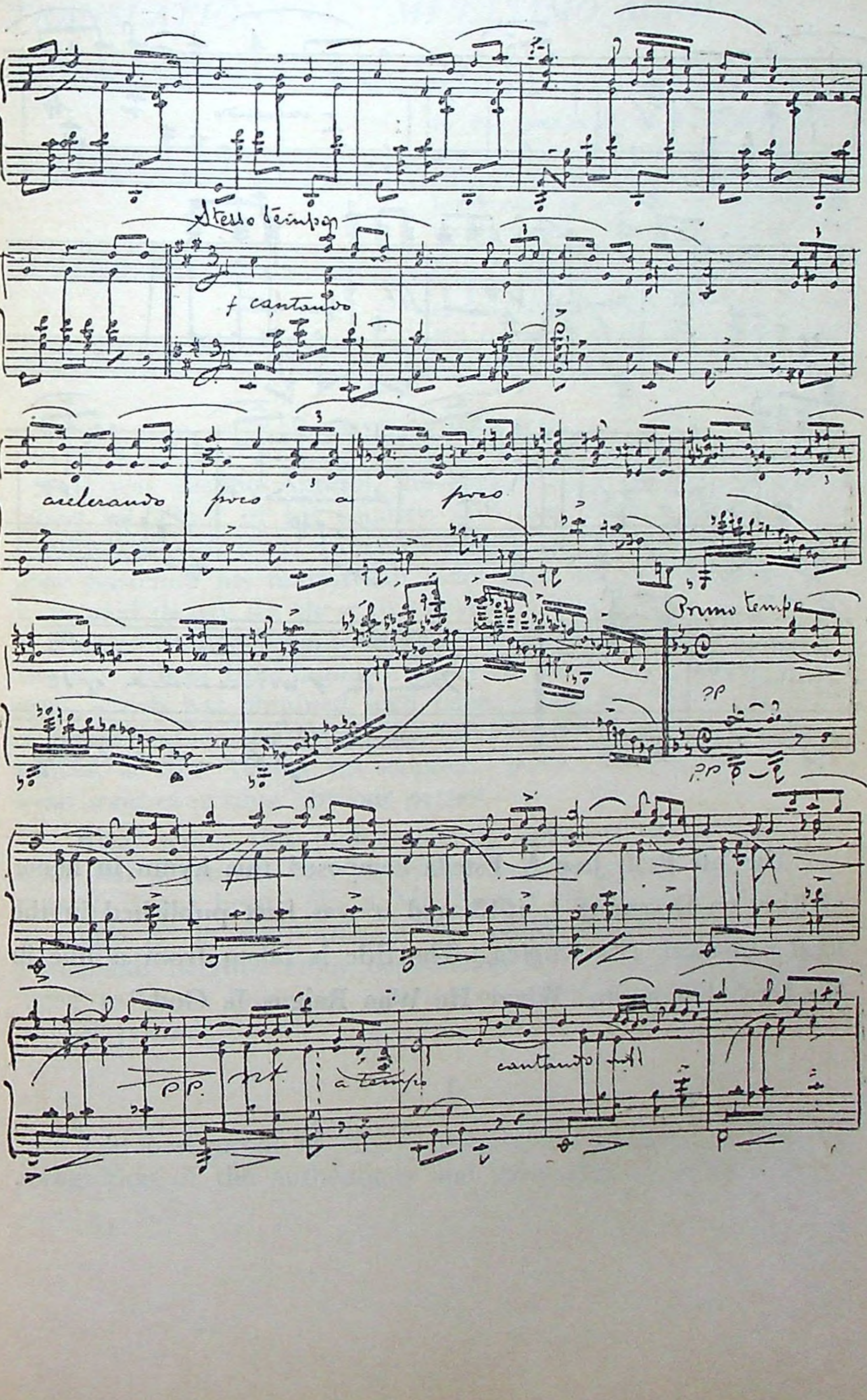
[9] Hybla, name of an ancient town in Sicily; famed for the honey produced in the vicinity. (Tr.)


Donde el que reina es Dios
Romanza intermezzo
Larghetto
Piano
P.P
con espressione
a tempo
cres.
cendo
ff
Piu mosso.
Molto legato il canto
a tempo
piu mosso
Staccato il accompagnamento


Stesso tempo
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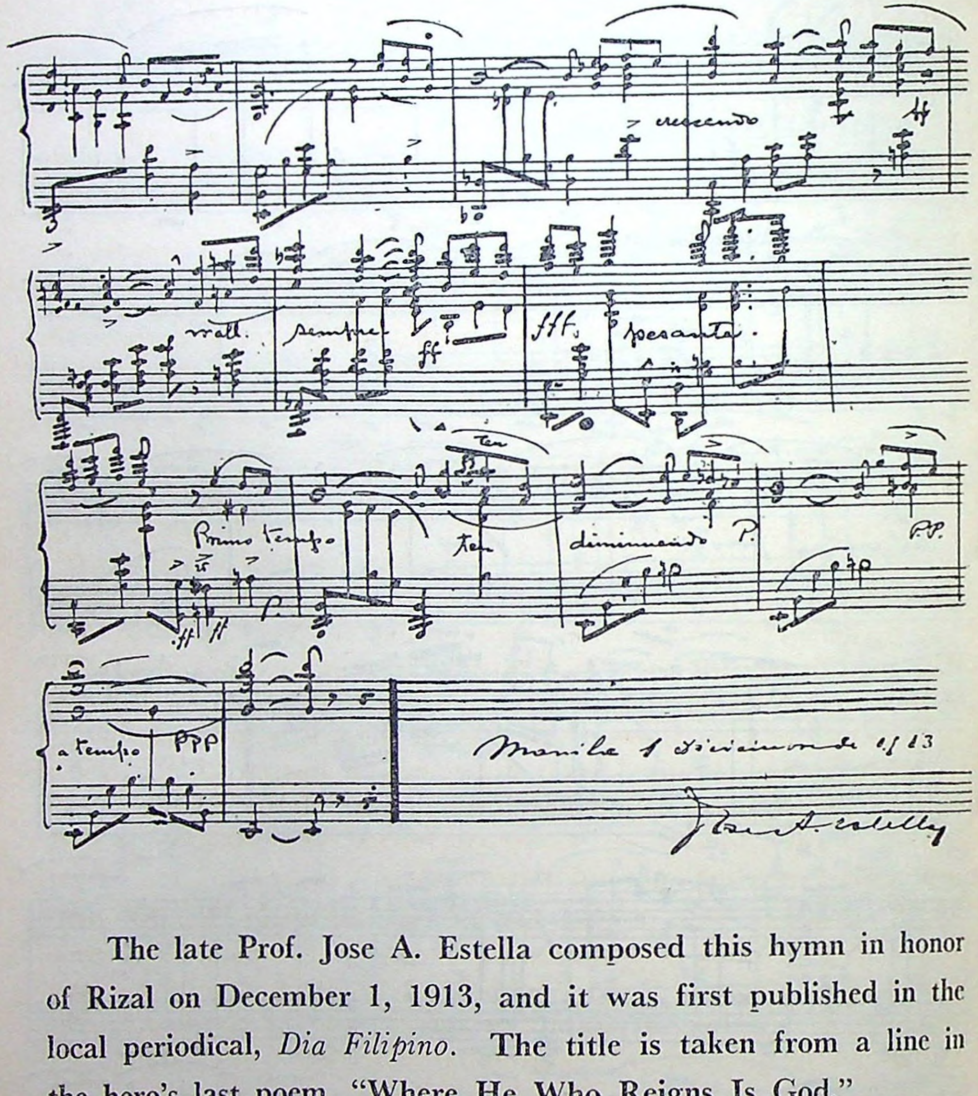

The late Prof. Jose A. Estella composed this hymn in honor of Rizal on December 1, 1913, and it was first published in the local periodical, *Dia Filipino*. The title is taken from a line in the hero's last poem, "Where He Who Reigns Is God."

TRANSLATIONS OF "MI ULTIMO ADIOS"

By Mauro Garcia

In this compilation of the English translations of the hero's valedictory poem, an attempt is made to give the historical background as well as an evaluation of the language and metrical arrangements used by the various authors. Mr. Garcia, leading bibliographer, is managing editor of the Philippine Journal of Science, while Mr. German has written numerous poems in English.

INTRODUCTION

It was Cecilio Apostol, the poet, who, in synthesizing Rizal's labors in behalf of his country, said that while a bullet pierced Rizal's brain his ideas crushed an empire. Of all Rizal's writings, none hastened his martyrdom more than his *Noli* and *Fili*. But if he paid dearly for these two novels, he now lives in the memory of his countrymen because of his *"Ultimo Adios"* or farewell poem. In the words of Don Jaime C. de Veyra, there is no piece of literary work which has obtained such fame, which has struck the hearts of more people, and which has formed part of the retentivities of legions, as this "tender yet sonorous" poem, "the sweetest, saddest, swan song ever sung" by our patriot.

Rizal wrote this politico-literary document in Spanish more than half a century ago, and since then, as an outstanding writer puts it, it has been "like a Mt. Everest challenging intrepid men to climb it" in their attempt "to retrace the hero's steps to his Parnassian heights, enjoy communion with his Muses there, and bring to us as best they can the essence and beauty of his immortal poem."

I

The best proof of "its ever-increasing popularity, and fuller recognition of the authenticity and universality of its message" is

the several renditions of the poem into various tongues since it was first written. It is estimated that to date more than one hundred different translations have been made—into important European languages such as English, French, German, Italian, Hungarian, and Swedish; into Asiatic, such as Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Malay, Sanskrit, and Bengali. Among the Philippine languages, the poem has been rendered into Capampangan, Tagalog, Ilokano, Sugbuhanon, Hiligaynon, Aklanon, Samar-Leyte, Pangasinan, Bikol, Ibanag, Gaddang, and Moro-Magindanao.

The first translation ever made of the poem was that of Monico R. Mercado into Capampangan. A native of Sexmoan, Pampanga, Mercado worked on his translation in January, 1897, a few days after Rizal's martyrdom at Bagumbayan. He was not only the first to render the poem into the vernacular, but was the first to indite on the night of December 30, 1896, "A Manila," a poem in Spanish extolling the national hero. This was published, without a by-line, in the fifth number of the periodical, *La Republica Filipina,* then published by Pedro A. Paterno. A total of four translations have been reported to have been made in Capampangan, but the writer knows only of two others besides Mercado's work, these being those of Proceso Pabalan Byron and Felix Galura.

In Tagalog, there are no less than 18 versions reported although the Institute of National Language, in a recent compilation, has been able to reproduce only 14, apparently for not having come across more than this number. The first translation into this language is conceded to be that of Andrés Bonifacio, the founder of the Katipunan and the father of the Philippine Revolution. Bonifacio met his death in May, 1897, and the belief is that his version was composed before this date and, because of this, authorities have been inclined to ascribe priority to his version among those in the vernaculars. There is evidence, however, that Mercado's translation deserves the credit; unless it can be proven that Bonifacio's version was done before January, 1897.

Pedro Gatmaitan, a vernacular poet from Bulacan, like Bonifacio, is credited with one of the first translations into Tagalog, his version having been extant also since 1897. This is the translation that had gained a semblance of official backing after it appeared in the *Heraldo de la Revolucion* in December, 1898. This and those of Julian Cruz Balmaceda, José Corazon de Jesus, Albino C. Dimayuga, Guillermo Santiago-Cuino, and Guillermo E. To-

lentino have been adjudged before the last World War as the most meritorious of the Tagalog translations.

An assiduous compiler of the poem had collected before the last World War no less than 49 texts, including the 18 Tagalog already mentioned, representing 11 Philippine languages. These did not include the 54 versions in Ilokano, which were written in a contest conducted about 1934 by an Ilokano newspaper for the best translation of the poem. The winning entry in that contest was that by Leon Pichay, an Ilokano student. A much earlier version in this language, however, is that of José F. Tongson, an Ilokano poet, who recited his work at a Rizal Day observance in 1908.

The same collector reported no less than seven different versions in Sugbuhanon, the language spoken by the largest Philippine ethnic group. These are those of Timada (a pseudonym), P. V. Reynes, Tomás Alonso, Hipolito Alo, Vicente D. Ibañez, Tomás Oppus, and V. Kyamko. To these should be added those of F. Bok and Floripinas (apparently also a pseudonym) mentioned by another collector.

In the Samar-Leyte language, five versions have been reported; those of Luciano Ortiz, Vicente A. Dira and Arturo Batica for Samareño; and those of Eduardo Makabenta and Juan Ricardo for Leyteño.

Formerly a part of Capiz, but now a province in itself, is Aklan whose people, locally known as *Pihits,* speak Aklanon. In 1920, the vernacular weekly, *Ro Announcer,* conducted a contest on the translation of Rizal's poem into this vernacular. Nine translations entered the contest, and the pieces were published in the same weekly. One of these versions was written by Walde V. Mandra (probably a pseudonym).

About seven translations of the poem have been composed in Hiligaynon by local bards of this language. They are Ulpiano C. Vergara, Flavio Zaragoza Cano, Serapion Torre, Marcelo Magahum, José Hernandez Gavira, Joaquin Sola, and Ramon L. Nuñez, all well-known Ilongo writers.

The Pangasinan versions of Rizal's poem were written by P. Mejia, A. Sison, and José I. Zulueta, the last a linguist and former staff member of the Institute of National Language.

The poem has been done in Bikol by José Figueroa, who also translated the *Noli* into the same language. Another version was

written by one L. Rosales. Casimiro Perfecto, also once connected with the Institute of National Language, is reported to have still another version.

Ibanag also claims a translation of the poem. This was done by Judge Vicente Nepomuceno and Honorio Lasam, a newspaperman. Buenaventura Mirafuente is also said to have written another version.

Even Romblon Bisaya and Moro-Magindanao are not lacking in votaries of the poem who have tried to interpret its essence in these tongues. In the latter language, Benjamin Abubakar, before the last war had rendered a translation of the poem.

The popularity of the poem is further indicated by the number of its versions in many foreign languages. The first known translation into a European tongue is that of Dr. Eduard Seler in German. Under the presidency of Dr. Rudolf Virchow, the famous anthropologist and admirer of Rizal, the Anthropological Society of Berlin (of which Rizal was a member) held on November 20, 1897, an extraordinary session honoring the hero. In that session Dr. Seler read his translation which was later published in the proceedings of the Society for that year. A more recent German version is that of Pablo Lazlo, which he published in 1934 in his compilation of the translations in the European languages. This translator has also rendered the poem in Hungarian.

In Swedish, the poem had been rendered also as early as 1899 by Hjalmar Stolpe, a geographer and ethnologist who later became director of the Stockholm Ethnographic Museum.

The French translations of the poem are those of Jacques-Andre Merys, and Henri Lucas and Ramón Sempau. Merys's version was published in Henri Turot's *Aguinaldo et les Philippines* (Paris, 1900), that of Lucas and Sempau in their *Au pays des Moines,* a translation of the *Noli.* A third translation was cited by Retana as having been published in *Un Parisien aux Philippines* (Paris, 1902), by A. de Gériolles.

The passing years have seen not only the renditions of Rizal's best poem in European languages, but also its translations into Asiatic tongues. It has been done in Japanese, Chinese, Sanskrit and Indonesian. The Japanese translations are those of Mariano Ponce and Artemio Ricarte. Ponce's version was published in his *La Cuestion Filipina,* that of Ricarte appeared in a pamphlet (un-

dated, but published before the last war) entitled *Ang Huling Pahimakas ni Doctor José Rizal.* The Chinese version is that of Lin Ts'ung which appeared in the *Rizal Centennial Bulletin* for June, 1961, but before this there had appeared one by another translator in *The Chinese Weekly* of June 17, 1956.

The Indonesian poet and novelist, Ali Negoso, has authored the only Indonesian version, which appeared in his *Rizal* published in 1950. Anu V. Raghavan is responsible for the Sanskrit version, which appeared in the June, 1961, issue of the *Rizal Centennial Bulletin.*

II

The English translations of Rizal's last poem, however, outrank all the above versions in number, and if only for this distinction they have prompted the present work. To date, as witness the number of versions included in this compilation, there are no less than 28 translations into English. These do not include the version cited by Jaime C. de Veyra as having appeared in *La Justicia,* an English-American magazine the existence of which we have not been able to verify.

In point of time the earliest English version is that of Zanoni Volpicelli, first published in the European edition of the *New York Herald* of May 22, 1898. This version is the same one that appeared in F. Blumentritt's *Biography of Dr. José Rizal,* translated from the original German by Howard W. Bray (Singapore, 1898). In the "Translator's Preface," Bray claimed to have "undertaken this work," and because of this there are some (Retana, among them) who have ascribed the version to him. On the basis of the evidence which have been found by authorities, it may now be safely stated that Volpicelli deserves the credit for the first English version.

The second English version, done in prose, is the work of M. F. de Rivas. It first appeared in *The Story of the Philippines* (Chicago, 1898), but has found its way in *The Poetry of Freedom* by William Rose Benet and Norman Causin. Other than the fact that de Rivas was a resident of Chicago, where Halstead's work appeared, nothing is known of him.

The author of the third English translation is unknown. It was done from the French version of Henri Lucas and Ramón Sempau, and first appeared in *An Eagle's Flight,* an abridged

English edition of the *Noli* (New York, 1900). This is the translation from which Representative Henry A. Cooper of Wisconsin read a major portion on the floor of the U.S. Congress on June 19, 1902. Besides having appeared in the *Congressional Record* for this date, it has been reproduced in the *Hero of the Filipinos,* by Charles E. Russell and Eulogio B. Rodriguez (New York, 1923), where the authors give a good account of the Cooper incident.

Five English translations all authored by Americans came in succession during the two decades following the turn of the century. The translation of Elizabeth Pattens, the fourth in point of time, was made between February and May 1900, according to findings. The next version is that J. E. E. Schneider, one-time assistant professor of modern languages at the U.P. College of Agriculture. This was completed, according to the translator, in November 1904, and was first published in *The Citizen* for September 12, 1918. Charles Derbyshire's translation comes next in the order of priority. This was first published in the *Philippine Education* (which later became the *Philippine Magazine*) for March, 1911, and is the most widely known version of the poem. The seventh in the series is the work of Holland Rubottom, then an officer in the US Army. His translation also appeared for the first time in the *Philippine Education* for December 1916. It is the longest of the translations. Frank C. Laubach is responsible for the eighth translation which first appeared in the *Philippines Free Press* of December 30, 1922, and later in his *The Peoples of the Philippines* (New York, c1925). Laubach has two translations. The second, which is entirely different from the first is included in his *Rizal: Man and Martyr* (Manila, c1936).

The only translation into English that we know of done by a Japanese is that of Yoshinaga Mikami, which is found in his *Conditions in the Philippine Islands* (Tokyo, 1922). As printed in this book, the poem lacks the twelfth line of the third stanza.

The teaching of English in the Philippines after Dewey's victory in Manila Bay in 1898 produced a new crop of translators of the poem as early as the twenties. To Luis Dato goes the distinctive honor of being the first Filipino to translate the poem into the new language. (It should be mentioned that before Dato's, Ambassador Romulo, while a professorial lecturer at the University of the Philippines, collaborated with Harold P. Scott in another translation, but this does not entitle him to the credit). Seven

stanzas of Dato's version first appeared in the *Philippines Free Press* of December 28, 1928. It was four years later that the poem was published in full in the *Philippine Collegian* of January 8, 1932. A revised and polished version appeared in the January, 1934, issue of the *Philippine Magazine*.

After Luis Dato, Filipino writers in English, products of the new system of education brought in by America, followed one after another in producing their own translations of the poem. Other than Dato's and Romulo's (with Scott's collaboration) three translations were produced by Filipinos before the last World War. That of Juanito T. Maramara and Patricio Confesor, a joint work, first appeared in *The Master Speaker* (Manila, c1932); that of Alfredo Q. Gonzales, in the *Philippine Magazine* (December, 1938); and that of Trinidad Tarrosa Subido, in the *Philippines Free Press* (December 28, 1940).

Three other versions came out from the pen of local writers during the dark days of the Japanese occupation. Amado M. Yuzon's, altho first finished in 1933, had been revised and polished by him up to 1943. In the same year Juan Collas' version appeared in the *Philippine Review* (December, 1943). It was also in this review, (in the June 1944 issue) that Nick Joaquin's rendition was published.

The translations which have appeared after the last war are those of Godofredo Jacinto, Ramón Echevarria (who has two), José M. Icasiano, Philip L. Bruno, Mario Cerdena Reyes, Joaquin Sola, Jose B. Pangilinan, Alfredo S. Veloso, and Encarnación Alzona and Isidro Escare Abeto (a joint work). Joaquin Sola's and the joint version of Alzona and Escare have hitherto been unpublished and are appearing in print for the first time in the present compilation.

Of the 28 translations found in the compilation, the reader will note that 12 were authored by foreigners and 16 by Filipinos. With the exception of one done from the French, all were translated from the Spanish original of the poem; only one version is in prose. Three translations represent the dual efforts of translators.

III

When did Rizal write his poem? It is generally admitted that he wrote it on the eve of his execution. Among those who hold this view are Wenceslao E. Retana, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Charles Derbyshire, Rafael Palma, Alfonso T. Ongpin, and Juan Collas. Among those who have a contrary belief are Austin Craig, Frank C. Laubach, Jaime C. de Veyra, Arsenio Manuel, Carlos Quirino, and Messrs. Russell and Rodriguez. What is the truth regarding the matter?

Jaime C. de Veyra, in supporting his stand on the question, pointed out in a recent publication of the National Library that it was impossible for Rizal to compose the poem on the eve of his execution. His argument rests mainly on the fact that Rizal had no time at his disposal for its composition as he was absorbed in other more compelling and urgent matters. Besides there were no concrete testimonies from those who kept him company on the day in question. Discounting the statement of Manuel Alhama, a Spanish news correspondent, Don Jaime believes it likely that Rizal had the poem previously committed to memory so that all he had to do was to put it in writing at any time and date, but not during the 10 hours between 7:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. of December 29, 1896.

One important object that was closely connected with the poem, which may help the reader come to the correct date of its writing, is the alcohol lamp in which the poem was hidden. When did Rizal give the lamp to his sister Trining for her to take home? If the lamp was given on the afternoon of December 29, the poem could not have been written during "Rizal's last night on earth." The affidavit of Doña Trining signed on October 14, 1908 is more than pertinent on this point. She stated that it was while bidding her brother goodbye on the afternoon referred to when Rizal handed her the stove in which "there is something inside." Assuming that her statement is beyond question, this proves that the poem was already a reality before 7:00 a.m. on December 29 when, after hearing his death sentence, he had a continuous flow of visitors to keep him company during his last hours before his execution.

An attempt was made by the late José Lopez del Castillo to track these "last hours" of Rizal by tracing every movement that took place in his cell during said hours. In doing so, Castillo showed that between 1:30 and 3:30 p.m. on December 29, Rizal

was left alone without visitors with the exception of the Spanish officer guarding him so that it was during this period when he could have indited his farewell poem.

It appears that Castillo was led to this belief after making use of the eyewitness accounts of Fathers Balaguer, Vilaclara, Viza, Saderra Mata, and others, who alternated in attending to Rizal in an effort to win him back to the Catholic fold. The first Jesuits to visit him at about 7:00 a.m. on December 29 were Fathers Saderra and Viza. They were relieved by Fr. Rosell and at 9:00 Fr. Federico Faura arrived. Fathers Balaguer and Vilaclara followed, arriving at 10:00 a.m., the former leaving at 12:00 noon to report to the Archbishop on their mission. Father Vilaclara was left behind, this according to Father Balaguer himself in a document, and was still with Rizal when Father Balaguer returned at 3:00 p.m. to resume discussion with the prisoner.

That being the case there is no basis for the belief that Rizal was left alone any time between noon and 3:00 p.m. to enable him to compose the poem. This bolsters the theory that it was not written on his "last night on earth," the eve of his execution, nor at any time from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on December 29, when it left his cell hidden in the alcohol lamp.

What happened to the poem after the author parted with it? The account has it that no sooner had Doña Trining arrived home, recalling what her brother told her in English, than she, with another sister, opened the lamp. True to what Rizal had said, there was something inside—the famous *"Adios."*

For some time the poem was the prized possession of the Rizal family from whom other persons were able to make copies of it. However, Josephine Bracken, the hero's sweetheart who stayed with the family for a while, left for Hong Kong, the valuable document disappeared. It did not show up again until 1908 when an American traveler, arriving home from a trip to the Orient, informed the then Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, D.C., of its whereabouts. The owner or possessor of the document not only revealed its existence, but offered to return it upon reimbursement to him of the sum of ₱1000, the amount which he had allegedly paid for it. The government was only too willing to pay this price, and the document came back to the Philippines.

IV

The *"Adios"* has come down to posterity not only undated, but also unsigned. Because it is unsigned there was a time when its paternity had been questioned, mostly by persons who wanted to discredit the hero. In an article which appeared in the *Graphic* (June 29, 1933), however, Angel Rodriguez Bachiller, a Spanish admirer of Rizal, proved beyond cavil that the beautiful and highly sentimental poem could not have been written but by Rizal himself.

Rizal not only did not sign and date the poem, but failed to put a title to it. These have been explained by some authorities as due to the limitation of space. Considering the size of the paper used, only 15.5 cm. by 9.5 cm., it was hardly sufficient to accommodate the 14 five-line stanzas of the entire composition.

It was first published in Hong Kong (January, 1897) by Mariano Ponce. Ponce's copy of the document, like the original manuscript, bore neither the title nor the author's name, but from his reading of the first lines he felt convinced that the poem was Rizal's. In printing the poem for distribution to friends, Ponce affixed the title *"Mi Ultimo Pensamiento."*

In Manila, the poem circulated clandestinely in manuscript copies, obviously made from the original while it was still with the Rizal family. One of these copies fell into the hands of Father Mariano Dacanay while he was a political prisoner in Bilibid. Because the orthography and punctuation were poor, Father Dacanay copied the poem, improved its orthography and punctuation, and placed the title *"Ultimo Adios"* to it. When he and Dr. Laureano Viado of Pangasinan, who was his fellow prisoner, were set free, they gave a copy to the *La Independencia,* then just founded, which published it in its special number for September 25, 1898. Father Dacanay also was responsible for adding the subtitle, *Poesia que, estando en capilla, escribio el malogrado Rizal.* It is under the title *"Ultimo Adios,"* as originally conceived by Father Dacanay, that the poem is familiarly known in Spanish. Some authorities have deemed this title to be less appropriate and have tried to propagate, instead the title *"Mi Postrer Adios,"* as the Nucleo Filhispano has done in a recent edition of the poem. This title was taken from the second line of the penultimate stanza of the poem.

The present compilation of the English translations of Rizal's celebrated masterpiece is not the first of its kind. Professor Arsenio

Manuel of the University of the Philippines and Jaime C. de Veyra, independently of each other, had before the second World War been engaged in gathering the different versions of the poem. In 1933, Professor Manuel was able to collect no less than ten translations in English which he published in the *Sunday Tribune Magazine* (December 21).

In putting together the 28 versions in the following pages, I have been influenced by Professor Manuel's pioneering work. Some of the bibliographical data can be traced to his former effort. To him and to the various translators of the works included in the present compilation, I acknowledge my deep gratitude—no less to the latter for their kind permission to reprint their translations.

I *

Translator: ZANONI VOLPICELLI
Date: 1898

Farewell, adored fatherland! Our Eden lost, farewell!
Farewell, O sun's lov'd region, pearl of the Eastern sea!
Gladly I die for thy dear sake: Yea, thou knowest well
Were my sad life more radiant far than mortal tongue could tell
Yet would I give it gladly, joyously for thee.

On blood-stained fields of battle, fast-locked in madd'ning strife,
Thy sons have dying blest thee, untouched by doubt or fear.
No matter wreaths of laurel; no matter where our life
Ebbs out, on scaffold, or in combat, or under torturer's knife,
We welcome Death if our hearts, or for our country dear.

I die while dawn's rich iris hues are staining yet the sky,
Heralds of the freer day still hidden from our view
Behind the night's dark mantle. And should the morning nigh
Need crimson, shed my heart's blood quickly, freely let it dye
The new-born light with th' glory of its ensanguined hue.

My dreams when yet were ling'ring my childhood's careless years,
My dreams, my hopes, when vigor pulsed in my youthful heart,
Were that one day, gem of the East, thine eyes, undimmed with tears,
Might darkly glow, that I might see unwrinkled, free from fears,
Thy lofty brow wherefrom for aye all blushes should depart.

Hail unto thee, dreams of my life! My dying soul doth cry
All hail to thee! And yet I hail, my aspirations deep
And ardent! Oh, how sweet it is to fall beneath thy sky,
To die that thou mayst live, and, for thy welfare high,
In thine enchanted bosom eternally to sleep!

If on my grave, midst the thick grass, thou shouldst see spring one day
A simple, humble flo'ret, Life victor over Death,
Sweet symbol of my loving soul, ah, kiss the dew away.
Approach to it thy gentle lips, that in my cold tomb I may
Feel on my brow thy tender sigh, the soft warmth of thy breath.

Let o'er my grave the placid moon shed its soft, tranquil light;
Let cool dawn's fleeting splendour shine on my resting-place;
Let the deep murmur of the wind caress it in the night;
And if above my lonely cross it stay its restless flight,
'T will breathe a prayer of peace and chant a canticle of grace.

* Translation first appeared in the European edition of the *New York Herald* (May 22, 1898). Because it also appeared in Ferdinand Blumentritt's *Biography of Dr. Jose Rizal*, a translation from the German by Howard W. Bray who claimed in his "Translator's Preface" to have undertaken the work, Retana ascribed the version to the latter. Evidence points to Volpicelli, however, as the real translator.

Oh, let the dew rise pure to heav'n beneath the sun's hot rays
And carry to the throne of God my loving, last request.
Let friendly souls weep for my end, and in the after days,
On evenings clear, when o'er my tomb some gentle being prays,
Pray also thou, O fatherland, for my eternal rest.

Pray for all those who died alone, betrayed in wretchedness.
For all those who suffered for thy sake torments and misery.
For our poor, loving mothers' hearts, who weep in bitterness,
For widows, tortured captives, orphans in deep distress,
And pray for thy dear self that thou may'st finally be free.

And when dark night enshrouds in gloom the silent cemetery,
When but the lonely dead are left watching by the sea,
Disturb not their repose, nor dispel the mystery,
Perchance then shalt thou hear cithern or psaltery
Well tuned, 't is I, O my dear country, 'tis I singing to thee.

And when the memory of my grave has faded from the mind,
When my tomb bears no cross nor stone to mark where I lie dead,
Plough o'er the spot, turn up the earth, and scatter to the wind
My ashes ere they return to naught, let them go unconfined
To form thy rolling meadows and flower-covered glade.

No matter then, if all forget, still, still shall I be near,
Still shall I breathe thy od'rous air, still wander in thy ways,
And dwell in space, a thrilling note loud sounding in thine ear;
I shall be perfume, light and shade, sound, color, refrain clear,
Telling for ever of my faith and singing thy dear praise.

Farewell, adored country! I leave my all with thee,
Beloved Filipinas, whose soil my feet have trod,
I leave with thee my life's loves deep. I go where all are free,
I go where are no tortures, where th'oppressor's power shall be
Destroyed, where faith kills not, where He who reigns is God.

Farewell, my parents, brothers, friends of my infancy,
Dear fragments of my heart, once to my bosom pressed
Round our lost hearth. Give thanks to God in glad tranquility
That after day's long weary hours I sleep eternally.
Farewell lov'd beings, stranger sweet; to die is but to rest.

II *

Translator: M. F. DE RIVAS
Date: 1898

Farewell! my adored country; region beloved of the sun; pearl of the Orient sea; our lost Eden! I cheerfully give for thee my saddened life, and had it been brighter, happier and more rosy, I would as willingly give it for thy sake.

Unhesitatingly and without regret others give thee their lives in frenzied fight on the battlefield. But what matter the surroundings! Be they cypress, laurel or lilies, scaffold or open country, combat or cruel martyrdom, it is all the same, when for country and home's redress.

I die while watching the flushing skies announce through dark mantle the advent of a day. Should it need purple to tint its dawn, here in my blood; I gladly will shed it if only it be gilded by a ray of new-born light.

My dreams while only a boy, and when of vigor full, a youth, were always to see thee, jewel of the Orient sea thy black eyes dry, thy frownless face uplifted, and spotless thine honor.

Dream of life! My fervent anxiety! Shouts the soul that soon is to depart, Hail! It is glorious to fall to give thee flight; to die to give thee life; to die under thy skies, and in thy maternal bosom eternally to sleep.

Shouldst thou find some day over my grave, a lonesome, humble flower, blossoming through the dense foliage, take it to your lips and kiss my soul. Let me feel upon my forehead under the cold tomb your warm and tender breath.

Let the moon with her soft and silent light watch over me; let dawn spread its fulgent splendor; let the wind moan with solemn murmur. And should a bird descend and repose upon my cross, let it there proclaim a canticle of peace.

Let the burning sun evaporate the dew, spreading through space the notes of my songs. Let a friendly being mourn my early end, praying on calm evenings, when thou also, oh, dear country! should pray to God for me.

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* First published in Murat Halstead's *The Story of the Philippines* (Chicago, c1898) p. 219-220. This is the only known prose translation of the poem. Reprinted in William Rose Benet and Norman Cousin's *The Poetry of Freedom* (Random House).

Pray for all those who died unhonored; for those who suffered unequalled torments; for our poor mothers who silently grieve; for orphans and for widows; for prisoners in torture; and pray for thyself that thou mayest attain thy final redemption.

And when the dark shades of night enwrap the cemetery, and the dead are left alone to watch, do not disturb their rest, do not disturb their mystery. Shouldst thou hear chords of a zither, it is I, beloved country! who sings to thee.

And when my grave, by all forgotten, is marked by neither cross nor stone, let the ploughman scatter its mould; and my ashes before returning to nothing will become the dust of your soil.

Then, I will not mind if thou castest me into oblivion. Thy atmosphere, thy space, thy valleys I will cross. A vibrating, limpid note I will be in your ear; aroma, color, rumor, song, a sigh, constantly repeating the essence of my faith.

My idolized country! grief of my griefs! My adored Philippines! Hear my last farewell. I leave them all with thee; my fathers and my loves. I go where there are no slaves, no oppressors, no executioners; where faith is not death; where He who reigns is God.

Farewell! fathers and brothers, parts of my soul! Friends of my infancy in the lost home. Give thanks that I should rest from the fatiguing day. Farewell, sweet stranger, my friend, my joy. Farewell, beloved beings. To die is to rest.

III *

Translator: UNKNOWN
Date: 1900

Land I adore, farewell! thou land of the southern sun's choosing!
Pearl of the Orient seas! our forfeited Garden of Eden!
Joyous I yield up for thee my sad life, and were it far brighter
Young, rose-strewn, for thee and thy happiness still would I give it.
Far afield, in the din and rush of maddening battle,
Others have laid down their lives, nor wavered nor paused in the giving.
What matters way or place — the cypress, the lily, the laurel,
Gibbet or open field, the sword or inglorious torture,
When 'tis hearth and the country that call for the life's immolation?
Dawn's faint lights bar the east, she smiles through the cowl of the darkness,
Just as I die. Has thou need of purple to garnish her pathway?
Here is my blood, on the hour! pour it out, and the sun in his rising
Mayhap will touch it with gold, will lend it the sheen of his glory.
Dreams of my childhood and youth, and dreams of my strong young manhood,
What were they all but to see, thou gem of the Orient ocean!
Tearless thine eyes so deep, unbent, unmarred thy sweet forehead.
Vision I followed from far, desire that spurred on and consumed me!
Greeting, my parting soul cries, and greeting again!... O my country!
Beautiful is it to fall, that the vision may rise to fulfillment,
Giving my life for thy life, and breathing thine air in the death-throe!
Sweet to eternally sleep in thy lap, O land of enchantment!
If in the deep, rich grass that covers my rest in thy bosom,
Some day thou seest upspring a lowly, tremulous blossom,
Lay there thy lips, 'tis my soul; may I feel on my forehead descending,
Deep in the chilly tomb, the soft, warm breath of thy kisses.

Let the calm light of the moon fall around me, and dawn's fleeting splendor,
Let the winds murmur and sigh, on my cross let some birds tell its message;
Loosed from the rain by the brazen sun, let clouds of soft vapor
Bear to the skies, as they mount again, the chant of my spirit.
There to the skies, as they mount again, the chant of my spirit.
There may some friendly heart lament my parting untimely.
And if at eventide a soul for my tranquil sleep prayeth,
Pray thou too, O my fatherland! for my peaceful reposing,
Pray for those who go down to death through unspeakable torments;
Pray for those who remain to suffer such torture in prisons;
Pray for the bitter grief of our widows, our orphans;
Oh, pray too for thyself, on the way to thy final redemption.

* Made from the French translation of Henri Lucas and Ramón Sempau, appearing first in *An Eagle's Flight* (McClure, Phillips & Co., c1900) p. xii-xiii. This is the same version from which Representative Henry Allen Cooper read a major portion on the floor of the US Congress on June 19, 1902. Quoted in *The Hero of the Filipinos*, by Charles E. Russell and Eulogio B. Rodriguez (New York, 1923) p. 296-298.

When our still dwelling-place wraps night's dusky mantle about her,
Leaving the dead alone with the dead, to watch till the morning,
Break not our rest, and seek not to lay death's mystery open,
If now and then thou shouldst hear the string of a lute or a zithern.
Mine is the hand, dear country, and mine is the voice that is singing.
When my tomb, that all have forgot, no cross nor stone marketh,
There let the laborer guide his plough, there cleave the earth open.
So shall my ashes at last be one with thy hills and thy valleys.
Little 'twill matter then, my country, that thou shouldst forget me!
I shall be air in thy streets, and I shall be space in thy meadows.
I shall be vibrant speech in thine ears, shall be fragrance and color,
Light and shout, and loved song forever repeating my message.
Idolized fatherland, thou crown and deep of my sorrows.
Lovely Philippine Isles, once again adieu! I am leaving
All with thee — my friends, my love. Where I go are no tyrants;
There one dies not for the cause of his faith, there God is the ruler.
Farewell, father and mother and brothers, dear friends of the fireside!
Thankful ye should be for me, that I rest at the end of the long day —
Farewell, sweet, from the stranger's land, my joy and my comrade!
Farewell, dear ones, farewell! To die is to rest from our labors.

IV*

Translator: Elizabeth Pattens
Date: 1900

Farewell, sweet Country I adore, fair land of sunshine bright,
Pearl art thou of the Eastern Sea, the World's lost Paradise!
My sad and mournful life I give, freely and with delight,
Were it more brilliant and more fair, more worthy in thy sight,
Still would I give it for thy sake, nor count it sacrifice.

On field of battle fighting, delirious with wounds,
Without one moment's doubting, do others give their lives,
Nor place nor manner matters, cypress nor laurel crowns,
In conflict or as martyrs, on scaffold or battle grounds,
'Tis all the same if only for Home and Country strives.

When glows the red of morning upon the Eastern Sky,
And thro' the murky darkness foretells the dawn of day,
Then shall I die, Aurora, if thou should'st need supply
Of scarlet for the dawn blush, my blood, I prithee, try,
And grant it a reflection from the bright rising ray.

My dreams when scarce a growing boy, my dreams in riper years,
Were one day to behold thee, Bride of the Eastern Sea,
Thy forehead pure and lofty, thine eyes unwet with tears,
Showing no frown nor wrinkle, no tinge of shame or fears,
This, my beloved Country, has been my dream for thee.

Freedom, thou dream of all my life, my ardent, fond desire,
My soul about to take its flight calls eagerly on thee.
Freedom, how blessed by my fall, to raise thy banner higher.
To die, to give thee birth and life, 'neath thy skies to expire,
And then in thine enchanted land sleep thro' eternity.

If in the grass above my tomb, thou chanc'st to see some day
A humble lofty floweret bloom, thy lips upon it press,
For 'tis the blossom of my soul, arising from decay,
When in my brow I feel thy breath, to me it shall convey
The comfort of thy tenderness, the warmth of thy caress.

Let Luna, with her tranquil beams, softly upon me shine
Let not the dawn her brilliant light, her morning greeting cease,
Let all the winds murmur and sigh above my lonely shrine.
Then if a bird descend and light upon my cross of pine,
There let it sing, in sweet content, a song of love and peace.

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* According to Dr. Jose P. Bantug, this translation was made between 1901 and 1902, but according to E. A. Manuel, the more proximate date is from February to May, 1900. The present text is from the latter's "English Versions of the Ultimo Adios" in the *Sunday Tribune Magazine* (Dec. 31, 1933). Reprinted in Pablo Laslo's *Rizal's "Ultimo Adios" in European Languages* (Manila, 1934) p. 8-9.

Then let the blazing sun, the rain, absorbed by its bright rays.
Return all pure to blue sky, bearing my humble plea;
Let some kind friend, my early end, deplore in mournful lays,
And in the quiet evening hours, when someone for me prays,
Then O my Country, let him ask that my rest be in thee.

For those who gave their lives to thee, I fain would breathe a prayer
For those who suffer torture deep, too painful e'en for thought,
For our poor mothers who bewail their loneliness and fear,
For widows and for orphans too, my plea, I pray thee hear,
And for thyself, that thou mayst see thy swift redemption wrought.

And when dark nights the graves shall wrap in deep obscurity,
And but the dead alone remain, waiting and watching there,
Ask not their secrets to disturb or solve their mystery,
Tho' thou should'st hear the zither, or psalter's harmony,
My country, know, that thus I chant thee my evening prayer.

And when my tomb, by all forgot, from memory shall fade,
And there shall be nor cross, nor stone to mark my place of rest,
Then let man plow my ashes up and scatter with the spade,
So that, before their last return to nothingness is made
A carpet of my dust they'll form upon thy loving breast.

Then nothing matters more to me, by naught my heart is stirred,
Thy atmosphere, thy air, thy vales, I fly rejoicing o'er,
Vibrant and liquid notes thou'lt, as clear as song of bird,
Light, perfume, color, song and sound, and weeping shall be heard.
All these the "credo" of my faith repeating evermore.

My Country idolized and dear, grief of my grieves thou art,
Beloved Philippines, to thee my last farewell I sing,
I leave thee all, my parents, friends, and love dear to my heart,
I go where scaffolds and where slaves and tyrants have no part,
Where man's faith never means man's death, and God rules everything.

Farewell parents and brothers dear, parts of my very life,
Friends of my childhood in my home, long lost yet loved the best,
Give thanks that I at last shall rest, after the weary strife;
Stranger farewell, farewell to thee, my happiness, my wife,
Stranger beloved, each and all, to die is but to rest.

V*

Translator: E. E. SCHNEIDER
Date: 1904

Farewell, beloved Fatherland, thou sunny clime of ours,
Pearl of the Orient Ocean, our lost Paradise!
For thee my life I give, nor mourn its saddened hours,
And were't more bright, strewn less with thorns and more with flowers,
For thee I still would give it, a welcome sacrifice.

On stricken fields, in battle's wild delirium glory,
Their lives some give without a doubt to stay their hands.
The place is naught; of cypress, lilies, says the story—
Of field or scaffold, fight or martyrdom the glory—
'T is one to me—my fatherland my life demands.

I die, but even now I see the skies glow lighter
Announcing day behind night's cloak of murky dun.
If purple thou dost need to tinge thy dawning brighter
Pour out my blood; I hold the sacrifice the slighter
For knowing 't will be gilded by thy rising sun.

When scarcely more than child, of thee was all my dreaming—
In youth I dreamed and when man's strength had filled my frame
Of seeing thee, a jewel on Ocean's bosom gleaming,
Thy dark eyes dried, thy smooth front lifted, as beseeming,
Untroubled and unfurrowed, nor stained by blush of shame.

To thee, who wert in all life's dreams my ardent, living desire,
All hail! doth cry the soul now freed from earthly woes—
All hail! 'T is sweet to fall if thou but rise the higher,
To die if thou mayst live, beneath thy heaven to expire
and in thy soil enchanted to find eternal repose.

If on my grassy grave some day thou seest a fleeting
And simple flower, upon thy tender bosom give it room,
Or press it to thy lips—it is my soul's fond greeting;
Perchance my clay may feel, at that soft meeting,
The warmth of thy emotion's breath e'en in the tomb.

Choose thou my tomb where Luna's tranquil light, soft falling,
May seek me out and dawn's swift splendor send its rays,
Where Heaven's winds may lift their solemn murmurs, calling
The birds to light upon my humble cross and sing, enthralling
Their list'ners with some joyful chant of peace and praise.

* According to the translator, one-time assistant professor of modern languages at the College of Agriculture, UP, translation was completed in November, 1904. Its first publication was in *The Citizen* (Sept. 12, 1918).

Let dews and showers return, thy ardent sun obeying,
To Heaven, and bear with them my prayers, pure as they.
And when a friend, some tranquil eve his footsteps staying,
My end deplores, a moment for my soul's rest praying.
Then think thou too of me, my Fatherland, and pray!

Pray for all those whose grief in death alone found ending,
For all who suffered tortures grim beyond belief,
For mothers weeping sorrows present or impending,
To orphans, widows, prisoners thy prayers extending—
Pray thy redemption final to all may bring relief.

When all God's Acre's hid from sight in shades nocturnal
And but the silent dead keep watch, with none to see,
Disturb thou not the mystery of that rest eternal,
But if soft chords of music reach thy heart maternal,
Know thou, my country, that 't is I who sing to thee.

When no forgotten wreaths are left for winds to tatter
Nor cross nor stone my resting place to mark remains,
Then let the spade and plow my grassy grave-mound scatter,
My ashes all return to universal matter,
Beneath the verdant carpet of thy smiling plains.

Then would I not complain shouldst even thou forget me—
Thy atmosphere, thy valleys, fields I'll cross, a breath,
A vibrant note, a beam of light, with none to let me—
If then my presence thou shouldst feel, thou wilt regret me
And know the essence of my faith survives my death.

My country, idolized source of all my grieving,
Beloved Philippines, hear thou my farewell prayer!
To thee my all, my parents, brothers, love I'm leaving—
Where slaves are not, nor tyrants, now I go, believing
That there faith cannot kill, for God alone reigns there.

My father, mother, brothers all, weep not, though never
My feet return to yonder hearthside's wasted nest—
Give thanks that I may rest from struggle and endeavor.
Thou too, sweet stranger friend, my joy, farewell forever!
A last farewell to all my loved ones— Death is rest.

VI

Translator: Charles Derbyshire *
Date: 1911

Farewell, dear Fatherland, clime of the sun caress'd,
Pearl of the Orient seas, our Eden lost!
Gladly now I go to give thee this faded life's best,
And were it brighter, fresher, or more blest,
Still would I give it thee, nor count the cost.

On the field of battle, 'mid the frenzy of fight,
Others have given their lives, without doubt or heed;
The place matters not—cypress or laurel or lily white;
Scaffold or open plain, combat or martyrdom's plight,
'Tis ever the same, to serve our home and country's need.

I die just when I see the dawn break,
Through the gloom of night, to herald the day;
And if color is lacking my blood thou shalt take,
Pour'd out at need for thy dear sake,
To dye with its crimson the waking ray.

My dreams, when life first opened to me,
My dreams, when the hopes of youth beat high,
Were to see thy lov'd face, O gem of the Orient sea,
From gloom and grief, from care and sorrow free;
No blush on thy brow, no tear in thine eye.

Dream of my life, my living and burning desire,
All hail! cries the soul that is now to take flight;
All hail! And sweet it is for thee to expire;
To die for thy sake, that thou mayst aspire;
And sleep in thy bosom eternity's long night.

If over my grave some day thou seest grow,
In the grassy sod, a humble flower,
Draw it to thy lips and kiss my soul so,
While I may feel on my brow in the cold tomb below
The touch of thy tenderness, thy breath's warm power.

Let the moon beam over me soft and serene,
Let the dawn shed over me its radiant flashes,
Let the wind with sad lament over me keen;
And if on my cross a bird should be seen,
Let it trill there its hymn of peace to my ashes.

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* First appeared in the *Philippine Education* (March, 1911). This has the singular distinction of being the officially recognized translation in the Philippines, for which reason it is the most widely known of the English versions. Besides this and other poems of Rizal, Derbyshire has also rendered into English the hero's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*.

Let the sun draw the vapor up to the sky,
And heavenward in purity bear my tardy protest;
Let some kind soul o'er my untimely fate sigh,
And in the still evening a prayer be lifted on high
From thee, O my country, that in God I may rest.

Pray for all those that hapless have died,
For all who have suffered the unmeasur'd pain;
For our mothers that bitterly their woes have cried;
For widows and orphans, for captives by torture tried;
And then for thyself that redemption thou mayst gain.

And when the dark wraps the graveyard around,
With only the dead in their vigil to see;
Break not my repose or the mystery profound,
And perchance thou mayst hear a sad hymn resound;
'Tis I, O my country, raising a song unto thee.

When even my grave is remembered no more,
Unmark'd by either a cross or a stone;
Let the plow sweep through it, the spade turn it o'er,
That my ashes may carpet thy earthly floor,
Before into nothingness at last they are blown.

Then will oblivion bring to me no care,
As over thy vales and plains I sweep;
Throbbing and cleansed in thy space and air,
With color and light, with song and lament I fare.
Ever repeating the faith that I keep.

My Fatherland ador'd that sadness to my sorrow lends,
Beloved Filipinas, hear now my last good-by!
I give thee all: parents and kindred and friends;
For I go where no slave before the oppressor bends.
Where faith can never kill, and God reigns e'er on high!

Farewell to you all, from my soul torn away,
Friends of my childhood in the home dispossess'd!
Give thanks that I rest from the wearisome day!
Farewell to thee, too, sweet friend that lighten'd my way;
Beloved creatures all, farewell! In death there is rest!

VII *

Translator: Holland Rubottom
Date: 1916

Farewell, oh my Homeland beloved,
Dear region of sunbeams enchanted!
Thou, Pearl of the Seas Oriental!
Our beautiful, forfeited Eden!
For thee do I gladly surrender
This life full of sorrow and sadness!
For even though dazzling as jewels
With hope and with youth and with beauty,
Ah! still would I give it and gladly
Would yield it for thee, for thy welfare!

On battle-fields, struggling in frenzy,
Men often have given their life-blood,
As freely, without hesitation,
With not a regret in the giving;
No matter what place, what condition
Mid cypress or laurel or lilies,
Or whether on scaffold, in open.
Or combat or martyrdom cruel.
It still is the same to the hero
Who dies for his home and his fireside.

I die, yet can see that the heavens
Are glowing and rosy with colors;
Afar at the end there appeareth
Beyond the dark veil the day breaking.
If scarlet be needed for staining
Thy dawn to a richer vermillion,
Then pour out my blood, let it freely,
For now it is time for the off'ring,
And gild it with but a reflection
Of thy naissant light, of thy glory!

My dreams years ago — I was merely
An infant, my life still before me, —
My dreams when a lad adolescent,
Already a youth full of vigor.
Were of the sweet day I should see thee,
Thou, Gem of the orient oceans,
Thy dark eyes, so bright and so tearless,
Thy proud brow, so high and so noble.
With never a frown nor a wrinkle,
Ne'er shameful, ne'er crimsoned with blushes!

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* First appeared in the *Philippine Education* (December, 1916), translator being then an officer in the US Army. This is the longest version known of the poem.

Oh dream of my life, sweet illusion!
My ardent and living desire!
Farewell to thee! now cries the spirit,
The soul which is soon to be served.
Farewell: Oh how precious the priv'lege
Of falling, for thus thou art given
The power to fly, and by dying
I give to thee life: death is welcome
Beneath the blue skies; sweet the slumber
In thy land enchanted forever!

If over my tomb thou shouldst some day
Behold a bright fragrant young flower,
Amidst the thick grasses that grow there,
A simple and sweet blossom opening,
Press't close to thy lips, to thy bosom,
For it is the flow'r of my spirit;
And I, in my sepulchre lying,
Will feel on my cold brow the moisture
So warm from thy lips and thy gentle
Soft breath will but fan me to slumber.

Look down, thou, pale Moon, and behold me,
Let thy silver fall upon me;
Break now from the eastern horizon,
Thou, Dawn, in thy radiant splendor;
Thou, Wind, moaning low in the palm trees,
Shalt murmur a soft lamentation;
And if, perchance, someday descending,
There cometh a bird from the heavens
To perch on my cross, let it warble
A song full of peace and forgiveness.

Thou, Sun, riding high in the zenith,
Shalt dry all the rains that have fallen,
Which, pure to the heavens return'ng,
The toll of my death-knell shall follow
Perhaps some true friend in compassion
May weep for my untimely passing;
And oft in the cool dewy evenings,
When someone for me may be praying,
Pray also, oh Land of my Fathers,
For my peaceful rest in His keeping.

For all those that die in affliction,
In every unhappy condition,
For all who are destined to suffer
Unparalleled torments forever,
For our poor unfortunate mothers
Who weep in their sorrow and sadness,
For widows' and orphans' bereavement,
For prisoners suffering tortures—
For these pray to God, and implore him
That soon thou mayst see thy redemption.

And when all enshrouded in darkness
Of night is the lonely God's-acre,
With only the dead there remaining,
Their vigil so silently keeping—
Their peaceful repose oh! disturb not,
Disturb not his eternal mystery;
But if in accord be thy spirit,
Then hark the guitar or the zither!
'Tis I, beloved land of my Fathers,
'Tis I, who am singing thy praises.

And when the sad day at last cometh
That my resting place is forgotten,
No longer appearing a tombstone
Nor cross that should mark its location,
Then let it be leveled by plow-share
And scattered by hoe or by shovel;
For then shall the last of my ashes
Return into Nature that gave them,
And, borne on the four winds of heaven,
Shall settle as dust in thy carpet.

Pray tell me, why should the thought grieve me
That I may be lost in oblivion?
For shall I not traverse thy valleys,
Thy blue atmosphere and thy woodlands,
And oft in thine ear still be ringing,
Like chiming of bells, clear and vibrant;
Again midst the glories of Nature,
As fragrance, light, colors or voices,
A song or a moan, e'er repeating
The essence of my faith eternal?

My own idolized Native Country,
Of all my sorrows the saddest!
My own Philippines, my beloved!
Hear now my farewell words of parting!
Behold all thee I am leaving—
My parents, my friends ever loving!
I go where no slaves are in bondage,
No hangman, no cruel oppressor,
Where Faith does not justify murder,
Where God is the merciful ruler!

Adieu, oh my parents and brothers,
As part of my soul here remaining,
Ye friends of the years of my childhood
And of the dear home lost forever!
Give thanks unto God that already
I rest from the day's toil and trouble.
Farewell unto thee, gentle Stranger!
My comrade, my joy thou wert ever!
Farewell, all ye beings beloved!
Oh weep not, for death is but resting!

VIII *

Translator: FRANK C. LAUBACH
Date: 1920

Farewell, adoréd sun-kissed Motherland;
Thou Pearl of Eastern seas, our Eden lost!
I lay my withered life into thine hand;
And were life sweeter, bright with promise grand,
Yet for thy ransom should it pay this cost.

On battle fields, in hatred's mad embrace,
Men hesitated not, but gave their all.
Is't cypress, laurel, lily? Where the place?
The battle plain? Or martyr's cruel disgrace?
It matters not when home and country call.

I die — yet see pale tinges overhead,
Announcing day at last beyond the night;
And should you need to stain the dawn with red,
Behold my blood is for this purpose shed—
'Twill dye incarnadine thy natal light.

E'er yet my childhood changed to youth, I dreamed,
As youth will dream when vigor courses strong,
One day to see my Orient jewel redeemed,
Her dark eyes dried her brow no longer seamed,
Her face uplifted, smiling, freed from wrong.

Sweet vision! living hope! undying fire!
"God-speed!" this soul cries out that soon must die;
"God-speed!" Oh! just to fall and lift thee higher,
To breathe new life on thee as I expire,
And then in thy charmèd arms forever lie!

If o'er my grave some day begins to grow
A slender humble flower, amid the grass,
But draw it to thy lips and I shall know,
For to my cold enshrined brow below,
The warmth and softness of thy breath shall pass.

Let th'moon send down her light so calm and mild,
Let dawn come forth on fleet and shining wing.
Let winds above me whistle harsh and wild:—
And if some bird be to my cross beguiled,
Then, bird, a song of peace, I beg thee, sing.

* Started in 1920, this version was first published in the *Philippines Free Press* (December 30, 1922) p. 20, and found its way later in the translator's *The Peoples of the Philippines* (New York, c1925) p. 109-110. See item XIII for another version by the same translator.

Bright sun, at whose command the rains ascend,
Bear up to heaven the bitter tears I weep.
Kind souls, who mourn for my untimely end,
On quiet nights when praying for your friend,
Oh! for my country pray; then shall I sleep.

Pray ye for all who hopelessly have died;
For all who bore immeasurable pain;
For our poor mothers who in anguish cried;
For widows, orphans, captives racked and tried;
So shall ye surely your redemption gain.

When midnight darkness wraps the graveyard round,
And only dead men linger there with me,
Break not our rest, our mystery profound;
And should'st thou hear a hymn and zither sound,
'Tis I, dear country, I, who sing to thee!

At last when e'en my tomb is no more sought,
The place by stone or cross no more revealed,
Some man will spade me out with ne'er a thought,
And scatter all my ashes back to naught;
My dust shall be as carpet on thy field.

Oblivion then I shall no longer fear,
For in thine air, thy fields, thy vales, I'll dwell;
Clear vibrant notes shall steal upon thine ear;
With perfumes, colors, lights and moanings drear,
I shall forever strive my faith to tell.

Land I adore, whose sadness makes me sad;
Dear Philippines! my last farewell again!
I leave Thee kindred, friends, and all I had,
To go where none are slaves, nor cruel, nor bad,
Where faith kills not, and God alone doth reign.

Fond parents, brothers, torn from off my breast;
Friends of my youth in ruined homes who weep;
Give thanks that from this weary day I rest.
Farewell, sweet foreign lover friend, my best;
Farewell to all! — Yet not to die, but sleep...

IX*

Translator: YOSHINAGA MIKAMI
Date: 1922

Farewell, beloved country, longed—for region of the sun,
Pearl of the Eastern Seas, our lost Eden.
To give thee this sad life of mine, joyfully I go;
And were it more brilliant, more pleasant, more precious,
Yet for thee I would give it, I would give it for thee.

On field of battle, wrestling with delirium.
Others are giving their lives to thee without hesitation, without regret,
The place does not matter: Cypress, Laurel or box-thorn.
Scaffold or open field, fight or cruel martyrdom,
T'is all the same, if they demand it, the country and the hearth.

I shall die, when I see the sky is coloring (getting light)
* * * * * *
If great necessity to redden the (aurora) morning sky
Pours out my blood, shed in good time
And guilds the fullness of the new born light.

My dreams when scarcely an adolescent youth.
My dreams when already a young man, full of vigour,
Were to see thee some day, Pearl of the Eastern Seas,
With thy black eyes serene, high thy smooth forehead,
Without a frown, without a wrinkle, without a blush.

In the dreams of my life, in my ardent life's desire,
My soul soon to depart, is calling to thee greeting.
Greeting, O what a beautiful death it is to give thee!
Dying to give thee life, to die beneath thy skies,
And in thy enchanted soil through eternity to sleep.

If over (on) my grave thou wilt see some day spring up
Between the luxurious grass a simple humble flower,
Press it to thy lips, kiss my soul,
And down in the cool tomb I shall feel on my forehead
Of thy tenderness the breath, of thy breath the warmth.

Let me see the moon with her calm and mild light,
Let my soul send forth the fleeting brightness,
Let the wind moan with its loud murmur;
And if there descends and rests upon my cross an "Ave",
Let the "Ave" sound forth its sweet song of peace.

* Text from the translator's *Conditions in the Philippine Islands* (Tokyo, 1922). The second line of third stanza is missing in this translation.

Let the sun dry up the rains
And return them pure to heaven with my shout for peace.
Let a friendly being weep over my early death,
And in the clear evenings when someone is praying for me
Pray then also, my country, for me resting with God.

Pray for all who have died without a chance.
For those who have suffered torments without a wail
For our poor mothers that they may endure their sorrow,
For orphans and widows; for such as suffer torture,
And pray for thy self that thou mayest see thy final redemption.

And when in obscure night the churchyard is wrapt,
And thus lonely the dead keep keep their watch,
Do not disturb their repose, do not disturb the mystery,
Perhaps thou mayest hear the harmony of harp or psaltry,
T'is I, beloved country, I who sing to thee.

And when my grave forgotten at last by all
Has neither cross or tombstone that designate the spot
Until some day plow it up and moisten it with water,
And my ashes, before they return to nothing,
Shall enrich the dust of thy field which a scabbard stirs up;

Then I mind not your leaving me to oblivion,
Thy atmosphere, thy plains, thy valleys I shall cross.
The quivering and clear note will be for thy ear
Aroma, light, colors, rumor, song, moan,
Constantly repeating the essence of my faith.

My country, my idol, pain of my pains,
Beloved Filipinas, hear my last farewell,
Here I leave thee all: my fathers, my loved ones;
I go where there is no slaves, no hangman, no oppressors,
Where (faith) confidence does not kill, where God is he who reigns.

Goodby, father and brothers, parts of my soul,
Friends of my childhood in the last home;
Give thanks that I rest from the trials of the day.
Farewell, sweet lady-love, my friends, my joy;
Farewell, beloved beings, to die is to repose!

X *

Translators: Harold P. Scott and Carlos P. Romulo
Date: 1925

Goodbye, Land I adore, sun-blessed and bright,
Pearl of the Eastern Sea, our Eden lost!
Gladly for you I go into Death's night;
And were life brighter, fresh, blooming in light,
Still would I give it, not counting the cost.

On fields of battle, in the hot quarrel,
Others give life without questioning why.
Place matters nothing; cypress, lily, or laurel,
Gallows, open field, combat, martyrdom cruel—
All are alike if home and country say die.

Just as I go dawn comes to color the blue,
Heralding day, after gloom of the night;
If you lack pigment to make up the red hue,
Pour out my blood in good time, let it aid you,
Crimson one ray of your wakening light.

All my dreams as a boy adolescent,
Dreams when, in youth, to life's vigor I came,
Were someday to see you, gem of seas Orient,
Dry your dark eyes, lift your clear brow unbent,
With no mark of sorrow, no flush of shame.

Dream of my life, ardent, living desire,
Hail! cries the soul that so soon must depart.
Beautiful death for your sake to expire,
Die for your life in your sun's blessed fire,
Sleep through eternity's night in your heart!

If on my grave you see bloom, some far day,
Where grass grows thick, a simple, modest flower,
Put it to your lips, kiss my soul that way.
Then shall I feel on my brow, 'neath the clay
Warmth of your tenderness, breath of your power.

Let the moon look on me tranquil and sweet,
Let dawn its fugitive splendor release,
Let the sad winds in their murmurings meet;
And if a bird should alight at my feet,
Let it sing freely its clear song of peace.

* First appeared in the translators' *Rizal; a Chronicle Play in eight dramatic moments* (Manila, 1925) p. 63-68. Harold P. Scott was then head of English Department, UP, while Carlos P. Romulo was then professorial lecturer in the same University.

Let bright sun banish the rain-clouds away,
Wafting to heaven the voice of my last plea.
When dear friends mourn at my untimely death-day,
And in the twilight serene for my soul pray,
Pray too, my Country, that God may receive me.

Pray for unfortunates whom Death has taken,
For all who suffer in unequalled pain,
For our poor mothers who grieve now forsaken,
Orphans and widows, men jailed and rack-shaken;
Pray that redemption yourself may attain.

When night is shrouding the burial ground,
When only spirits remain there to view,
Break not the mystery, quiet, profound.
Perhaps then the zither, the psalter, may sound—
'Tis I, dear Country; 'tis my song to you.

And when my grave men no longer recall,
No cross, no stone marks its place any more,
Let the plow break it, the shattering spade fall;
Ere that my ashes are lost in the great pall,
Let them be dust there to carpet your floor.

It matters not that I go to the deep vale;
Your space, your valleys, I'll cross as a wraith;
Clear note and vibrant, your ears I'll assail;
Scent, light and color, sound, song and wail—
All shall repeat then the voice of my faith.

Oh, adored Country, sorrow divine,
Dear Filipinas, hear my last farewell!
Now I leave all — parents, loved ones of mine;
Go from oppressors, go where no slaves pine,
Where faith kills not, with the Great King to dwell.

Good-bye, my parents, kin of soul and clay,
And childhood playmates in the home I loved best;
Thank God I go from the wearisome day.
Good-bye, my sweet one, love from far away!
Good-bye, dear beings! . . . To die is to rest!

XI *

Translator: Luis G. Dato
Date: 1928

Farewell, dear isles beloved of sea and sky,
Where once we envisioned the gleam of Paradise,
For your dear sake seems it divine to die,
And were life fresher, brighter still would I
Walk smiling onward to the sacrifice.

Down fields of battle in the undying faith,
Others face death without questioning why:
Place matters not: the laurel or the wreath,
The scaffold, torture, or the plains of death,
All are the answer to the country's cry.

I die just when the sky purples in the dawn,
And day at last arises from the night,
And if your dawn a deeper hue would own,
My blood take also, may the color strown
Shine as it mirrors the wakening light.

The dreams which fancy to my childhood gave,
My darling dreams when into youth I came,
Were to behold you, Pearl of the Orient wave,
One day with dark eyes clear, the brow held grave
Aloft, unfurrowed, free at last from shame.

Dream of my life, my burning, living desire,
Hearken my soul to you at parting cry.
Hail, my country! how lovely 'tis to expire,
To die that you may live a life yet higher,
The dead to slumber underneath your sky.

If some day by my tomb a flower blows
From eyes half-hidden in the tufted grass,
Please draw it to your lips and press it close,
And I shall feel deep down whence it uprose,
Your kiss and sigh as by my tomb you pass.

Let moons look on me in the brooding night,
Let morn its passing splendor o'er me bring,
The wind let whisper o'er me in its flight,
And if a bird upon my cross alight,
Its hymn of peace, above me, let it sing.

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* Seven stanzas of this translation first appeared in the *Philippines Free Press* (Dec. 28, 1928); published in full in the *Philippine Collegian* (Jan. 8, 1932). The present text, however, as revised and polished by the translator, is that appearing in the *Philippine Magazine* (January, 1934) p. 27.

Let the hot sun up gather cloud and rain
And skyward turn them pure even as my plea,
Leave friendship o'er my early tomb complain,
And in the evening when some pray in pain,
Pray also, O my country, pray for me.

And pray for all who in ill-fortune taken
Died in the night in thankless martyrdom,
For widows, orphans, men who groan forsaken,
For our mothers with bitter sighing shaken,
And for yourself who sees redemption come.

And when the tombs in night are darkened round,
And but the dead keep watch there all night through,
Seek not to break their slumber underground;
And should by chance you hear a windborne sound,
My soul it will be, singing unto you.

And when my grave by none remembered more,
Bears neither cross nor stone o'er my remains,
Let plow and plowman, treading, turn it o'er;
I will have turned to dust, and long before
I will have spread, wind-blown, upon your plains.

What matter then if you forget the slain,
When I will roam your sky, your space at death?
With tremulous note will I your hearing gain,
Turn beam and hue and scent and sigh that fain
Would echo still the burden of my faith.

O woe of me, my motherland, my own,
Philippines dear, hear you my last goodbye.
From those I loved and loved me I'll be gone;
I'll dwell where slave and tyrant are unknown,
Where faith brings life and God rules o'er on high.

Farewell, dear parents of my spirit part,
Dear comrades in the land loved best, farewell;
Give thanks that I from living will depart.
Goodbye, sweet stranger, friend and joy of heart;
Goodbye, my dear ones; death is rest. Farewell!

XII *

Translators: Juanito T. Maramara and Patricio Confesor
Date: 1932

Farewell, dear Fatherland, O clime by the sun most endear'd,
Pearl of the Orient sea, Our Eden Lost!
Gladly now I go to give thee this sad and sombre life;
Were it more bright, more fresh, more florescent,
Still would I give it thee, still would I give it for thy sake.

On fields of battle, fighting with fury most wild,
Others have given thee their lives, sans doubt, sans care.
The place matters not; cypress, laurel, or lily,
Scaffold or open field, combat or racking martyrdom,
'Tis e'er the same, 'tis all for land and fireside dear.

I die just as I see the sky set in at last a soft, fair light
Behind the veil of night to herald forth the day.
If hue there be wanting to tinge thy dawn with red,
O take thou my blood, pour it at thy hour of need,
To gild with its crimson the nascent morn!

My dreams when scarce a youth, a stripling soul,
My dreams when young, then fill'd with vigor fresh,
Were to see thee some near day, O gem of the Orient sea!
Bright thy brown eyes, and high thy brow serene,
Without frown or furrow, without stigma or shame.

Dream of my life, my fervid and burning desire
All hail! ... Cries the soul that now must take its flight.
All hail! ... Oh, how sweet it is to fall that thou mayst be free,
To die to give thee life, to die beneath thy skies,
And under thy god enchanted to sleep to eternity!

If o'er my grave someday thou seest grow
Through the green grass a light and humble flow'r
Draw it to thy lips and kiss my soul so;
Whilst I may feel on my brow, in the cold grave below,
The touch of thy tenderness, the warmth of thy breath.

Let the moon beam o'er me its luster soft, serene,
Let the dawn shed on me its soothing radiance,
Let the wind moan on me its ling'ring and lament;
And if some bird should come on my cross to alight,
Let it chant there its hymn of peace to my rest.

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* This joint version first appeared in *The Master Speaker*, edited by Juanito T. Maramara and Felixberto M. Serrano (The Crimson, c1932) p. 23-26.

Let the rain drops by the hot sun absorbed rise up,
And pure to heavens returning my late entreaty bear;
Let some kind friend my untimely fate regret
And in the still evenings when some soul should whisper a pray'r for me
Pray too, O my country pray for my peace in God.

Pray for all these that hapless have gone to their death,
For those who have suffered unspeakable torments,
For our poor, sad mothers that groan in bitter woe,
For orphans and widows, for captives in blighting torture,
And then for thyself that thou mayst thy final freedom win.

When in the dark of night the grave enshrouds itself,
And only the deserted dead there their vigil keep,
Break not their rest, break not the mystery profound;
If perchance a strain of cithern, or psalter thou mayst hear,
'Tis I, beloved country, that sings unto thee!

And when my tomb no longer by all is remember'd,
No more the cross or stone that mark'd the spot,
Let the ploughman sweep through it, the ploughshare break it,
That ere to naught my ashes shall be cast,
They mayst a compost form on thy rose-cover'd fields.

Then it matters not that in oblivion thou leavest me;
O'er all thy clouds, thy space, thy lands shall I then sweep;
I shall be vibrant, limpid music to thine ear;
Fragrance, light, color, murmur, song, sighing,
E'er repeating the principle of my faith.

Idolized Fatherland, supreme suff'ring of my suff'rance,
Beloved Philippines hear thou my last goodbye!
Here now I leave thee all; parents, kindred and friends;
I go where are no slaves, no hangmen, no tyrants;
Where faith ne'er kills, where God doth reign on high!

Farewell, parents, brothers, dear kins all of my soul,
Playmates of my youth in the hearth laid waste!
Give thanks that I rest from the tiresome day!...
Farewell to thee, sweet stranger dear, my love, my joy!
Farewell beloved creatures... To die is to rest!

XIII *

Translator: Frank C. Laubach
Date: 1936

Fare thee well, motherland I adore, region the sun holds dear,
Pearl of the sea oriental, our paradise come to grief;
I go with gladness to give thee my life all withered and drear;
Though it were more brilliant, more fresh with flowery cheer,
Even then for thee would I give it, would give it for thy relief.

On many a field of battle, struggling mad with delirium,
Others give thee their lives, without a doubt or lament;
The place does not matter at all; cypress, laurel or lily may come,
The open arena or scaffold, a fight or a cruel martyrdom,
'Tis the same if to that by one's home, and his motherland he is sent.

I am dying as now I behold how color is staining the sky,
Announcing the day at last beyond this dismal night;
If thou requirest scarlet with which thine aurora to dye,
Behold then, here is my blood, poured out as thine hour is nigh—
I give it to thee for reflecting the gleam of thy natal light.

My dreams, while yet merely a child, or when nearing maturity,
My dreams, when a youth full of vigor at length I became,
Were to see Thee one happier day, O jewel of the orient sea,
Thine ebon eyes dried of their tears, thine uplifted brow clear and free
From the frowns and the furrows, the stains and the stigma of shame.

O dream that inspired my life, my ardent enduring desire,
God bless thee!, this fervent soul cries, that soon is departing from thee;
God bless thee! How lovely it is to fall and to lift thee higher;
To die and to give thee my life, here under thy sky expire,
And in thine enchanted terrain to sleep for eternity.

If over my tomb thou beholdest, one day beginning to grow,
A slender and diffident flower peeping out through the crowding grass,
Draw it close to thy lips and thy kiss, to my very soul shall go,
And I shall feel on my forehead, in the chilly tomb below,
The tenderness of thy breathing, the warmth of its vapor pass.

Let the moon look down upon me with her soft and tranquil ray;
Let the dawn send forth her splendor on a swiftly fleeting wing;
Let the moaning wind above me murmur solemnly away;
And if a bird descending, on my cross alight, one day,
Let the bird his canticle of peace above me sing.

* The present version is that found in the translator's *Rizal, Man and Martyr* (Manila, c1936) pp. 370-372. Because it is entirely different from that published by him in 1922 (see item VIII), this translation has been considered as another version by the translator.

Let the sun turn the rains into vapor with his ardent rays,
And carry them pure to heaven, my death knell 'neath them pressed.
Let some friendly person weep, for the premature end of my days,
And in the serene afternoon, while anyone for me prays,
O motherland, pray for me too, that I close to God my rest.

Pray for all of the others who haplessly have died,
For those who were tormented with inimitable pain;
For our unhappy mothers who in bitter sorrow cried;
For orphans and widows and captives, by horrid torture tried;
And pray for thyself that thou mayest, thy final redemption gain.

And when in the night the darkness enwraps the graveyard round,
And only, only the dead remain there to watch with me,
Do not disturb their repose, their mystery profound;
If haply thou hearest a zither, or a psaltery resound,
'Tis I, my motherland dear, I, who am singing to thee.

And when in the end my tomb, forgotten by all men,
Has neither a cross nor a stone to keep its place revealed,
Let any man plow it and spread it with his spade, and then
My ashes, before they resolve into nothingness again,
Will scatter to mingle with dust upon thy flowery field.

Consign me to oblivion then, it matters naught,
Thine air, thy space, thy valleys I shall permeate,
My vibrant limpid notes shall to thine ear be brought,
Aroma, lights and colors, songs with moaning fraught,
The essence of my faith shall constantly relate.

My idolized motherland, whose grieving makes me grieve,
Dearest Filipinas, hear my last farewell again!
I now leave all to thee, my parents, my loved ones I leave.
I go where there are no slaves, a brute's lash to receive;
Where faith does not kill, and where it is God who doth reign.

Farewell, my parents and brothers, parts of the soul of me,
Friends of my early childhood in the home now dispossessed,
Give thanks when I am at rest from this day of misery,
Sweet foreigner, my friend, my joy, farewell to thee.
Farewell my loved ones all . . . To die is but to rest.

XIV*

Translator: Alfredo Q. Gonzales
Date: 1938

Farewell, dear Fatherland, thou sun-kissed Pearl
Of the Eastern Sea, our ruined Paradise!
My helpless life I gladly give thee now,
And were it a shining, fresh and blooming life,
I still would lay it down for thy happiness.

My comrades now while fighting frenziedly
In battle-fields are giving thee their lives
Nor wavering, nor pausing to count the cost.
Oh, what does it matter where or how we die—
Cypress, lily, laurel, scaffold or field
Of combat, sword or brutal martyrdom—
When home and country call for sacrifice?

I die just as the east begins to glow
With the light of dawn, and, through the lifting veil
Of darkness, heralds forth the coming day.
If thou hast need of scarlet to tinge thy morn,
Pour out my blood in answer to thy need,
And gild it with the dawn's unfolding light.

My dreams when I was but a tender child,
My dreams when the heart of youth beat high with hope,
Were some day to see, O Gem of the Orient sea,
Thine eyes without a tear, thy noble brow
Nor marred nor bowed by care or grief or shame.

Dream of my life, my living, flaming desire,
All hail to thee! So greets my parting soul;
All hail! How beautiful it is to fall
That thou mayst rise, how sweet to die that thou
Mayst live—to die beneath thy cloudless sky,
And in thine enchanted lap forever sleep.

If o'er my grave some day thou chance to find
Among the deep, rank grass a lowly flower,
Draw it to thy lips, for 'tis my soul's;
So shall I feel on my brow in the chilly earth
The touch of thy loved hand and thy sweet, warm breath.

* First published in the *Philippine Magazine* (December, 1938) p. 571, and stanzas 1, 3, 5, 13 and 14 were quoted in Carlos Quirino's *The Great Malayan* (Manila, 1938). Translator was formerly dean of Central Philippine College, Jaro, Iloilo.

Let the moon shed over me its soft, calm light,
And the golden dawn its transient glory send;
Let the wailing wind there murmur plaintively,
And if perchance a bird alight on my cross,
There let it sing its canticle of peace.

Let the sun draw up the mists from land and sea
That the doleful cry of my spirit may follow them
And they to heaven in purity return.
Let some friendly soul beweep my untimely death,
And if on tranquil evenings a loving heart
Remembers me in prayer, O pray thou, too,
My native Land, that I may rest in peace.

Pray, too, for those who have perished in misery;
For those who have borne unequaled suffering;
For our hapless mothers who weep in bitterness;
For our orphans and widows, for our prisoners
Who groan in dungeons, racked with maddening pain.
And pray thou, too, for thyself, dear Motherland,
That soon thy final redemption thou mayst see.

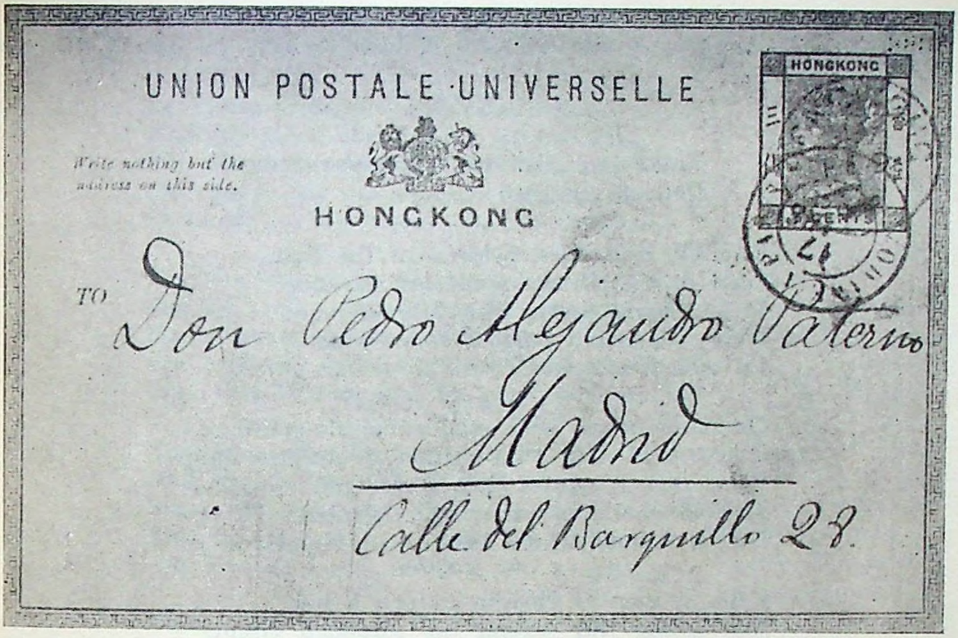
And when the night has wrapped the graveyard in gloom,
With none but the dead to keep the vigil there
Till morn, disturb thou not our tranquil rest,
Disturb thou not the sacred mystery.
Perchance midst the stillness thou wilt hear
The plaintive notes of a cithern or psaltery;
'This I, dear Country, singing unto thee.

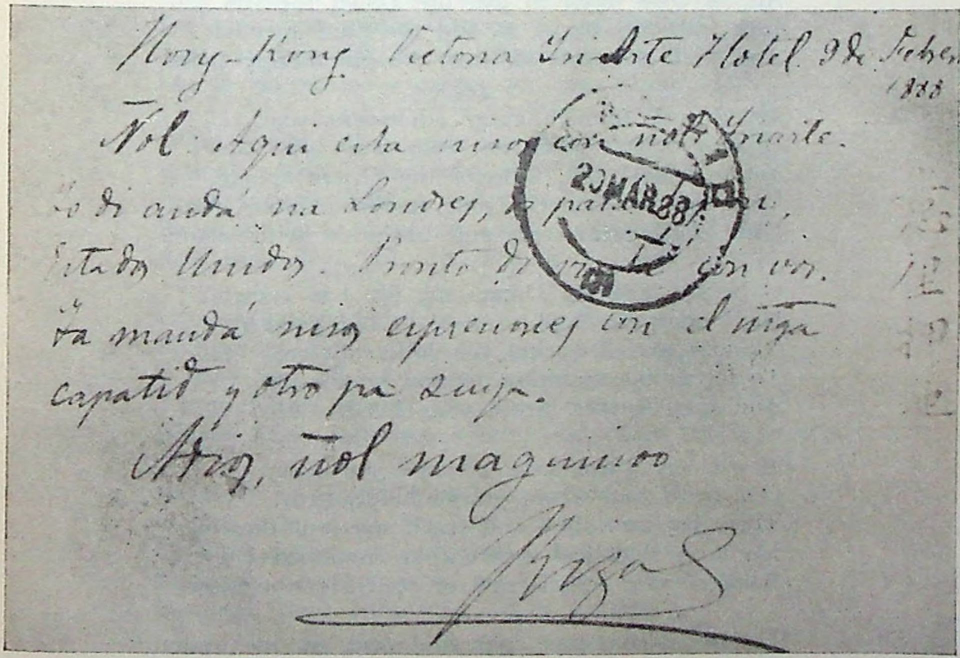
And when all remember me no more, and there
Is no longer a cross or stone to mark my grave,
There let some laborer go at the break of day
And cleave with spade or plow the grassy turf;
Let all my ashes vanish into dust
That they at last may be one with thy flowery sod.

What matters it, then, if thou hast forgotten me?
Thy skies and fields and valleys, I shall sweep;
I shall be to thee a clean and vibrant note;
I shall be fragrance, color, light and sound,
And mournful voice repeating my deathless faith.

O sacred Land, of all my sorrows the deepest!
Loved Philippines, hear now my last farewell.
I leave thee all: parents, kindred, and friends;
I go where there are neither tyrants nor slaves,
Where no one dies because of his faith or creed,
Where He who reigns is God, and God alone.

Farewell, dear ones — parents, brothers, sisters —
So rudely torn away from my inmost soul!
True friends of my childhood in the happy home
Made desolate by harsh and cruel hands;
Be thankful that I rest from the weary day.
Farewell, sweet stranger, my comrade and my joy!
Farewell, beloved ones!..... To die is to rest!





Rizal had a delightful sense of humor. While in Hongkong he sent a postcard to Pedro Alejandro Paterno in Madrid dated February 9, 1888, and wrote it in *chabacano*—that hodgepodge dialect spoken in Cavite and Zamboanga, a mixture of Spanish and Tagalog. "Ñol," he wrote. "Aqui está nisos con ñol Yriarte. Yo di andá na Londres, di pasá Japon, Estados Unidos. Pronto di visitá con vos. Ya mandá nisos espresiones con el mga capatid y otro na suya. Adios, ñol maguinoo — Rizal." His use of this dialect can best appreciated when we remember that Paterno was giving himself airs in Spain of a Luzon grandee descended from Malayan royalty. (From the Ongpin Collection.)

XV *

Translator: Trinidad Tarrosa Subido
Date: 1940

Farewell, dear Isles, beloved of the Sun,
Pearl of the Orient seas, lost Paradise!
Joyful, I will to you this Life undone;
Were it a fairer, fresher, fuller one,
I'd cede it still, your weal to realize.

On battle-fronts, with maddening do-and-dare,
Others yield Life, with neither doubt nor gall.
What matter cypress, laurel, lily fair,
Scaffold or camp, martyrdom, combat? 'Twere
Ever the same, where Home and Homeland call.

I die as soon as Heaven unfurls a hue,
Announcing Day behind the shrouded Night.
Ah, be there need to dye the Dawn for you,
Here, take my blood, to gild the hour through
And swell the glow of your new-glimmering light.

My dreams through every adolescent year,
Dreams in full manhood, ever were the same;
Yet to behold you, Gem of the Orient sphere,
Your sight undimmed, your forehead lifted clear—
Clear and unfurrowed, and unflush'd with shame

O bright, inspiring Dream my life has known,
Hail! cries this Soul so soon to bid good-bye:
Glorious to fall, seeing you loftier flown,
To forfeit life and thus redeem your own,
And sleep forever 'neath your Earth and Sky!

If o'er my grave some morrow you espy
One timid bud where grasses boldly grow,
There lay your lips—and reach my soul thereby:
My brow shall feel, where cold entombed I lie,
Balm of your breath, and of your kiss the glow.

Let the moonbeams, calm and cool, on me attend;
Their transient splendors, let the dawns release;
Let winds, their plaints and pious murmurs blend;
And if some bird upon my Cross descend,
Let it trill out its Canticle of Peace.

* From the *Philippines Free Press* (December 28, 1940) p. 3, where version is known to have appeared first. Translator is a well-known woman writer in English.

Let suns evaporate the rains again
And lift along the Essence of my sigh;
Let friends bewail my early end, and when
One prays for me at quiet vespers, then,
O Land, for my repose, invoke the sky!

Pray for the slain whom ill luck did befall,
For all who suffered anguish unsurpassed,
For mothers weeping so to ease their pall,
For orphans, widows, tortured ones in thrall;
Pray that Redemption be your boon at last.

And when the Darkness drapes each burial mound,
And but the dead keep vigil all night long,
Break not their rest, their mystery profound:
And should you hear zither or psalter sound.
'Tis I, dear Land, inditing you a Song.

Then when all mem'ries of my tomb expire,
And cross or marking stone remains no more,
Let plow and spade disperse its soil entire;
And ere my dust to nothingness retire,
Let it yet serve—a carpet for your floor.

What matters then that you forget me, when
I might explre your ev'ry dear Retreat?
Be as a note, pulsing and pure; and then,
Be scent, light, tone; be song or sigh, again;
And through it all, my Theme of Faith, repeat.

Land I enshrine, list to my last farewell!
Philippines, Love, of pains my Pain extreme,
I leave you all, all whom I love so well,
To go where neither slaves nor tyrants dwell,
Where Faith kills not, where God reigns all supreme.

Farewell to all my Soul does comprehend—
O kith and kin in my home dispossessed;
Give thanks my day oppressive is at end,
Farewell, sweet stranger, my delight and friend;
Farewell, dear ones. To die is to rest.

XVI *

Translator: AMADO M. YUZON
Date: 1943

Farewell, adorèd country, clime of Phoebus dear,
 Pearl of the Orient Sea, lost paradise!
Gladly I give to thee my life forlorn and sere,
Were it more fresh, more sweet or brighter in thy sphere,
 I would give it still for thy welfare's price.

On fields of battle, fighting in the wild array,
 Undaunted, countless men their lives forsake;
Cypress, lily, laurel—it matters not the way
Stake or arena, martyrdom or combat's sway,
 'Tis e'er the same for home and country's sake.

I die just when the heavens redden in my view,
 At last announcing day beyond the night,
And shouldst thou need to tinge the dawn with crimson hue,
Pour out my blood and lend in time its color true
 To incarnadine the sheen of waking light.

The dreams that from my childhood I have nursed for thee,
 Dreams of my youth that vigor's now aflame
Are to behold some day, Gem of the Orient Sea,
All dry thine ebon eyes, thy forehead up and free
 From wrinkles, frowns and mighty stains of shame.

Dream of my life, my living and my firm desire,
 Hail! shouts the soul that soon is deathward bound;
All hail! How sweet is it to fall that thou may'st rise,
To die to give thee life, die underneath thy skies,
 And sleep forever in thine enchanted ground!

If on my grave one day thou seest 'midst the gloom
 Of crowded herbs a modest flower rise
Draw it close to thy lips for 'tis my Psyche's bloom,
That I'll feel on my brow beneath in the cold tomb
 Warmth of thy breath and thine endearing sighs.

Let Dian shed o'er me her mild and tranquil light,
 Let dawn come forth its splendor to release,
Let the wind grievously sigh for me in its flight;
If on my lonely cross a bird should find delight,
 Let the bird tune its canticle of peace.

* First finished translation appeared in 1933; in 1936, translator revised it, his revision appearing in *Shanghai Evening Echo* in 1938. The present version is that found in the *Sunday Times Magazine* (December 28, 1947) p. 13, as further revised by him in 1943.

Let the hot sun to skies above the vapors send,
Behind it purified my clamors upward flood;
Let some kind fellow weep o'er my premature end
And if at afternoons serene there prays a friend,
Pray, too, my country, for my rest in God.

Pray for all those who died shorn of their happiness,
For those who bore such torments rarely schemed;
For our poor mothers who bemoaned their bitterness,
For widows, orphans and for captives in distress,
Pray, too that thou at last may'st be redeemed.

And when nocturnal gloom wraps the cemetery,
With but the dead in vigilance to be,
Disturb not their repose, break not the mystery,
And shouldst thou hear a zithern or sweet psaltery,
'Tis I, my country dear, who chant to thee.

And when my tomb, forgotten by the world at last,
Has neither cross nor stone to mark its mound
O let the farmer through it plow, and the spade blast—
Thus into naught before my ashes shall have pass'd,
They mingle with the carpet of thy ground.

Hence, to oblivion though consigned, what can I fear,
When all thy spheres and vales I shall be meeting?
A vibrant, limpid note always for thee to hear,
As fragrance, color, light, song, roar and lament clear,
The essence of my faith forever repeating.

My country idolized, grief of my griefs are thou;
Hear, Philippines beloved, my parting groan!
My parents and loved ones, to thee I leave them now,
I go where no salves, hangmen and oppressors know,
Where faith kills not and where God rules alone.

Farewell, my parents, brothers—fragments of my soul,
Friends in childhood in this home dispossessed;
Give thanks I will rest from my wearisome day's role;
Farewell, foreigner sweet, my friend, my joy, and all
Beloved ones, farewell . . . to die's to rest!

XVII *

Translator: JUAN COLLAS
Date: 1943

Farewell, dear Motherland, realm by the sun caressed,
Pearl of the Orient sea, our Eden lost!
Gladly I'm giving thee this life sad and distressed.
Were it brighter, fresher, and with fragrance more blest,
Still would I give it thee, for thine own good—at most!

On the fields of battle, in the frenzy of fight,
Others give thee their lives with neither doubt nor heed,
The place matters not—cypress, laurel, lily white,
Scaffold or plain, combat or the martyr's woeful plight:
'Tis all the same when home and country stand in need.

I'll die when I behold the sky with radiance flushed,
Heralding through the gloom of night the break of day,
If red dye thou needest to tinge thy dawn still hushed,
Pour out my blood at will, let life itself be crushed.
And with its crimson gild the rising ray.

My dreams when yet a boy—my thoughts were then of thee—
My dreams when in the prime of youth—loving flitting by—
Were to see thee one day, Gem of the Eastern sea,
Thine eyes undimmed by tears, thy lovely forehead high,
From frown and furrows and from blush entirely free.

Dream of my life, my living, all burning desire,
All hail! bids thee the soul that soon shall wing its flight,
All hail! how rich 'tis to fall that thou mayst aspire,
To die to give thee life, 'neath thy sky to expire,
And in thy wondrous land to sleep the endless night.

If o'er my grave some day thou shouldst see grow
Mid the luxuriant grass a simple, humble flower,
Press it to thy lips and kiss my soul so,
That I may feel on my brow the cold tomb below,
Of thy tenderness, the scent: the warmth, of thy breath's power.

Let the moon gaze on me with beams soft and serene;
Let the dawn break through with its radiant, fleeting rays;
Let the wind wail o'er me in tones mournful and keen;
And if upon my cross a bird perched should be seen,
Let it warble its song of peace from its quiet place.

* First published in the *Philippine Review* (December, 1943) p. 10-11. Translator was then a well-known newspaperman and literary critic.

Let the sun ablaze the raindrops to vapor turn
And skyward bear them pure with my protest;
Let some friendly heart o'er my untimely end mourn,
And when at eve a prayer to heav'n for me is borne,
Pray, too, O my country, that I in God may rest!

Pray for those who in utter wretchedness have died,
For all those who have suffered pains untold,
For our poor mothers who their sorrows out have cried,
For orphans, widows, men who on the rack are tried,
And for thyself that redemption thou mayst behold.

And when night's sable mantle wraps the graveyard round,
And only the dead to keep vigil there are free,
Break not the silence nor the mystery profound;
Perchance thou mayst hear a zither or psal'try sound;
'Tis I, dear Motherland, singing my song to thee!

And when my grave, by all to oblivion resigned,
Has neither cross nor stone to mark its site,
Let it be ploughed by man and scattered by the wind,
And ere to nothingness my ashes are consigned,
As dust upon thy carpet let them all alight!

Then 'twill not matter thou forgettest me!
Through thy clear space and o'er thy vales I'll sweep!
A vibrant, limpid note to thine ear I will be;
Fragrance, light, color, song, lament, and plea,
Ever repeating the faith that with thee I keep!

My country idolized that my heart with anguish crowned,
Beloved Philippines, list to my last farewell!
I leave thee all, all those to whom by love I'm bound;
I go where slaves, hangmen, tyrants are never found,
Where faith kills not, where God doth reign and dwell.

Farewell, parents, brothers, parts of me wrenched away!
Friends of my childhood in the dear home dispossessed!
Give thanks that I rest from the tiresome day!
Farewell, sweet stranger, friend, who shed joy on my way!
Farewell to you, my loved ones; to die is to rest!

XVIII *

Translator: Nick Joaquin
Date: 1944

Land that I love—farewell! O Land the Sun loves!
Pearl in the sea of the Orient: Eden lost to your brood!
Gaily go I to present you this hapless hopeless life;
were it more brilliant, had it more freshness, more bloom:
still for you would I give it—would give it for your good.

In barricades embattled, fighting with delirium,
others donate you their lives without doubts, without gloom,
The site doesn't matter: cypress, laurel or lily;
gibbet or open field, combat or cruel martyrdom,
are equal if demanded by country and home.

I am to die when I see the heavens go vivid,
announcing the day at last behind the dead night.
If you need colour, colour to stain that dawn with,
let spill my blood, scatter it in good hour,
and drench in its gold one beam of the newborn light.

My dreams when a lad, when scarcely adolescent:
my dreams when a young man, now with vigour inflamed;
were to behold you one day—Jewel of eastern waters!—
griefless the dusky eyes: lofty the upright brow:
unclouded, unfurrowed, unblemished, and unashamed!

Enchantment of my life, my ardent avid obsession:
To your health! cries the soul, so soon to take the last leap;
To your health! O lovely: how lovely: to fall that you may rise!
to perish that you may live! to die beneath your skies!
and upon your enchanted ground the eternities to sleep!

Should you find someday, somewhere on my gravemound, fluttering
among tall grasses, a flower of simple frame:
caress it with your lips and you kiss my soul.
I shall feel on my face across the cold tombstone,
of your tenderness: the breath—of your breath: the flame.

Suffer the moon to keep watch, tranquil and suave, over me;
suffer the dawn its flying lights to release:
suffer the wind to lament in murmurous and grave manner:
and should a bird drift down and alight on my cross,
suffer the bird to intone its canticle of peace.

* The above text is from the *Philippine Review* (June, 1944) p. 28-29; reprinted in the translator's *Prose and Poetry* (Manila, c1952) p. 193-195. Translator is a well-known literary figure whose *The Woman Who Had Two Navels* (a novel) has won for him the Republic Heritage Award for Literature for 1961.

Suffer the rains to dissolve in the fiery sunlight,
and purified reascending heavenward bear my cause:
suffer a friend to grieve I perished so soon:
and on fine evenings, when someone prays in my memory,
pray also: O my Land: that in God I repose.

Pray for all who have fallen befriended by no fate:
for all who braved the bearing of torments all bearing past:
for our pitiful mothers, piteously breathing forth bitterness:
for orphans and widows: for those in tortured captivity
and yourself—pray to behold your redemption at last.

And when in dark night shrouded the graveyard lies
and only, only the dead keep vigil the night through:
keep holy the peace: keep holy the mystery.
Strains, perhaps, you will hear—of zither, or of psalter:
it is I: O Land I love: it is I who sing to you!

And when my grave stands wholly remembered
and unlocated (no cross upon it, no stone there plain):
let the site be wrecked by the plow and cracked by the spade:
and let my ashes, before they vanish to nothing,
as dust be formed a part of your carpet again.

Nothing then will it matter to place me in oblivion—
across your air, your space, your valleys shall pass my wraith,
A pure chord, strong and resonant, shall I be in your ears:
fragrance, light, and colour—whisper, lyric, and sigh:
constantly repeating the essence of my faith.

Land that I idolize: prime sorrow among my sorrows:
beloved Filipinas: hear me the parting word.
I bequeath you everything—my family, my affections:
I go where flourish no slaves, no butchers, no oppressors:
where faith doesn't kill: where God's the sovereign Lord.

Farewell, my parents, my brothers—fragments of my soul:
friends of old and playmates in childhood's ravished house:
offer thanks that I rest from the restless day!
Farewell, sweet foreigner, my crony, my delight!
Creatures I love—farewell! To die is to repose.

XIX *

Translator: Godofredo Jacinto
Date: 1946

Farewell, beloved Motherland, isle blessed by the sun,
Pearl of the Orient sea, our Eden lost!
Gladly I leave now, giving this sad life and wan,
But were it brighter, fresher, or more fragrant
Still would I give it to thee at any cost.

On the fields of battle, midst the cannons' boom,
Others give thee their lives, with neither doubt nor grief,
What matter's the place—whether cypress, laurel, or lilies bloom,
Gibbet or open fields, Armageddon or martyr's doom;
'Tis all the same when home and country call for relief.

I die when I see in the sky the first light of morn,
Heralding through night's veil the coming of day;
If red color thou needest still to tinge thy dawn,
then pour out my blood and over it, spill in time
To gild with its scarlet the rising ray.

My dreams when the crimson blood of my youth runs high
My dreams when love and hope both are aflame,
Were to see thee one day, Gem of the Orient sea,
With thine eyes undimmed by tears, thy brow in the sky
And without frown, wrinkle, nor blush of shame.

Dream of my life, my fervent, ever-flaming delight,
All hail! cries out to thee the soul that soon'll take flight;
Hail! how glorious 'tis to fall, for thee to witness light;
To perish to give thee life, to die before thy sight,
And in thy fairyland, to sleep the eternal night.

If over my sepulchre some day thou seest grow
Amidst abundant grass a humble flower
Draw it to thy lips, for 'tis the flower of my soul,
That I may feel on my brow in the cold tomb below
Thy touch of tenderness, thy breath's warm power.

Let the moon shed on me light soft and serene,
Let the dawn its fugitive resplendence unleash,
Let the wind murmur with grievous plaint and grim;
And if perchance on my cross a bird be seen,
Let it chant to my ashes there its hymns of peace.

* Text from *The Recorder* (December, 1946) p. 35, where version first appeared. Translator heads a division in the Bureau of Commerce.

Let the blazing sun the raindrops to vapors change,
And to the heavens bear them pure with my protest;
Let some friendly soul weep o'er my untimely end,
And in tranquil nights, when for me some knees are bent,
Pray, too, O Motherland, that I in God may rest.

Pray for all those who died with neither joy nor peace,
For all those who suffered unmeasured affliction,
For our poor mothers who bewailed their bitterness,
For orphans, widows, for captives on pillories,
And for thee that thou mayst gain final redemption.

And when the sombre night enwraps the burial-ground
And only the dead remaining there to watch and witness,
Break not the silence nor the mystery profound;
But if thou shouldst hear a zither or psalter sound,
'Tis I, dear Motherland, singing to thee a song of praise.

And when already my tomb by all is forgotten;
By cross or stone its lone spot is marked no more,
Let it be ploughed by man and with spade, o'er turned,
That all my ashes mayst to nothingness be returned,
And with mingled dust carpet thy earthly floor.

Then it matters not if into oblivion I'm brought;
Beneath thy sky, across thy vales, I'll sweep.
To thee, I'll be a limpid, resounding note
And odor, light, color, song, sigh, and truth,
Ever repeating the faith with thee I keep.

My Motherland adored, pain of all my pains,
Beloved Filipinas, hear now my last good-by!
To thee, I leave them all: parents, kindred, and friends;
I go where slaves, hangmen, tyrants thou can't find,
Where faith never kills, where God alone reigns on high.

Farewell, parents and brothers, from my heart torn away,
Friends of my childhood in the home dispossessed!
Give thanks that I will now rest from the wearisome day!
Farewell, sweet stranger, my friend, my joy, on the way!
All my loved ones, farewell! To die is to rest!

XX *

Translator: Ramon Echevarria
Date: 1946

Farewell! O land I worship, Pearl of the Eastern Sea,
Our Eden lost beloved of the sky,
I go to give my sad and withered life to Thee;
Had life been brighter, fresher, far more sweet to me,
For Thee, my country, gladly would I die.

On fields of battle, in the midst of frenzied fight,
Undaunted, others for Thy sake expire;
The cypress or the laurel or the lily white,
To die in battle or by torture in the night,
Is all the same if land and home require.

I die when I behold the sky with hues abound,
And day awakes, after the sunless night;
Shouldst Thou need crimson pure to wrap Thy dawn around,
Pour out and freely spread my blood upon the ground
That it may tinge with red Thy nascent light.

My dreams when hardly childhood days had passed away,
My dreams in midst of youth's impetuous toil
Were all to see Thee gem of Orient seas one day,
No tear upon Thine eyes, no stain of shamed dismay
The proud, uplifted, noble brow to soil.

Fair, ardent dream that gleamed through life before my eyes,
All hail! the parting soul now cries to Thee,
All hail! how sweet it is to fall that Thou may'st rise,
To die that Thou may'st live, to die beneath Thy skies
And with Thee sleep through all eternity.

If on my sepulchre one day Thou see'st grow
Amidst the grass, a simple flower, O! press
That flower upon Thy lips, and kiss my spirit so,
That thus my brow may feel, within the tomb below,
The warm and tender gust of Thy caress.

Let the moon gaze on me with soft and tranquil light,
And dawn its brief resplendent rays release;
Let every wind its sad and mournful chant recite;
And should a bird descend and on my cross alight
Let it intone its canticle of peace.

* First published in the *Sunday Times Magazine* (December 29, 1946) p. 5. See Item XXVI for another, because practically a new, version by the same translator.

And let the burning sun the rain evaporate.
That they may purer rise and bear my plea,
Let some kind friend lament my sad and early fate
And when a prayer for me is raised, at twilight late,
Thou too, lift up a prayer to God for me.

O pray for those whom Death so soon away has blown;
For those who suffered torments unsurpassed
For our poor mothers who with bitter sorrows moan;
For those that cruel loss or cruel pain have known;
And pray that Thou may'st be redeemed at last.

And when the graveyard is enwrapped in night obscure,
And only death keeps vigil over me,
Do not disturb the mystery, nor the sleep secure;
Then Thou may'st hear of harp or lyre the accents pure—
It is my soul, my soul that sings to Thee.

And when my tomb at last, from human memory strayed,
Has neither cross nor stone to mark its place,
Let men plow over it and spread it with the spade,
That these my ashes, e'er to nothingness they fade,
The carpet of Thy sacred ground may trace.

Then let the years efface all memories of me;
Through space across Thy realms I still shall soar;
Clear, vibrant note unto Thy hearing shall I be—
Fragrance and light and color, song and sigh, to Thee
My faith repeating thus forevermore.

My worshipped country, source of all my soul's distress,
O Filipinas, hear my farewell strains;
All do I leave Thee: All the loves that I possess;
I go to where no vassals serve, no lords oppress,
Where faith kills not, where it is God who reigns.

Farewell parents and brothers, clasped within my mind,
My childhood comrades in the home forlorn—
Give thanks that rest after the weary day I find;
Farewell! sweet alien friend on whom my heart reclined;
Farewell! dear souls—in death repose is born.

XXI *

Translator: Jose M. Icasiano
Date: 1947

Adieu, our land adored, clime by sun caressed,
Pearl of Orient seas, our blissful Eden lost,
Glad, I'll offer thee this life, forlorn, unblest
If it were fresher far, more lustrous, at its best,
Still for thee I'd give it, for thee I'm blind to cost.

On open fields of battle, pitched with frenzied might,
Others die for thee without a moment's pause;
Small matter is the place; laurels or lily white,
Gibbet or open plain, red martyrdom or fight,
'Tis the same when 'tis for home and country's cause.

I die as I behold heaven's golden mane
At last proclaim the day rising from night's dark bow'r;
If crimson thou shouldst want thy radiant dawn to stain,
Turn my blood to dye, shed it now like rain,
Let it be gilt under thy sun's darting show'r!

My dreams, yes, when hardly in life's budding May,
My dreams, already a young man full of lusty life,
Were to see thee, gem of Orient seas, one day,
Thy dark eyes dry at last, raised thy forehead gay;
Fearless, smooth, unabashed, O unmarked with strife.

O dream of my existence, the very breath of my soul;
Hail! this spirit greets thee, for quickly it will fly;
Hail! Indeed 'tis sweet to fall to gain thy goal,
To die to win thee life, beneath thy sky to roll,
Below thine enchanted soil, for eternity to lie.

If upon my sepulchre, thou findst sprouting one day,
Amongst the crowding weed, a common, lowly bloss'm,
Raise it to thy lips, on my soul a kiss to lay,
And on my forehead I'll feel, beneath the tomb where I stay,
The gust of thy tenderness, the heave of thy warming bos'm.

Let the moon gaze on me with eyes tranquil and frail;
The dawn, let her release her fast-escaping rays;
The gale with sonorous tone, let her above me wail,
And if she should come down to pour on my cross a "Hail!"
Let the greeting chant her paean of peaceful days.

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* Version first appeared in the *Philippine Journal of Education* (December, 1947), p. A.

Let the sun draw the rains to his skies, burning throne,
Bleached, let them rise on high, behind my pray'r trails ev'n;
Allow a friendly being my hastened end to bemoan,
And when in the peaceful evenings, he should a pray'r intone,
Thou too, O Motherland, pray for my rest in heav'n.

Pray for all who've perished without fortune, in vain;
For those who suffer torments great and numberless;
For our poor wailing mothers groaning under pain;
For orphans, widows, — those under prison-torture have lain;
And pray that free from chains thou mayst win thy happiness.

And when in noble shades the graves themselves enshroud,
And alone, alone there the dead are left to be,
Bestir not their repose, their mystery allowed:
Then mayst thou hear of zither or psalter somewhat loud;
'Tis I, beloved land, 'tis I that sing to thee.

And now my resting-place perhaps nobody would know;
Nowhere a cross or stone to mark and show my mound:
Let the farmer plough it and scatter it with his hoe,
Before my ashes slip back to nothingness — Lo!
E'en amongst the dust of thy rugs they'd be found.

It matters not that I'm forget: I've no fears;
Thy atmosphere, thy spaces, thy vales I will traverse,
Vibrant and clearest note I'll be to soothe thy ears;
Light, aroma, colors, rumor, chant and tears,
The essence of my faith, for aye I shall rehearse.

My country idolized, source of my bitterest gall,
Beloved Philippines, list to my last adieu;
There all I leave to thee: my parents, loved ones, all;
I fly where unheard the hangman's noose, the tyrant's thrall;
Where faith requires no life, where God gives man his due.

My parents, brothers, fragments of my soul, adieu!
Companions of my childhood, lost in homeland quest,
Give thanks that now I rest, past the life of rue;
My foreigner sweet, my friend, happiness, adieu!
Adieu! my dearest ones, adieu!... to die is to rest!

XXII *

Translator: PHILIP L. BRUNO
Date: 1955

Farewell, my hallowed homeland, the tropic sun's dear treasure,
The Eastern Sea's pearl necklace, our Paradise Lost, still;
My withered life I offer, with heartfelt pride and pleasure,
And were it fresh and youthful, with brilliance none could measure,
Still would I give it for you, my blood I'd gladly spill.

On battle fields fight others; their all for you they venture;
Your name, on dying, they speak, with no sigh of regret.
They care not what awaits them: oblivion, wreath, palm, censure
Noose, no man's land, fierce combat; they face their last adventure.
For land and home they're martyrs: their country's not free yet.

Death beckons just when I see the sky begin to lighten;
I see, on the horizon, pale dawn of your new day.
If pigment's needed by you, the heaven's face to brighten,
I beg you pour my life-blood, it will dawn's color heighten;
The sun's soft golden rays, soon, will fondly on it play.

From early youth, I've harbored one firm determination:
To see you free, my country, has been my constant aim;
Yes, Eastern Sea's famed jewel, God's noble, dear creation,
To see you dry-eyed, calm, strong, a self-respecting nation,
Your brow no longer frowning, your proud eyes free from shame.

A toast "To you, your health," now, my soul shouts with deep feeling,
"To you, your health," dear country; I go, but please don't weep;
It's wonderful to greet death, erect or prone, or kneeling,
To fall that you may soar up, and, to your love appealing,
In this land of enchantment, eternally to sleep.

Upon my weedy, dank grave, if some day you see growing
A plain and humble flower, which has survived the storm,
Please pick it, it's my soul there, please kiss it before going;
And in my tomb I'll feel then, your breath, your gentle blowing
Your touch, your strokes so tender, your lips so dear and warm.

Permit the moon to gaze down, with calm glance ever fonder;
Let dawn's bright daily greeting to my grave never cease;
Let winds howl, breezes whisper, let zephyrs freely wander;
And should a tired bird near, a herald from out yonder,
Please let him rest on my cross, to sing his song of peace.

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* Text from the *Manila Times* (December 30, 1955), p. 14. Translator studied Spanish poetry and was connected with Ayerts Laboratories, drug manufacturers in New York, which published and distributed copies of the translation to its customers thru a local drug company.

Let rain fall and sun beat down, the streaming mist dispersing,
Let droplets rise, pure, skyward, as upward my plaint goes;
For me let some kind soul grieve, in sorrow his lips pursing;
At night, when he prays for me, his prayers fond hopes nursing,
To God pray, too, my country, for me, for my repose.

Pray for the luckless victims of dread assassination,
For those who suffer bravely, severe, untold distress,
For our poor mothers weeping, great is their consternation,
For homeless orphans, widows, who face severe privation;
Pray for yourself, that you may your freedom dear possess.

At night the cemetery, enshrouded in robes ashen,
Will shield the lonely corpses that keep their vigil long,
Intrude not, let peace reign there, for their lot have compassion;
If psaltery or harp sound, played in a wondrous fashion,
It's I, dear homeland, I sing and play for you my song.

And when my tomb's forgotten by man, bird, moon and breezes,
No cross or stone to mark it, do one thing more you must;
Let man plough deep and hoe up the earth just as he pleases.
Before bleak nothingness, though, my swirling ashes seizes,
Let them your carpets cover as particles of dust.

For me to be forgotten will then no longer matter;
Your stars, your winds, clouds, streams, tides, my being will pursue;
Clear, vibrant notes will echo my love I'll widely scatter;
I'll be all things to all men: song, color, scent, groans, clatter;
The essence of my faith lives; it always lives with you.

I've love you, shared your woes, wept; but, no time for reflection,
Dear Philippines, dear islands, hear now my last farewell:
My all I leave you: parents, my loved ones, my affection.
I go where there's no tyrant or slave, where all's perfection,
Where faith's eternal light shines; where God reigns: all is well.

Farewell, my parents, brothers, who with me sat at table,
Best friends of my dear childhood, in our home which God blessed;
Rejoice that I am resting, removed from pain and babel.
Farewell, dear foreign-born mate, to please me ever able;
Farewell, my fellow beings, to die is but to rest.

XXIII *

Translator: Mario Cerdena Reyes
Date: 1958

Farewell, Fatherland adored, clime cherished of sun,
Pearl of the Orient sea, our lost Paradise!
Gladly I go, I give you this life drear and done:
Had it more gleam, more greenery, more blossom won,
Still would I give it you, your good, heedless of price!

On battlefields, beleaguered, daring in delirium,
Others their lives bequeath you nor doubting nor distress'd.
The site matters naught: cypress, laurel or lily, come!
Gallows or open terrain, combat or cruel martyrdom:
Level they are all if by home and Country stress'd.

I die when I shall see scarlet the young sky,
Blazing at length the day beyond the broken night,
If color you desire with such your dawn to dye,
Un-vein my blood, in good hour radiate it high:
Incarnadine one reflex of the nascent light!

My dreams scarcely while a stripling, adolescent,
My dreams while a youth now with strength for fame:
Were one day to see you, O gem of the waters Orient,
Tearless the darkish eyes, the smoothed brow unbent,
With nor frown, nor furrow, with nor slur of shame.

Reverie of my life: my ardent, spirited sigh,
I salute you! cries the soul, sudden death-tryst to keep,
I salute you! O beautiful to fall and bid you fly!
Giving you breath, to die—succumb under your sky,
And on your enchanted earth the eternal hour to sleep!

If some day you discern over my sepulcher burgeon,
Among the surging grass, a flow'r of artless attire:
With your lips cherish it—caress to my soul is done:
And I may feel on my brow, beneath death's cold region,
The wind of your tenderness, of your wind the fire.

Suffer to look on me the moon tranquil and suave,
Suffer the dawn its rush of red radiance to fling:
Suffer to wail the wind o'er me in murmurs grave;
And if bird, perched upon my cross, its winging waive,
Suffer the bird its canticle of peace to sing.

* First published in the *Philippines Herald Saturday Magazine* (December 27, 1958) p. 6.

Suffer the sun, flaming, the fallen rains to rear,
Cleansed: then to the skies may they my clamor pose:
Suffer to cry a friend o'er this life suddenly sear;
And in serene evenings even as uttered: an orison sheer—
Pray too, O Fatherland, that in God I may repose.

Pray for all who have perished quietly veiled from fame,
For all who pliantly bided with the unequalled passion;
For piteous mothers to black bitterness a reclaim,
For our widows and orphans, for captives in tortured shame;
And for yourself, pray, to gaze at your final redemption!

And when the night's paleness shrouds the burial-yard,
And only—with the dead only: to keep my vigil through,
Do not break the silence, but the mystery guard;
Chords of zither or psalter perhaps you may regard:
It is I, Fatherland beloved: I, singing to you!

And when my tomb, at length by all forgotten ever,
Is lost to cross or stone either to write its place—
Suffer the plow to bruise it, the spade disperse it over;
And my ashes, before into nothingness shall dissever,
As returning dust, the carpet of your earth may trace.

Nothing then will disturb me, if for oblivion meant,
Across your atmosphere, your space, your valleys I shall fare;
A vibrant and clear music: myself for you hearing present:
Aroma, light and color: murmur, strain and lament:
My Fatherland adored! sheer dolor to my dolors,

The essence of my faith constantly to declare.
Beloved Philippines, hear: my farewell thoughts I lay!
All, all I offer you: my kindred, my heart's ardors:
I go where are no slaves, no slayers, no oppressors,
Where faith not kills, where God holds sovereign sway.

Farewell, parents and brothers: to my shattered soul a prey;
Friends, comrades of my childhood in homes ruptured by throes:
Give thanks that I shall rest from the relentless day!
Farewell, sweet foreigner—heart, happiness of my way!
Farewell, creatures beloved! To die is to repose!

XXIV*

Translator: Joaquin Sola
Date: 1959

Farewell, my Country, region of the Sun,
Pearl of the Eastern sea, our Eden torn!
I offer you my life which sorrows stun,
And were it brighter into flower spun,
Still would I cede it fresher for your morn.

On fields of battle, at the rage of fight,
The others yield their lives without a heed;
It matters not the place — a lily white,
A cypress, laurel, or a martyr's plight,
Will be the same if asked by Country's need.

I die when dawn will into crimson break
To bring the day that passed the gloom of night;
If there's a need that blood from me you take,
You pour it out in time for your own sake,
To dye incarnadine the pallid light.

My dreams when adolescence throbbed in me,
My dreams when youth in me was beating high,
Were then to see you, Gem of Eastern sea,
From grief and gloom your eyes and forehead free,
With neither crease nor frown, nor blush, nor sigh.

Dream of my life and burning keen desire,
All hail! — the soul is shouting ere it's flight;
All hail! — How sweet for you is to expire;
To give you life beneath your heaven's fire;
And sleep within your land wrapped in the night.

If o'er my grave you'll see at morning glow
Upon the grass a humble flower fair,
You draw it to your lips and kiss me so,
While feel I on my brow where chill may flow,
The fondness of your breath with warmth of air.

Let moon upon me gleam with softness bright,
Let dawn outspread on me its fulgent flashes,
Let wind cry sadly from the lofty height,
And if a bird on my cross will alight,
Let it chant to the peace of my cold ashes.

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* Hitherto unpublished, text was furnished the compiler by Prof. Leopoldo R. Serrano, chief Researcher, Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission. Translator is the author of *Carne y Sangre (poesias)*, Manila, 1938.

Let burning sun evaporate the rain
    To follow heavenward what I protest;
Let some kind friend heave over me his pain,
And if at eves a prayer soars again,
    —My Country! — pray that I in God may rest!

You pray for all who with misfortune die,
    For those who suffer the unequalled doom;
For mothers who in sorrows deeply cry,
For captives, widows, sons, whom tortures try,
    And for yourself to see your freedom bloom.

When on the graveyard night will darkly fall,
    And but the dead keep vigil all night through,
Don't break the peace at their mysterious pall,
And if the trills of zither seem to call,
    —My Country! — it is I who sings to you.

And when my tomb is through oblivion bare
    And is unmarked by cross and any stone,
Let ploughmen and their spades have it to share,
By spreading on your carpet so to pair
    My ashes with the green before they're blown.

It matters not if you won't design to care
    While I shall cross your airs and skies and dells;
A scent and color, murmur, note and glare,
A sigh and song I'll be across your air,
    Repeating what my Faith forever tells.

My Country that endears through pain and sob;
    My Philippines, you hear this last farewell!
I have to go, my parents and my love,
Where neither hangmen, slaves, nor tyrants mob,
    Where harmless Faith and God forever dwell.

My parents, brothers, pieces of my soul,
    My childhood friends from broken homes — goodbye!
Give thanks my tiresome day has resting goal!
Goodbye! sweet stranger friend who can console!
Goodbye! dear ones. To rest I have to die!

XXV *

Translator: JOSE B. PANGILINAN
Date: 1959

Farewell, O, dear Motherland, region by the sun carressed,
Pearl of the Orient Seas, our lost Garden of Eden;
With joy I give thee this life saddened and sorely distressed,
And were it brighter, fresher, more brilliant or more blest,
Still will I give it to thee, over again and again.

On the field of the raging battle, in the frenzy of the fight,
Others gladly give their lives with not a doubt and not a care;
It matters not where the place: cypress, laurel, or lily white,
Stinking dungeon, murky field, combat or martyrdom's plight,
It is all the same for them, if the country bids them dare.

I shall die, as I behold the dawn colors the sky,
And announces the day, after the gloom of the night;
And if crimson thou needest, the lingering shadows to dye,
Thou canst spill this blood of mine, and before I fall and die,
A smile shall guild the rays of the early morning light.

My dreams when only a boy, in adolescent ease,
My dreams when a restless youth filled with vigor and dare;
Were to see thee one day, O, Jewel of the Orient seas,
Dry, thy dark lovely eyes, thy brow high, serene with bliss,
No grief in them darkening, no frown foreboding, nor care.

Beautiful dreams of my life; Merciful Heavens kindly light,
Hail! Cries this hapless soul, in the bitter throes of grief;
Hail! How beautiful it is, to fall, to give thee flight,
To die to give thee life, to die under thy starlight,
And 'neath thy enchanted sod, an Eternity to sleep!

If over my lonely grave, thou seest one day sprout in bloom,
Amidst a wild growth of weeds, a simple lowly blossom;
Press it softly to thy lips, and kiss my soul in the gloom,
And I shall feel on my brow in the cold darkness of my tomb,
The tenderness in thy touch and the warmth in thy bosom.

Let the moon gaze at me with its lambent tranquil light,
Let with me tarry a moment, the flighty splendor of dawn;
Let the wind murmur to me, in the quiet silent night,
And if on my cross, a bird descends and softly alight,
Let that bird, its melodious song of peace, to entone.

* First printed in the *Saturday Mirror Magazine* (December 26, 1959) reprinted with slight corrections in the *Philippines Herald* (December 31, 1960).

Let the burning sun, the rains to evaporate and lift,
And to the heavens rise pure, with my ardent supplication;
Let an unknown friend over my early death to weep,
And in the sereneness of eve when someone for me a prayer keep,
Pray too, O, Motherland, for my earthly liberation.

Pray thou for all those who died in total hopelessness,
For all those who suffered unjust and cruel privation;
For our dear, poor mothers who swallowed their bitterness,
For our orphans, and widows, prisoners brutally oppressed,
And for thee, that thou mayest see thy final redemption.

And when by the night's darkness is wrapped the cemetery,
And thou alone with the dead in a silent vigil be;
Disturb thou not their repose, disturb not the mystery,
And if perchance hearest thou a cithern or psaltery,
'Tis I, O, dear Motherland, it is I, that sings for thee.

When my lonely grave by all has been already forgot,
Not a cross, not a stone to mark where the place may be;
Let the men with the plow and the hoe till the spot
So that my ashes before they shall be returned to naught,
They may the dust of thy ever verdant carpet be.

It would not matter much then that thou forgettest me,
For thy atmosphere, thy space, thy vales, I shall ever sweep;
Very clear and vibrant a note for thy songs I shall ever be,
Aroma, light, color, ardor, and a song that to thee
Will constantly repeat the essence of the faith I keep.

O, Motherland idolized, the sorrow of my sorrows,
Beloved Filipinas, Hear thou this my last refrain;
To thee I leave my parents, my today and tomorrows,
I go where there are no slaves, no tyrants their paths to cross,
Where loving Faith does not kill, where Justice and God e'er reign.

Farewell parents and brothers, my lonely soul's mainstay,
Dear friends of my infancy, in our loved lost bequest;
Give thank that I could rest from a very weary day,
Farewell, dear stranger, my loving friend sweet and gay,
Farewell, my dearest beings. To die is to rest!

XXVI *

Translator: Alfredo S. Veloso
Date: 1960

Adieu, Motherland adored, region by the sun beloved,
Pearl of the Orient sea, our Eden lost.
Gladly I go, giving thee the sad withered life;
And were it more brilliant, fresher, more florid,
Still for thee would I give it, give it for thy good.

In fields of battle, fighting with delirium,
Others give thee their lives, without doubts, without regret,
The place matters not: cypress, laurel or lily,
Scaffold or open field, combat or cruel martyrdom,
'Tis the same if asked by Motherland and home.

I die when I see the sky coloring itself
And at last announcing dawn after the murky cloak;
If reddish hue thou need to tint thy dawn,
Pour my blood, spill it in good hour
And gild it with a reflection of its nascent light!

My dreams when scarcely an adolescent,
My dreams when a youth, already with vigor full,
Were to behold thee one day, jewel of the Orient Sea,
Dark eyes dry, smooth brow held high,
Frownless, without wrinkles, without stains of the blush.

Dream of my life, my ardent living desire,
To thy health! cries the soul that soon will depart,
To thy health! ah, 'tis beautiful to fall to give thee flight;
To die to give thee life, die beneath thy sky,
And in thy enchanted soil eternity sleep!

If some day thou should see over my sepulchre sprout,
Amongst the thick grass a simple humble flower,
Raise it to thy lips and kiss my soul,
And let me feel on my brow, beneath the cold tomb,
The puff of thy tenderness, the warmth of thy breath.

Let the moon see me with light tranquil and gentle,
Let the dawn send its fugitive splendor;
Let the wind with its grave murmur wail;
And should a bird descend and on my cross alight,
Let the bird intone its canticle of peace.

* First appeared in the translator's *Anguish, Fulness, Nirvana* (Manila, 1960) p. 137-138. The present, with slight revision, is that found in his *Where Slaves There are None* (Manila, 1961) p. 141, 143, 145. Fifth line of eleventh stanza is missing in the later source, but is here supplied from the former.

Let the flaming sun the rains evaporate
And clearness to the sky restore, with my clamor in pursuit;
Let a friendly being my early end weep;
And in the afternoons serene, when someone for me prays,
Pray too, oh Motherland, to God for my repose.

Pray for all who died without luck;
For those who unequalled torments suffered;
For our poor mothers, who wail their bitterness;
For orphans and widows, for prisoners in torture,
And pray for thyself, that thou see thy final redemption.

And when the cemetery in dark night is enveloped,
And alone only the dead keep vigil there,
Disturb not their repose, disturb not the mystery:
Perchance, thou may hear the chords of cithara or harp:
'Tis I, dear Mothherland, I who sing to thee.

And when already, my tomb by all is forgotten,
Without cross or stone to mark its place,
Let man plow it, scatter it with the hoe,
And my ashes, ere they return to nothingness,
The dust of thy carpet be.

Then it matters not that thou put me in oblivion:
Thine atmosphere, thy space, thy valleys I shall cross;
Vibrant and clear note to thine ear I shall be;
Aroma, light, color, rumor, song, sigh,
Constantly repeating the essence of my faith.

My idolized Motherland, sorrow of my sorrows,
Dear Philippines, listen to the last adieu.
There I leave thee all: my parents, my loves.
I go where slaves, executioners or oppressors there are none;
Where faith does not kill, where he who reigns is God.

Adieu, parents and brothers, fragments of my soul,
Childhood friends, in the lost home;
Give thanks that I rest from the wearisome day;
Adieu, sweet foreigner, my friend, my joy;
Adieu, beloved beings... To die is to rest!

XXVII *

Translator: Ramon Echevarria
Date: 1960

Farewell, land that I love, pearl of the Orient sea,
Our Eden lost beloved of the sky;
I go to give my sad and withered life to thee,
And were it brighter, fresher or far more sweet to me,
For thee, my land, yet gladly would I die.

On many a battlefield, in midst of rage and pain,
Thy sons expire and ask not why nor where:
The glory or the gloom, the scaffold or the plain,
The cypress or the laurel or the lily without stain,
If thou hast need of it is each as fair.

I die when I behold the sky with hues abound,
When day at last is blazoned on the night;
Shouldst thou need crimson streaks to wrap thy dawn around,
Pour out and freely spread my blood upon the ground,
That it may tinge with red thy nascent light.

The dreams that filled my boyhood with hope's refulgent grace,
And in my manhood's strength my dreams of thee,
Were of thy tearless eyes, and of thy lifted face,
No frown upon thy forehead, no blemish of disgrace
Upon thy cheek, thou goddess of the sea.

My deathless dream of dreams, All hail! the spirit cries,
The soul that soon must part and dream no more,
All hail! and sweet it is to fall that thou mayst rise,
To die that thou mayst live, to die beneath thy skies
And sleep eternally beneath thy floor.

If on my sepulchre, amidst the mossy gloom,
Some day a simple, humble flower should grow,
Ah, lift it to thy lips and kiss my soul in bloom,
And breathe upon my brow grown cold within the tomb
The tender warmth of thy affection so.

Let the moon gaze on me with soft and tranquil light;
Let dawn its brief resplendent rays release;
Let every wind its sad and moanful chant recite;
And should a bird descend and on my cross alight,
Let it intone upon me hymns of peace.

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* Issued as a supplement to *Century Magazine* (December, 1960), a monthly edited also by the translator. See Item XX for an early version by him.

Let sunlight on the rains its burning power impose,
And let their vapors lift my voice in air;
Let some kind friend lament my life's untimely close;
And should at dusk be raised a prayer for my repose,
Unto the Lord, O land, unite thy prayer.

Pray for the valiant dead in darkness overthrown;
For those who suffered torments unsurpassed;
For all our anguished mothers, that mute with grief have grown;
For widows and for orphans; for prisoners in moan;
And pray that thou mayst be redeemed at last.

And when the graveyard lies in mournful midnight's keep
Where but the lonesome dead abide with me,
Do not disturb the spell, stir not the soundless sleep;
Perhaps a song shall urge from out the haunted deep—
It is my soul, my soul that sings to thee.

And when my tomb at last, forgotten among men,
Has neither cross nor stone upon the mound,
Let it be cleft and spread beneath the plow — that then,
Before my ashes fade to nothingness again,
They may become the dust upon thy ground.

And then, though time efface all memories of me,
Through space across thy realms my soul shall soar;
Clear note unto thy hearing forever shall I be:
I shall be scent and light, lament and song to thee,
My faith repeating thus forevermore.

My worshipped fatherland, beloved pain of pains,
O Filipinas, hear the last farewell!
All do I leave to thee, all that the heart contains;
I go where faith kills not, where it is God who reigns,
Where neither hangmen nor oppressors dwell.

Farewell, parents and brethren forever in my mind,
My friends of childhood in the home forlorn—
Be thankful that I leave my tiresome day behind;
Farewell, sweet foreigner within my heart enshrined;
Farewell, dear souls—in death repose is born.

XXVIII *

Translators: ENCARNACION ALZONA and ISIDRO ESCARE ABETO
Date: 1961

Farewell, my adored Land, region by the sun caressed,
Pearl of the Orient Sea, our Eden lost,
With gladness I give you my Life, sad and repressed;
And were it more brilliant, more fresh and at its best,
I would still give it to you for your welfare at most.

On the fields of battle, in the fury of fight,
Others give you their lives without pain or hesitancy,
The place does not matter: cypress, laurel, lily white,
Scaffold, open field, conflict or martyrdom's site,
It is the same if asked by the home and Country.

I die as I see tints on the sky b'gin to show
And at last announce the day, after a gloomy night;
If you need a hue to dye your matutinal glow,
Pour my blood and at the right moment spread it so,
And gild it with a reflection of your nascent light!

My dreams, when scarcely a lad adolescent,
My dreams when already a youth, full of vigor to attain,
Were to see you, gem of the sea of the Orient,
Your dark eyes dry, smooth brow held to a high plane,
Without frown, without wrinkles and of shame without stain.

My life's fancy, my ardent, passionte desire,
Hail! Cries out the soul to you, that will soon part from thee;
Hail! How sweet 'tis to fall that fulness you may acquire;
To die to give you life, 'neath your skies to expire,
And in your mystic land to sleep through eternity!

If over my tomb some day, you would see blow,
A simple humble flow'r amidst thick grasses,
Bring it up to your lips and kiss my soul so,
And under the cold tomb, I may feel on my brow,
Warmth of your breath, a whiff of your tenderness.

Let the moon with soft, gentle light me descry,
Let the dawn send forth its fleeting, brilliant light,
In murmurs grave allow the wind to sigh,
And should a bird descent on my cross and alight,
Let the bird intone a song of peace o'er my site.

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* This is the latest translation found of the poem. Text, which is hitherto unpublished, is from a typewritten copy obtained from the translators. Dr. Encarnacion Alzona, besides heading the translation panel of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, is a well-known historian and member of the Board of Regents, U.P.

Let the burning sun the raindrops vaporize
And with my clamor behind return pure to the sky;
Let a friend shed tears over my early demise;
And on quiet afternoons when one prays for me on high,
Pray too, oh, my Motherland, that in God may rest I.

Pray thee for all the hapless who have died,
For all those who unequalled torments have undergone;
For our poor mothers who in bitterness have cried;
For orphans, widows and captives to tortures were shied,
And pray too that you may see your own redemption.

And when the dark night wraps the cemet'ry
And only the dead to vigil there are left alone,
Don't disturb their repose, don't disturb the mystery:
If you hear the sounds of cithern or psaltery,
It is I, dear Country, who, a song t'you intone.

And when my grave by all is no more remembered,
With neither cross nor stone to mark its place,
Let it be plowed by man, with spade let it be scattered
And my ashes ere to nothingness are restored,
Let them turn to dust to cover your earthly space.

Then it doesn't matter that you should forget me:
Your atmosphere, your skies, your vales I'll sweep;
Vibrant and clear note to your ears I shall be:
Aroma, light, hues, murmur, song, moanings deep,
Constantly repeating the essence of the faith I keep.

My idolized Country, for whom I most gravely pine,
Dear Philippines, to my last goodbye, oh, harken
There I leave thee all: my parents, loves of mine,
I'll go where there are no salves, tyrants or hangmen
Where faith does not kill and where God alone does reign.

Farewell, parents, brothers, beloved by me,
Friends of my childhood, in the home distressed;
Give thanks that now I rest from the wearisome day;
Farewell, sweet stranger, my friend, who brightened my way;
Farewell, to all I love. To die is to rest.

Appendix A

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATIONS

By A. B. German

As far as is known, there are to date no less than 28 translations of Rizal's *"Ultimo Adios"* in English. The number is highly significant in that while the poem has had many translations into the Philippine and other foreign languages, individually their extent has never far exceeded that in English.

Among the earliest translations in English were those of Volpicelli, Pattens, Schneider, Derbyshire and Laubach. One of these has been read in the U.S. Congress; the others have been published in journals and printed in school books for children to study and memorize. Derbyshire's translation belongs to the latter group, for which reason it has become very familiar to many.

Inspired by the same Rizal poem other writers followed the pioneers from time to time. Names familiar to us in literature and journalism, such as Romulo, Dato, Tarrosa-Subido, Collas, Joaquin, took their turns in drawing the essence of Rizal's immortal poem and distilled it in English.

Rizal has written barely two dozen poems. With less than half the number he could be nonetheless worthy of wearing the laurel crown of a poet. If poets were really born, Rizal was not an exception. He was babbling in short verses at an early age to the delectation of his mother. In his youth, he won the coveted honor of a poet over his Spanish classmates with his *"A la Juventud Filipina,"* a poem in *liras,* four-line stanzas with 7- and 11-syllable lines. His friends in Europe were highly pleased when he wrote for them *"Me Piden Versos"* in *decima* or *espinela,* a stanza-form of 10-syllable lines. In *"Mi Retiro,"* he had tried with success the *alejandrinos,* which are 14-syllable lines in five-line stanzas, rhyming *a,b,a,a,b.* It was this latter meter which he developed and used with masterful strokes in his *"Ultimo Adios,"* his masterpiece.

One who knows Spanish and reads the original poem cannot fail to enjoy the brilliant phrases and the striking rhythm and melody which reveal vividly the emotions of a man about to die

for his country. Having suffered oppression with his loved ones, our hero and poet hoped that there would some day be freedom for everyone in his fair land.

The expressions of his soul in torment and anguish cannot fail to strike a responsive chord in a reader's heart. Their poignant feeling catches and stirs a fellow poet's imagination. Everyone would have wished that he were the author of the poem. Thus, so full with ennobling thoughts and feelings, Rizal's poem had inspired others to translate it into English in the same manner it had inspired those who have rendered it into the Philippine and foreign languages, such as French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, and Sanskrit among others.

But translating Rizal's poem into English presents major problems to the writer. Plain literal translation is weak, as it can hardly carry through the meaning of symbolic words and phrases, much less the rhythm and the music. Rizal sought to fill his poem with emotions similar to the subdued-yet-vivid hues of dawn and sunset which, varying in range and gradations, rise to the heights of song and color to brighten earth and sky. There were beautiful imagery, delicate pathos, and an entrancing rhythm. So high did he soar in the poetic heights that few of his translators were able to follow him through all his movements in flight. The fluidity of the Spanish phrases and the seeming ease and freedom and naturalness in the construction of the verses kept them apparently at a loss as to how to handle English foot, accent, word, phrase, pause, and rhyme to reproduce as closely as possible the form, content and melody of the original.

Verse-writing in Spanish is chiefly syllable-counting and rhyming, and does not give as much emphasis to the regular distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables as in conventional English prosody. Thus a translator may take the easier way and choose as his vehicle a literal translation in English or in free verse, or if he wants to be more assiduously English, adopt any one of many possible English rhythms. This explains the variations in form between the translations as well as the various effects each translator had produced.

Variety of rendition in this collection ranges, therefore, from the literal translation or free verse of Mikami, Anonymous, Rubottom, Gonzalez, De Rivas, Maramara and Confesor and, lately, Veloso, through the rhymed tetrameters and pentameters of Scott and Romulo, to the halting, hemistiched hypercatalectic hexameters of Bruno, where the caesuras of Rizal's original are markedly emphasized.

The literal translations and free verse of Mikami and others followed content and phrasing of the original closely but, on the contrary, had neglected fidelity to the original form and rhymed rhythmical verse. Compare, for example, De Rivas' first stanza with Rizal's original, immediately succeeding:

> Farewell! my adored country; region beloved of the sun; pearl/ of the Orient sea; our lost Eden! I cheerfully give for/ thee my saddened life, and had it been brighter, happier/ and more rosy, I would as willingly give it for thy sake.

> Adios, patria adorada, region del sol querida!
> Perla del mar de Oriente, nuestro perdido eden;
> A darte voy alegre la triste, mustia vida.
> Y fuera mas brillante, mas fresca, mas florida,
> Tambien por ti la diera, la diera por tu bien.

De Rivas' translation is literal and appears more as a paraphrase than as a poem. In turning Rizal's expressions almost word for word into English, he obtained a very prosy effect. His work failed to register the mid-line caesuras, the cadences, and the end-line pauses, bringing in run-on lines which cut down rhythm and issuing forth paragraphs instead of stanzas.

Just recently Veloso turned out a literal translation similar to De Rivas. He did away, however, with De Rivas' mistakes, keeping the caesuras and injecting free-verse rhythm, and produced better, and more acceptable work. His first stanza is typical and may be compared with De Rivas' and Rizal's to discover the improvements:

> Adieu, Motherland adored, region of the sun beloved,
> Pearl of the Orient sea, our Eden lost.
> Gladly I go, giving thee the sad withered life;
> And were it more brilliant, fresher, more florid,
> Still for thee would I give it, give it for thy good.

As can be seen, Veloso translated the original word for word, caught its meaning and its tempo, and, in this regard, surpassed all other literal translators.

Maramara and Confesor also belong to their group. Although Veloso surpasses them in many ways, including finish, yet these two authors produced a piece of work more highly poetic than Veloso's and the other *vers librists*. Their third stanza gives an example of the charm and poetic feeling attained by them;

I die just as I see the sky set in at last a soft, fair light
Behind the veil of night to herald forth the day.
If hue there be wanting to tinge thy dawn with red,
O take thou my blood, pour it at thy hour of need
To gild with its crimson the nascent morn!

But the beauty of Rizal's original poem does not dwell in thought and expression alone. Both rhythm and rhyme in Spanish have given it charm and have rendered it highly emotive and musical. However close to Rizal's their translations are, however much they had gained in poetic feeling, the literal translators and *vers librists* had failed to bring out a truly finished product by not taking into account the importance of regular rhythm and rhyme. Had Maramara and Confessor added meter and rhyme to their translation they would have produced one of the best, if not the best, translations into English. As Rizal's poem is in rhymed verse, any truly good translation should have used this vehicle to restore or re-echo the music and tonal values therein.

Other translators strove to bring in both rhythm and rhyme together even if they had to sacrifice in parts fidelity to thought and expression. This sacrifice is but natural in the shaping of conventional English verse, as rhyme, quite often more than thought, determines the chosen phrase or line. They used as media the tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter (English alexandrine) and the heptameter, singly or in combination; and, with the exception of Joaquin and Jacinto, followed Rizal's rhyme scheme faithfully.

The result was that the greater the regularity employed in feet, meter, and rhyme, the more rhythmical, the more musical and the more finished the work turned out to be. But despite their meter and rhyme, the translations are still to be selected and classed, from the meritorious to the mediocre, according to how close each came to reflect Rizal's thought, rhythm and music and how large a degree of imperfections they had allowed to seep in their work.

There is no doubt that in their group are to be found the best among the translations. Witness, for example, Rizal's best stanza (the twelfth) as rendered by Echevarria (Translation XX):

Then let the years efface all memories of me;
Through space across Thy realms I still shall soar;
Clear, vibrant note unto Thy hearing shall I be—
Fragrance and light and color, song and sigh, to Thee
My faith repeating thus forevermore.

and compare it with Rizal's:

> Entonces, nada importa me pongas en olvido
> Tu atmosfera, tu espacio, tus valles cruzare;
> Vibrante y limpia nota sere para tu oido,
> Aroma, luz, colores, rumor, canto y gemido
> Constante repitiendo la esencia de mi fe.

There is as much fluidity in Echevarria's lines as in Rizal's. There are no harsh words nor broken feet to mar the rhythm and the music in the former. Unlike his fellow translators, he used the alexandrine and the iambic pentameter to obtain effect: the alexandrine for lines 1, 3 and 4 of each stanza, which are rhyming lines; and the pentameter for lines 2 and 5, which are equally rhyming lines.

Echevarria and the other good rhyming writers have used effectively, besides, the little variations to relieve singsong and monotony, to provide needed pauses and emphasis, and to afford the particular movement in feet to suit the particular thought and expression. The spondee and pause in "Clear" and "vibrant" in his third line and the trochee in the word "Fragrance" in the fourth line have served their purposes well.

Speaking of the pause or caesura, the majority of Rizal's stanzas are well-marked by them and the majority of these pauses are mid-line pauses. Out of his 70 lines, some 50 lines have well-marked pauses and the remainder can be read with slight pauses to enhance both rhythm and thought.

Bruno had, apparently, more than any other writer noted it as one of the prime factors which gave the Rizal poem its excellent rhythm and easy reading. He, therefore, utilized them, placed most of them in the middle of his verses and produced a large number of hemistiched lines. Note the mid-line caesuras in his second stanza:

> On battlefields fight others; || their all for you
> they venture;
> Your name, on dying, they speak, || with no sigh of
> regret.
> They care not what awaits them: || oblivion, wreath,
> palm, censure
> Noose, no man's land, fierce combat; || they face
> their last adventure.
> For land and home they're martyrs: || their country's
> not free yet.

These mid-line pauses, of course, gave rhythm and made easier the reading of his hypercatalectic hexameters, but they came out so often and so regularly in his stanzas that one reading them cannot fail to feel a sense of singsong monotony.

In not a few instances, however, irregularity among the rhyming writers has served no other purpose than to make evident the author's haste to finish the work, or lack of resourcefulness, or lack of patience to have rhythm, which injects beauty, kept always under leash. Feet substitutions have, otherwise, brought jars and breaks and spoiled what should have been perfect lines.

Clearly in evidence is the irregularity in translating the last clause in Rizal's last line:

> *Adios, queridos seres! . . . Morir es descansar!*

The difficulty in rhythmically combining that clause with the rest of line has not been overcome in the following translations:

> A last farewell to all my loved ones — *Death is rest.*
> — SCHNEIDER
>
> Good-bye, dear beings!... *To die is to rest.*
> — SCOTT & ROMULO
>
> Farewell to you, my loved ones; *to die is to rest!*
> — JACINTO
>
> Farewell, my dearest people, in truth *to die is to rest!*
> — PANGILINAN

Other writers, however, have solved the problem as follows:

> Farewell, lov'd beings, stranger sweet; *to die is but to rest.*
> — VOLPICELLI
>
> Good-by, my dear ones; *death is rest.*
> — DATO
>
> Creatures I love, farewell! *To die is to repose.*
> — JOAQUIN
>
> Farewell to all — *Yet not to die, but sleep.*
> — LAUBACH

In the matter of rhyming, the writers' faults appear more common. One writer coined a twisted word "death-day" to fit "away" and "pray"; another used an iambus, "recall", to rhyme with a trochee, "spade fall"; another chose "adieu" to rhyme with

the same word "adieu." One used "psaltery" to rhyme with "cemetery" (which are perfect rhymes in Spanish); another used "burgeon" with "region"; still others used feminine rhymes with masculine; as, "protest" (noun) with "rest," and "starlight" with "light."

In metaphrasing, the ill-chosen word has created bad effect in sound and sense and produced poor, far-fetched expressions. Witness, for instance, the italicized words in the translations following Rizal's original lines:

Sin ceño, sin arrugas, sin manchas de rubor
"... free
From wrinkles, frowns and *mighty stains* of shame."

Querida Filipinas, oye el postrer adios.
"Hear, Philippines beloved, my *parting groan!*"

Voy a ...
donde la fe no mata, donde el que reina es Dios.
"I fly ...
Where faith *requires no life,* where God gives man his due."

Cadalso o campo abierto, combate o cruel martirio,
los mismo es, si lo piden la patria y el hogar.
"*Level* they are all if by home and country stress'd."

Vierte la sangre mia, derramala en buena hora
"Turn my blood to dye, shed it now *like rain.*"

Aroma, luz, colores, rumor, canto y gemido
Constante repitiendo la esencia de mi fe.
"As fragrance, color, light, song, *roar* and lament clear
The essence of my faith forever repeating."

Ora ...
por huerfanos y viudas, por presos en tortura
"And pray ...
For widows, orphans, men who *groan* forsaken"

Despite the little faults we find in many of the translations we still have every reason to admire the ability of many of the writers in surmounting a great deal of obstacles in the language barrier, in satisfactorily interpreting and reproducing Rizal's thoughts and emotions, and in rendering them in their best English equivalents. A wide choice of good translations is possible among those of Derbyshire, Laubach (2 translations), Scott and Romulo, Dato, Yuzon, Tarrosa-Subido, Collas, Echevarria (2 translations), Bruno, and a few others. As we close, we are tempted to turn the pages

of the collection back and enjoy one or two stanza-samples from some of the writers. The result is the following composite poem:

Farewell, dear Fatherland, clime of the sun caressed,
Pearl of the Orient seas, our Eden lost!
Gladly now I go to give thee this faded life's best,
And were it brighter, fresher, or more blest,
Still would I give it thee, nor count the cost.
— DERBYSHIRE (Stanza 1)

On the fields of battle, in the frenzy of fight,
Others give thee their lives with neither doubt nor heed,
The place matters not — cypress, laurel, lily white,
Scaffold or plain, combat or the martyr's woeful plight:
'Tis all the same when home and country stand in need.
— COLLAS (Stanza 2)

I die just when the heavens redden in my view,
At last announcing day beyond the night,
And shouldst thou need to tinge the dawn with crimson hue,
Pour out my blood and lend in time its color true,
To incarnadine the sheen of waking light.
— YUZON (Stanza 3)

When scarcely more than child, of thee was all my dreaming —
In youth I dreamed and when man's strength had filled my frame
Of seeing thee, a jewel on Ocean's bosom gleaming,
Thy dark eyes dried, thy smooth front lifted, as beseeming,
Untroubled and unfurrowed, nor stained by blush of shame.
— SCHNEIDER (Stanza 4)

Fair, ardent dream that gleamed through life before my eyes,
All hail! the parting soul now cries to thee,
All hail! how sweet it is to fall that thou my'st rise,
To die that thou may'st live, to die beneath thy skies
And with thee sleep through all eternity.
— ECHEVARRIA (Stanza 5, Trans. XX)

If some day by my tomb a flower blows
From eyes half-hidden in the tufted grass,
Please draw it to your lips and press it close,
And I shall feel deep down whence it uprose,
Your kiss and sigh as by my tomb you pass.
— DATO (Stanza 6)

Let the moon look on me tranquil and sweet,
Let the dawn its fugitive splendor release,
Let the sad winds in their murmurings meet;
And if a bird should alight at my feet,
Let it sing freely its clear song of peace.
— SCOTT and ROMULO (Stanza 7)

Oh, let the dew rise pure to heav'n beneath the sun's hot rays
And carry to the throne of God my loving, last request.
Let friendly souls weep for my end, and in the after days,
On evenings clear, when o'er my tomb some gentle being prays,
Pray also thou, O Fatherland, for my eternal rest.
— Volpicelli (Stanza 8)

Pray for all those that hapless have died,
For all who have suffered the unmeasured pain;
For our mothers that bitterly their woes have cried;
For widows and orphans, for captives by torture tried;
And then for thyself that redemption thou may'st gain.
— Derbyshire (Stanza 9)

When midnight darkness wraps the graveyard round,
And only dead men linger there with me,
Break not our rest, our mystery profound;
And should'st thou hear a hymn and zither sound,
'Tis I, dear country, I, who sing to thee!
— Laubach (Stanza 10, Trans. VIII)

And when in the end my tomb, forgotten by all men,
Has neither a cross nor a stone to keep its place releaved,
Let any man plow it and spread it with his spade, and then
My ashes, before they resolve into nothingness again,
Will scatter to mingle with dust upon thy flowery field.
— Laubach (Stanza 11, Trans. XIII)

Then let the years efface all memories of me;
Through space across thy realms I still shall soar;
Clear, vibrant note unto thy hearing I shall be —
Fragrance and light and color, song and sigh, to thee
My faith repeating thus forevermore.
— Echevarria (Stanza 12, Trans. XX)

Land I enshrine, list to my last farewell!
Philippines, Love, of pains my pain extreme,
I leave you all, all whom I love so well,
To go where neither slaves nor tyrants dwell,
Where Faith kills not, where God reigns all supreme.
— Tarrosa-Subido (Stanza 13)

Fond parents, brothers, torn from off my breast;
Friends of my youth in ruined homes who weep;
Give thanks that from this weary day I rest.
Farewell, sweet foreign lover friend, my best;
Farewell to all! — Yet not to die, but sleep...
— Laubach (Stanza 14, Trans. VIII)

The reader will find it a good intellectual entertainment and a well-spent effort in reading all the translations and choosing for

himself the poems that are good or stanzas which are best. Personally, this writer has found much to admire in Echevarria's works and believes that they have all the factors to please the discriminating and critical reader. All his lines were perfectly built, except perhaps the last one in the fifth stanza of his first translation:

"And with thee sleep through all eternity",

which has two accented words ("thee" and "sleep") in close proximity and an overdose of long "e" sounds in the entire line. He, of course, had let his thoughts stray some ten times from Rizal's original, but these are still about the best that a rhyming translator can do.

Next in the order of quality and appeal come Derbyshire's and Laubach's first translation. Laubach's rendition is highly poetic, more imaginative, more finished than Derbyshire's, but Laubach had allowed himself much more freedom to stray away from Rizal's original thoughts than Derbyshire. The rest of the translations, despite their irregularities, are equally capable of giving satisfaction with their own individual merits. Fair and good—all are the result of the writers' modest efforts yet ardent interest to retrace the hero's steps to his Parnassian heights, enjoy communion with his Muses there, and bring to us as best they can the essence and the beauty of Rizal's immortal poem.

Appendix B

BREVE ESTUDIO ANALITICO DEL POEMA

Por José G. Reyes

Solamente un hombre de la talla intelectual y temperamento excepcional de Rizal puede pulsar la lira con tan serena inspiracion patriótica como la que tuvo su musa al entonar a la patria su "*Ultimo Adios,*" después de conocer el decreto de su fusilamiento. Con que fervorosa unción y amor a Filipinas vibraron al son de su laud las cuerdas más sensibles y delicadas de su corazón romántico de poeta!

> Adios, Patria adorada, region del sol querida,
> Perla del mar de Oriente, nuestro perdido edén,
> A darte voy, alegre, la triste, mustia vida;
> Y fuera mas brillante, mas fresca, mas florida,
> Tambien por ti la diera, la diera por tu bien.

Asi comienza la bellísima composición. En esta primera estrofa donde, al igual que en las siguientes, vibra con sonoridad majestuosa la cadencia rítmica del verso alejandrino, vuelca el poeta el ánfora divina de sus inspiraciones patrióticas. Es el primer grito que lanza su musa ante la muerte, grito que encierra una sublime protesta de amor a *nuestro perdido eden,* que hace en la postrera canción de despedida. La precision en las ideas y pensamientos claros, y la rotundidad del estilo sugestivo que constituyen la principal característica de los escritos de Rizal, campean magnificamente en esta estrofa.

> En campos de batalla, luchando con delirio,
> Otros te dan sus vidas, sin dudas, sin pesar.
> El sitio nada importa: cipres, laurel o lirio,
> Cadalso o campo abierto, combate o cruel martirio,
> Lo mismo es si lo piden la Patria y el hogar.

El astro poético de Rizal era tan vehemente que, gracias a esta su sobresaliente cualidad artística, supo sintetizar de modo magistral, en esta estrofa, las distintas formas o lugares de sacrificio que pide la madre patria irredenta a sus hijos.

Yo muero, cuando veo que el cielo se colora
Y al fin anuncia el dia, tras lobrego capuz;
Si grana necesitas, para teñir tu aurora,
Vierte la sangre mía, derrámala en buena hora,
Y dorela un reflejo de su naciente luz!

Era la dorada y querida vision del poeta-vidente, que en la negra noche del dolor, soñaba y vislumbraba en el cielo azul de Filipinas el bello iris de la esperanza, ofreciendo gustoso su sangre a la patria, que necesitaba *teñir* con ella su aurora suspirada de redención. Cuanto amor tiernísimo hacia el terruño palpita en estos versos magníficos!

Mis sueños, cuando apenas muchacho adolescente,
Mis sueños cuando joven, ya lleno de vigor,
Fueron el verte un dia, joya del mar de Oriente,
Secos los negros ojos, alta la tersa frente,
Sin ceños, sin arrugas, sin manchas de rubor.

Tal había sido siempre el ideal acariciado de toda su vida: contemplar un dia, libre de las cadenas de la esclavitud a Filipinas, en quien veía la imagen poética de una musa triste y dolida, con un cendal de lágrimas en los negros ojos y con la frente alicaida y sombría . . .

Ensueño de mi vida, mi ardiente vivo anhelo,
Salud! te grita el alma, que pronto va a partir;
Salud! ah, que es hermoso caer por darte vuelo,
Morir por darte vida, morir bajo tu cielo
Y en tu encantada tierra la eternidad dormir!

Encierra esta estrofa la sublimidad de un alma de titán, dispuesta a volar en su hora tragica hacia la region del Infinito; el espíritu de abnegación del patriota, para quien es una dicha el dormir el sueño eterno de la muerte en el dulce regazo de la madre patria, para *darla vida.* La grave entonación de estos versos impecables, sublimes en su sencillez, que fluyen como una cascada de armonías, despierta en el alma el noble sentimiento del amor patrio, el dulce anhelo de *dormir el sueño de la eternidad* en la propia patria . . .

Si sobre mi sepulcro vieres brotar, un día,
Entre la espesa hierba sencilla humilde flor,
Acercala a tus labios y besa al alma mia,
Y sienta yo en mi frente, bajo la tumba fría,
De tu ternura el soplo, de tu hálito del calor.

La profunda melancolia de estos versos sentidísimos, de intensa belleza emocional, llega suavemente al alma, como envolvien-

dola en una caricia de ensueño, despertando en ella un sedante sentimiento de ternura inefable. Evocan el amor del hijo a la madre, del hijo que, arrastrado por la fuerza irresistible del Destino, se separa para siempre de la santa mujer que le diera el ser, y a quien pide, antes de emprender la eterna partida, un postrer ósculo de amor y de consolación en la frente.

Deja a la luna verme, con luz tranquila y suave;
Deja que el alba envíe su resplandor fugaz;
Deja gemir al viento, con su murmullo grave;
Y si desciende y posa sobre mi cruz un ave,
Deja que el ave entone su cántico de paz.

Una musicalidad alada y sentimental dulcifice esta estrofa. Son versos que encierran la pesadumbre del ambiente que late en el silencio imponente y religioso, en la honda soledad de muerte de la necrópoles, con su poesía funeral y misteriosa en noches pensativas de luna, al brotar de la alborada, en las románticas horas de la siesta, en la solemne quietud de las tardes crepusculares, turbada tan solo por el *murmullo grave del viento,* y por el *cántico de paz que entona un ave sobre una cruz.*

Deja que el sol, ardiendo, las lluvias evapore,
Y al cielo tornen puras, con mi clamor en pos;
Deja que un ser amigo mi fin temprano llore;
Y en las serenas tardes, cuando por mi alguien ore,
Ora también, oh patria, por mi descanso a Dios.

Invitan al recogimiento y a la meditación; a rogar al Dios de la Misericordia por el inmenso patriota ido que ofrendó su vida en aras del ideal. Paz al gran apostol de las libertades patrias!

Ora por todos cuantos murieron sin ventura;
Por cuantos padecieron tormentos sin igual;
Por nuestras pobres madres, que gimen de amargura;
Por huerfanos y viudas, por presos en tortura,
Y ora por ti, que veas tu redencion final.

La musa de Rizal aparece en esta estrofa como impetrando una oracion por nuestros bravos hermanos que sufrieron persecuciones y arrostraron heroicamente los sacrificios más cruentos; por los esforzados adalides y anónimos cruzados de la patria que *cayeron durante la noche,* en los campos de batalla, firmes en la brecha y al pie de la bandera; por los queridos seres desamparados que lloran su orfandad; por nuestra querida Filipinas, porque disfrute, al fin, de las bendiciones de la libertad.

Y cuando, en noche obscura, se envuelva el cementerio,
Y solos solo muertos queden velando alli,
No turbes el reposo, no turbes el misterio;
Tal vez acordes oigas de cítara o salterio;
Soy yo, querida Patria, yo que te canto a tí.

Hay en esta estrofa una belleza y una perfección tales en el ritmo y en la rima, que emocionan dulcemente por su fondo y por su forma. Aun en sus ilusiones tétricas de ultratumba, Rizal tuvo siempre para su idolatrada Filipinas pensamientos sublimes, palabras impergnadas de acendrado amor y ternura.

Y cuando ya mi tumba, de todos olvidada,
No tenga cruz ni piedra que marquen su lugar,
Deja que la are el hombre, la esparza con la azada,
Y mis cenizas, antes que vuelvan a la nada,
El polvo de tu alfombra que vayan a formar.

Versos alados, siempre impecables, que encleran la humildad de un hombre verdaderamente grande, sabio y patriota. Es el poeta espiritual que, consciente del triste fin que espera a la materia, a todo humano mortal hecho de barro, ansia ofrendar todo su ego a la patria, antes de volver al no ser...

Entonces nada importa me pongas en olvido;
Tu atmósfera, tu espacio, tus valles cruzaré;
Vibrante y limpia nota seré para tu oído:
Aroma, luz, colores, rumor, canto, gemido,
Constante repitiendo la esencia de mi fe.

Sencillamente sublime! Por su intuicion de genio inmortal y clarividente, Rizal presentía y preveía lo que habia de ser en su patria después de su muerte. Presentía su inmortalidad en el querido y desventurado país, por cuya salud sacrificó todo: su familia y su hogar; su juventud, su dicha y sus amores, su vida misma. Como heroe de la raza, es hoy el ídolo ancestral de Filipinas. Y como un desahogo supremo de todas las amarguras que atenazaban su corazón, de las grandes decepciones que sufriera su espíritu, lanza el siguiente grito de dolor y de admonición venido desde el fondo de su alma:

Mi patria idolatrada, dolor de mis dolores,
Querida Filipinas, oye el postrer adios.
Ahí te dejo todo: mis padres, mis amores.
Voy donde no hay esclavos, verdugos ni opresores;
Donde la fe no mata, donde el que reina es Dios.

En esta penúltima estrofa del poema inmortal del martir suena la voz imprecatoria del patriota. Ante la imagen dolorosa de la patria irredenta, y en la hora suprema del holocausto, el espiritu de Rizal se sublevaba cóntra las grandes injusticias humanas

> Adios, padres y hermanos, trozos del alma mia,
> Amigos de la infancia, en el perdido hogar;
> Dad gracias, que descanso del fatigoso día;
> Adios, dulce extranjera, mi amiga, mi alegria:
> Adios, queridos seres. Morir es descansar.

Fue el ultimo grito de su alma, el último acento de su lira sentimental de poeta. En el penúltimo verso de esta estrofa final, Rizal se refería a su *dulce extranjera,* su *amiga,* su *alegria,* (Josefina Bracken), un detalle revelador de su amplitud de criterio. *Morir es descansar!* Pensamiento grandioso, profundamente consolador. Al oblacionar su vida en aras de la libertad de su pueblo, Rizal cumplía heroicamente su misión de redentor que le deparara en destino en la tierra. El vió en el trágico fin de su vida la realidad de su obsesion, del presentimiento que tuvo siempre de que moriría por su país, como cuando dijo o escribió, al terminar su *Noli:* "*No moriré en cama; moriré de balazos!*"

RIZAL AND HIS TIMES

Nicolás Zafra

To understand fully the life of Rizal, we should place him against the background of his contemporaries and his era. The author of this essay, retired professor of history at the University of the Philippines, has drawn on his vast knowledge of the history of Spain, the Philippines and other countries to depict Rizal and his times. In concluding, he does not hesitate to expound his views regarding that most controversial of subjects, the alleged retraction of Rizal.

On June 19, 1961, the Philippines observed with fitting ceremonies the centenary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal. The various activities which were held on that day throughout the Philippines were only a part of the year long program of activities which the José Rizal Centennial Commission has prepared for the commemoration of that event. They reflect the high regard which the present generation of Filipinos have for Dr. Rizal and their deep sense of gratitude for his patriotic labors and sacrifices.

To us Filipinos, Rizal represents the type of Filipino manhood most worthy of emulation by the youth of the land. It is for this reason that we have by law prescribed in our schools the study of his life and works.[1] We want to make him better known to our youth so that they may increase in their love and respect for him and incidentally be inspired to conduct themselves at all times, but particularly in their later years as citizens of their country in the spirit in which Rizal lived and labored in the service of his people.

This study is here presented as a modest contribution to our efforts to make Rizal better known to the youth of the land.

The meaning of men's lives and the events associated with them can best be understood and appreciated when viewed in their proper historical context. To better understand and appreciate Rizal's labors and sacrifices and his dimension as a figure in Philippine

[1] Republic Act No. 1425: Official Gazette, Vol. 52, No. 6, June, 1956.

history, it is important to know something of the times in which he lived.

Rizal in his autobiography tells us that, on the night of Wednesday, June 19, 1861, at Calamba, Laguna, after a difficult and painful labor on the part of his mother, he came, to use his own words, "into this valley of tears."[2]

This event, in all likelihood, passed unnoticed to the world except within the limited circle of relatives and, perhaps, close friends of the Rizal family. For Rizal's parents did not belong to the class of the mighty or of persons of national importance and prominence. To be sure they were of the *principalia* class which, in every town of the Philippines at that time, constituted the élite in Filipino society. To be sure, too, they were among those of that class who, taking advantage of the opportunities offered in their times, had, through their industry, intelligence, and enterprise, become prosperous and well to do.

But, except for these particulars, Rizal's parents were indistinguishable from the myriads of Filipino families which were to be found at that time in the Philippines. An incident in their lives like the birth of another child was not likely to cause unusual excitement in the quiet little town of Calamba much less in the country at large.

It can well be taken for granted, therefore, that the Muse of History surveying the events of that day, hardly took notice of the birth of Rizal. It can also be presumed that, not being endowed with the gift of prophecy, Clio could not then envision what the years had in store for the newly born child of Francisco Rizal Mercado and Teodora Alonzo.

But History has many things to tell us regarding events and developments that took place contemporaneously with the coming of Rizal to "this valley of tears." In various parts of the world, significant events occured affecting the lives and fortunes of peoples and nations.

In the lands embracing the southern portion of Malaysia, three European states held powers of sovereignty—Portugal, England, and Holland. Portugal had as her colony the eastern portion of the island of Timor. It was, however, all that remained of the extensive Portuguese colonial empire that arose in the Malay archipelago in the 16th century.

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[2] *Memorias de Un Estudiante de Manila*. Por El Dr. José Rizal Mercado, Manila, Junio, 1949. An English edition of the *"Memorias"* by Leon Ma. Guerrero, Jr. was published in 1950 under the title, *The Young Rizal*.

Britain held sway over a vast portion of Borneo. She acquired sovereignty over the area mainly through the activities of a British adventurer, James Brooke. Brooke in 1842 obtained from the Sultan of Brunei the governorship of the territory of Sarawak on the west coast of Borneo. Subsequently, in 1844, the British acquired the island of Labuan. Two years later, as a sequel of anti-British riots in Brunei, Brooke, with the aid of British naval units, captured Brunei.[3]

Tropical Holland, as the Dutch colony in Malaysia was called, comprised an area of over 700,000 square miles. Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Moluccas and Dutch Borneo were the principal islands in the group. The Dutch had replaced the Portuguese in the seventeenth century as colonial rulers in Malaysia. By means of the Culture System, they developed to a high degree the productive capacity of Indonesia. On the island of Java, large tracts of land were put under cultivation for the growing of coffee, sugar, tobacco, spices and other well-known products of the East Indies. Thanks to the Culture System, the colonial empire of Holland in the Far East grew rich and prosperous. But the System did not bring much in the way of material and social well-being to the native population. Material prosperity was achieved at the sacrifice of the interests and welfare of many people in the colony. Because of this fact, there arose in Holland, at the time Rizal was born, a strong public sentiment for the discontinuance, for reasons of humanity, of the Culture System.[4]

In India, the old Mogul empire had come to an end. Four years before the birth of Rizal (1857), the Sepoys (native soldiers in the British Indian Army) staged a mutiny. The mutineers, after killing their officers, hurried off to Delhi and offered their services to the Mogul emperor for the restoration of the Mogul empire. The British Indian Empire was rudely shaken to its foundations. But the British were able to weather the storm. With the help of loyal Indian troops, they succeeded in putting down the uprising. Swift and harsh retribution was meted out to the rebels. The last of the Mogul emperors, Bahadur Shah II, was stripped of his sovereign powers and kept a prisoner in the hands of the British. The old Mogul empire founded by Akbar three centuries

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[3] For a brief account of Brooke's role in the founding of British sovereignty in Borneo, see Hall, D. D. E., *A History of South-East Asia.* London, 1955, ch. 27.

[4] *Ibid.,* Chapters 28, 29. See also de Klerck, E. S., *History of the Netherlands Indies,* vol. 2, ch. 9.

before was extinguished. What remained of its dominions were incorporated with the British-ruled territories of India.[5]

In Burma, the dynasty which Alaungpaya (Alompra) had founded (1753) was engaged in a losing struggle against the British to preserve Burma's territorial integrity and independence. In 1853, the southern portion of the old empire of Burma including the city of Rangoon fell into the hands of the British. In 1886, the rest of Burma was conquered and the dynasty of Alaungpaya was extinguished.[6]

In Indo-China, as in Burma, the native dynasty, founded by Gialong, in the latter part of the 18th century, was, at about the time that Rizal was born, faced with the problem of preserving the territorial integrity and independence of its dominions. France under Napoleon III was then looking for opportunities to build up in the Orient a colonial empire. In 1857, the execution of the Spanish Dominican bishop of Tongkin on orders of Emperor Tu Duc of Annam furnished a convenient excuse for intervention in Indo-China. In 1858, with the support of the Spanish government in the Philippines, the French occupied Tourane, in Annam. Other areas in Indo-China were occupied in rapid succession: Saigon in 1859, and Bienhoa in 1861. These military operations were the beginnings of French imperialism in Southeast Asia, which within a few years, brought under French control, not only the whole of Vietnam, but also the ancient kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos.[7]

In Thailand, at the time of Rizal's birth, an enlightened ruler, Maha Mongkut (1851-73), was on the throne. A keen observer of contemporary events, Mongkut was aware of the trends of the times, of the external forces that were threatening the territorial independence and integrity of many nations in Asia. Mongkut took adequate steps to safeguard his country's interests. He concluded treaties of friendship and commerce with various countries of the world. The first of such treaties was the 1855 Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Great Britain. Subsequently, Mongkut made similar treaties with other western powers: with France and the United States in 1856; Denmark and the Hanseatic League cities in 1858; Portugal in 1859; Holland in 1860; and Prussia in 1862.[8]

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[5] For an Indian view of the Mutiny, see Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India.* London, 1951, chapter 7.

[6] Hall, *op. cit.,* chapters 32, 33.

[7] *Ibid.,* chapter 34. Of interest to the Philippines is the fact that a contingent of Filipino troops took part in the campaign in Annam.

[8] *Ibid.,* chapter 36.

It is interesting to note that the British diplomat who negotiated the 1855 Treaty with Thailand was Sir John Bowring. This was the same John Bowring who visited the Philippines in 1858. He wrote an interesting account of his travels in the Philippines under the title, *A Visit to the Philippines.* One of the places he visited was Biñan, Laguna, the birthplace of Rizal's father. In that town, he was a house guest of Rizal's maternal uncle, José Alberto.

In China at this time, the Manchu dynasty was faced with many serious internal and external problems.[9] In 1856, as a result of misunderstandings regarding the treaty rights and privileges of British traders in China, war broke out between England and China. France joined England against China. In the course of the war, Peking was occupied by the Anglo-French allies (1860). The Manchu royal family fled and took refuge in the city of Jehol.

The war had disastrous results for China. She paid a heavy indemnity to England and France. Besides, she had to cede Kowloon, the peninsula lying opposite Hongkong, to England. To add to her misfortune, Russia, which was not a participant in the war, took advantage of China's situation to get valuable portions of Chinese territory as her own share of the spoils of war. In 1860, she "suggested" that China would do well to cede to her a large area of Manchuria lying to the east of the Ussuri River. China was constrained to accede to the "suggestion." The territory which Russia thus acquired with its 600 miles of coast line and an excellent natural port at Vladivostok, greatly enhanced Russia's position as a colonial power in Eastern Asia.

The Manchu government was greatly handicapped in its efforts to deal with the European allies by a formidable rebellion which was in progress at the time. This was the Tai Ping rebellion which had flared up in 1852. The outbreak of the Anglo-Chinese war in 1856 prevented the Manchu government from dealing effectively with the rebels. As soon as the foreign troubles were adjusted, however, stronger measures were taken. The rebellion was finally suppressed in 1864.

The ultimate success of the Chinese imperial forces was made possible by the assistance rendered by foreign military adventurers. One of these, Frederick Townsend Ward, an American, offered to organize an army against the Tai Ping. The proposal was readily accepted. Ward's army won many battles for the government. This was the army which in 1862 elicited from the Chinese govern-

[9] For brief but satisfactory accounts on China and Japan, see Buss, Claude A., *The Far East,* chapters 5 and 10.

ment the title "Ever Victorious Army." Of interest to the Philippines is the fact that, in the ranks of the "Ever Victorious Army," were several Filipinos from the Filipino community in Shanghai. They were volunteers in the foreign-led force of the Chinese Empire.

In the midst of the Tai Ping rebellion, the Manchu ruler died at Jehol, leaving as his successor his five-year old child Tung Chih. To rule the country during the minority of the child emperor, a regency was created with Tsu Hzi, mother of Tung Chih, as regent (186). This was the first time (there were two other occasions) that Tsu Hzi assumed the regency, in the government of China. She proved to be an able administrator. A woman of energy and strong will power, she guided the destinies of China throughout the greater part of the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty.

In Japan, at the time of Rizal's birth, the Shogunate as reorganized by Iyeyasu 250 years before was still in existence. But events had taken place which were destined to revolutionize the government and to usher a new era in Japan. Seven years before (1854), Commodore Perry forced the Shogan to open two ports of Japan to American vessels. In 1858, Townsend Harris, the first American consul in Japan, concluded a commercial treaty with the Shogun making certain designated ports of Japan available to citizens of the United States for trade and residence. Other nations—Holland, Russia, England and France—immediately followed in the footsteps of the U.S., concluding treaties similar to that negotiated by Townsend Harris. These treaties brought to an end the centuries-old isolation of Japan from the rest of the world.

The action of the Shogunate, however, in consenting to open the country to foreigners aroused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Japanese people. A strong anti-foreign movement arose led by influential feudal lords such as the Prince of Satsuma and the Prince of Choshu. Popular resentment was directed, not only against the foreigners, but also against those Japanese who were responsible for the negotiation of the treaties.

But it did not take long for the leaders of the anti- foreign movement to realize that it was futile for them to attempt through force and violence to close the country to the world. They accepted the new situation and they themselves led in urging the establishment by the Japanese government of full intercourse with foreign nations. Accordingly, on November 24, 1865, the Em-

peror gave official sanction to the treaties which the Shogun had made with the foreign nations.

This event was followed by changes of momentous significance to Japan. Foremost among these was the abolition of the Shogunate, the dual system of government established way back in the twelfth century by Yoritomo. Under that system the Shogun, not the Emperor, was the real ruler of Japan. The latter had merely the shadow, not the substance, of authority. This situation was completely changed. In November 1867, the last of the Shoguns surrendered the powers of government into the hands of the Emperor.

This was an epoch-making event for Japan. It meant the restoration of the Emperor to his former status and dignity as supreme ruler of the country. It ushered a new era (the Meiji Era), in Japanese history. This era witnessed the transformation of Japan into a modern nation and her rise to the rank of a great world power. This was the country which a few years later (1888) Rizal visited while on his way to the United States.

The United States in the year of Rizal's birth was faced with a grave crisis. Following the presidential election of 1860 in which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency of the United States, seven States in the South, led by South Carolina, seceded from the Union. On February 14, 1861, the seceding States formed themselves into the "Confederate States of America" with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. When President-elect Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861, the United States was dangerously close to the brink of dissolution and civil war.

President Lincoln in his inaugural speech made known his firm determination to preserve the Union. He said that it was his purpose to defend the Constitution and to enforce and execute the laws of the land. His words, however, reflected a sincere desire for peace and conciliation. "We are not enemies," he said, "but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

Efforts were taken at a peaceful solution of the problem. These efforts, however, failed. On April 22, 1861, Confederate batteries opened fire on Fort Sumter and forced its garrison to surrender. This incident precipitated the American Civil War (1861-65). The war was fought, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "to test whether the (American) nation, or any nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are

created equal, can long endure."[10] In the course of the war (January 1, 1863), President Lincoln by proclamation set free the slaves in the states then at war against the United States. As a sequel of the war, the institution of slavery was forever abolished in the United States.

The situation in Europe at the time Rizal was born was, in the main, peaceful. Europe, however, had recently been through the throes and turmoil of two international conflicts: the Crimean War (1854-56) and the Austro-Sardinian War (1859-60). In the first, Turkey, aided by England, France and Sardinia, fought against Russia. The second was a war of liberation waged by the Italian people against Austria. The age was marked by the emergence of distinguished personalities to positions of honor and importance in various countries of Europe—Queen Victoria in England, Napoleon III in France, Victor Emmanuel in Italy, Otto von Bismarck in Prussia, Alexander II in Russia, and, of particular interest to the Catholic world, Pope Pius IX. It was an age in which the concepts of nationalism and liberalism were bringing their influence strongly to bear upon the thoughts and actions of peoples in many countries of the world. Forces were at work in many countries of Europe seeking the enlargement of participation of the people in the affairs of government and the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the masses.

Of the European events that occurred in the year of Rizal's birth, perhaps the one that attracted wide interest at the time was the unification of Italy. It was a sequel of the Austro-Sardinian War. It was effected in February 1861 when King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia was proclaimed king of a united Italy. It was a notable triumph of nationalism in the nineteenth century, a glorious fulfillment of the *risorgimento,* the long cherished aspiration of the Italian people.

To the Catholic world, two religious events of great interest were still fresh in the memory of millions of Catholics then living. One was the proclamation on December 8, 1854, by Pope Pius IX of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The other took place about two years later, September 23, 1856. On that date Pope Pius IX extended the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to the Universal Church. It can well be presumed that Rizal's parents, good Catholics that they were, had knowledge of these events. It can be taken for granted, too, that, in union with Catholics every-

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[10] Gettysburg Address.

where, they held the veneration of the Immaculate Conception and devotion to the Sacred Heart as cherished family traditions.

II

Now, for a survey of the situation in the Philippines and in Spain at the time of Rizal's birth.

The province of Laguna, the home province of Rizal, was then an *alcaldia* of the first class. It was one of the nine provinces in Luzon which were given that status by the Provincial Reform of 1844. The eight others were Albay, Batangas, Bulacan, Cagayan, Ilocos Sur, Manila, Pampanga and Pangasinan. According to the noted German scholar Jagor, who visited the Philippines, only a few years before (1858-59), Laguna had, at the time of Jagor's visit, twenty six towns and a population of 121,251.

A keen observer of the contemporary scene in the Philippines could not fail to note many significant trends of the times. He could readily see, for example, that the country was progressively being brought into closer contact with the rest of the world. The commercial isolation of the Philippines from Europe and America, which was a distinguishing feature of Spain's colonial policy in the Philippines during the first 200 years of Spanish rule, had ended in the first decades of the nineteenth century when the port of Manila was made open to foreigners both for trade and for residence (1820-1830). The expansion of Philippine foreign trade which followed led to the opening of other ports. In 1855 Sual in Pangasinan, Iloilo in the Western Visayas, and Zamboanga in Mindanao, were opened to foreign commerce. In 1865 Cebu in the Central Visayas was also made an open port. The Philippines had not yet been placed in direct telegraph communication with the rest of the world as the laying of the first cable was not to take place until several years later (1880). However, postal communication existed between the Philippines and foreign countries by way of the neighboring ports of Singapore and Hongkong. A fortnightly mail service was then being carried on between Manila and Hongkong.

The opening of the Philippines to foreign trade had done much to promote the material progress of the Philippines. Philippine agriculture was greatly stimulated. The foreign commercial firms that established themselves in the Philippines found quite profitable the exportation of Philippine crops, particularly sugar and hemp, which were then in great demand in the markets of the world. They gave inducements to Filipino farmers to produce the

crops they needed in their export business. Many a Filipino planter took advantage of the new situation to expand his production. In the Bikol region, abaca plantations were enlarged; in Pampanga, Laguna and the island of Negros new areas for sugarcane were put under cultivation; in Ilocos, Pangasinan, Cagayan, Batangas and many other provinces of Luzon and the Visayas, farmers expanded their production of staple crops for which demand was rising both at home and abroad.

The progress of Philippine agriculture had brought material propsperity to many Filipino families. The family of Dr. Rizal was a case in point. Rizal's father built up a modest fortune in Calamba from the raising of sugar, rice and other agricultural products in the lands that he leased from the managers of the Dominican-owned estate in that town. Such families acquired the means which enabled them to maintain a higher standard of living. They sent their children to the schools and colleges of better standing in the country and even to schools and colleges abroad. It was from this class of Filipinos that came many of the leaders and spokesmen of the Filipino people in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Contemporaneously also with the birth of Rizal were important developments affecting the educational situation in the Philippines. One of these concerned the status of elementary education in the country. In 1855, Governor Crespo created a commission to study the conditions and needs of elementary education in the Philippines and to recommend appropriate remedial measures. In 1861, during the administration of José Lemery (1861-62) the commission submitted its report. The report was, in turn, forwarded to Spain. On the basis of the report's findings and recommendations, the famous Educational Decree of December 20, 1863, was formulated.

The Decree reorganized the elementary school system of the Philippines. Among other things, it ordered the establishment in each town of one elementary school for boys, and another for girls; established a normal school in Manila for the training of elementary school teachers, under the management of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; fixed a definite scale of salaries for teachers; and provided for pensions and other benefits and privileges to teachers. The Educational Reform Decree of 1863 constitutes an outstanding landmark in the history of education in the Philippines.

Another notable development of the times concerned the Alma Mater of Dr. José Rizal, the Ateneo Municipal de Manila. In

October 1859, the management of the Ateneo Municipal, a primary school maintained by the Ayuntamiento of the City of Manila, was turned over to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The latter had just returned to the Philippines from their nearly one hundred years of exile. The school began to operate under the new management in December of that year. In 1865 the school was raised to the status of a college. The Jesuit Fathers reorganized the institution along the lines laid down in the Ratio Studiorum. Changes were made in the course of study and internal regulations of the college to bring it in conformity with Jesuit ideas and ideals of education.

Under Jesuit management the Ateneo became one of the leading educational institutions of the country. It attracted to itself the sons of well-to-do Filipino families from many parts of the Philippines. This was the school where, in 1872, young Rizal first came to study. He stayed there for five years graduating in 1877 with highest honors.

Of the events taking place at the time of Rizal's birth the one that was destined to have great historical significance was that which concerned the rights and interests of the Filipino clergy. More specifically, it was the controversy being waged by the Filipino clergy over their rights to hold and administer parishes in their own country. This episode reflected the spirit of nationalism which was then rising in the Philippines.

In its earlier stages, the controversy revolved mainly around the question of the wisdom and advisability, from the standpoint of the general interests of religion, of entrusting to Filipino priests the administration of Philippine curacies. At the time of Rizal's birth, however, it had acquired political and national character in which racial and nationalistic prejudices and considerations played a major role.

The beginnings of this question went back to the times of Archbishop Sta. Justa and Governor Anda (1767-1776). To fill the vacancies which were created at that time in many parishes of his diocese, Archbishop Sta. Justa availed himself of the services of newly ordained Filipino priests. The latter were placed in curacies which had been vacated by Spanish friar curates as a result of differences and misunderstandings which had arisen between them and the Archbishop over matters of ecclesiastical administration. Archbishop Sta. Justa thus inaugurated what was known as the policy of secularization, the assigning of secular priests in-

stead of regulars to take charge of parochial work. Such a policy had the full support and indorsement of Governor Anda.

The Archbishop's actuations provoked at the time bitter controversy. The important question at issue was the advisability, from the standpoint of the general interests of religion, of entrusting to the native priesthood the administration of parochial affairs.

The controversy, having been elevated to the Consejo de Indias, was settled by a royal decree promulgated in December 1776. The decree ordered that the secularization policy inaugurated by Archbishop Sta. Justa be suspended and the parishes which had been assigned to Filipino priests be restored to their former pastors.

The royal decree, however, by implication, made it clear that the suspension of the secularization of the parishes was only temporary and that it would be resumed if and when duly qualified Filipino secular priests were available for appointment to the curacies. For one of the provisions of the decree ordered that steps should be taken to prepare and train a competent body of clerics so that the filling of the curacies with Filipino secular priests would eventually be effected in conformity with the plans and desires of Archbishop Sta. Justa.

The resumption of the policy of secularization, however, as envisioned by the decree of December 1776 was never realized. On the contrary, the Spanish government adopted and put into effect a course of action which tended to reduce the limited opportunities in the field of parochial administration which were open to the Filipino clergy. A number of laws promulgated by the Spanish government in the nineteenth century reflected this tendency of Spanish colonial policy. The royal order of 1826 was a case in point. That order reiterated a former decree which commanded the return to the Spanish regular clergy of the curacies which had been given to Filipino secular priests during the governorship of Anda. The enforcement of that order resulted in the dispossession of Filipino priests of parishes formerly administered by them in Zambales, Bataan, and Pampanga. In 1849, a royal decree transferred a number of parishes in Cavite administered by Filipino priests to Spanish curates. Then, on September 10, 1861, the Spanish government ordered that curacies in the archbishopric of Manila administered by Filipino priests were to be assigned to the Spanish regular clergy.[11]

[11] An interesting account of the question of the Philippine curacies in the 19th century is found in a letter written by Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martinez to Marshall Serrano, Regent of Spain, on December 31, 1870. Text of the letter in English translation is in Zafra, N., *Readings in Philippine History.*

The Filipino clergy could not remain indifferent to these actuations of the Spanish government. They viewed the course that was being followed as indicative of a deliberate plan and desire on the part of the Spanish government to discourage the growth and development of the Filipino priesthood. They felt that such a policy, apart from the fact that it was unfair and unjust to themselves, was contrary to the ideas and principles of ecclesiastical administration which the Church herself had laid down in the Council of Trent. They knew that the ultimate end of such a policy would be the elimination of the Filipino clergy as a factor in the promotion of the cultural and spiritual life of their own people.

Following the promulgation of the order of September 10, 1861, a major controversy arose between the Filipino clergy and the Spanish regular clergy. The Filipino clergy had able defenders and spokesmen in Fathers Pelaez, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. In the view of these men, the time had come when Filipino priests should assume a larger share of the responsibility for the administration of the religious and spiritual affairs of their own people. They wanted as a step towards that goal the gradual Filipinization of the Philippine curacies in line with the policy inaugurated by Archbishop Sta. Justa. It was believed that such a reform, apart from the fact that it would meet the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Filipino priesthood, would, in the end, establish the Catholic Faith more firmly in the Philippines.

The plans and proposals of the leaders of the Filipino clergy were bitterly opposed by the Spanish ruling elements in the Philippines. The latter claimed that Filipinos were inherently incapable of discharging the duties and responsibilities of parish priests. Besides, they suspected that what the Filipino priests really wanted was the emancipation of the Philippines from Spain.

While the controversy was at its height, a political event of major importance occured in Spain. In October 1868, the regime of Queen Isabel II was overthrown. The Revolution of 1868 as this event is called, brought the Spanish Liberals into power. The latter set up a provisional government with Marshall Serrano as Regent.

The new government sent as governor and captain general of the Philippines Carlos Ma. de la Torre. The new governor brought to the Philippines something of the liberal and democratic spirit of the Revolution of 1868. He did away with the censorship on the press and the ban on the holding of public demonstrations. He displayed a friendly and cordial attitude toward the inhabitants of

the Philippines. He befriended several Filipinos prominent in the religious, social and cultural life of the country.

Thanks to de la Torre's liberal and democratic spirit and attitude, many prominent Filipinos became closely attached to the administration. They took part in the serenade which on July 12, 1869, was held in his honor. Later that year, on the occasion of the proclamation in Manila of the new Spanish Constitution of 1869, they joined in a demonstration of loyalty and affection to him and to the new regime in Spain.

The coming into power of the Spanish Liberals as a result of the Revolution of 1868 gave to the leaders of the nation a splendid opportunity to demonstrate their capacity for political wisdom and sound statesmanship in dealing with the Philippines. They had firmly in their hands the reins of government. They were in a position to put into effect a program of government, a course of action, that could insure the loyalty and goodwill of the Filipino people towards Spain.

The Spanish Liberals, unfortunately, did not make good use of this opportunity. In the Constituent Cortes in 1869, they did not give full support to proposals to grant greater political liberties to the inhabitants of the Philippines. The new Spanish Constitution which they formed made no change whatsoever in the administrative organization of the Philippines or in the political status of its inhabitants.

Moreover, in 1871 Governor de la Torre was recalled from the Philippines. To succeed him, the Spanish government, which was still very much under the control and influence of the Spanish Liberals, sent Rafael de Izquierdo. The new governor was, in his views and attitude, very different from de la Torre. He was less cordial, for one thing, towards the inhabitants of the Philippines. Moreover, he regarded with suspicion all those Filipinos who had been quite prominent in their demonstrations of friendship and loyalty to Governor de la Torre. He restored the restrictions on individual freedom which de la Torre had abolished. He withdrew from the Filipino laborers at the Cavite arsenal a privilege enjoyed by them from time immemorial, namely exemption from the tribute and personal services.

It was during Izquierdo's administration that the Cavite incident occurred. In January 1872 Filipino soldiers stationed in Cavite mutinied. The mutiny was an outgrowth of the unrest caused by Izquierdo's cancellation of the privilege of exemption from the tribute and personal services which the laborers in the Cavite

arsenal had long enjoyed. The uprising, however, was of local character and was quickly suppressed.

The Cavite incident was utilized by the Spanish authorities as an excuse for putting out of the way those Filipinos whose actuations during Governor de la Torre's time had rendered them hateful and undesirable to the Spanish reactionaries in the Philippines. Charges were brought against Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora and a number of prominent Filipino laymen as being the promoters and instigators of the uprising.

The three Filipino priests maintained to the end their innocence of the crime imputed to them. No definite incontrovertible proof was ever adduced in the trial to establish their guilt. They were, nevertheless, declared guilty and ordered executed. Of the others charged with complicity in the affair, some were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, others were banished to the Marianas Islands.

The Cavite affair is a landmark in the political history of the Philippines. It raised, for one thing, the cause of the Filipino clergy to the status and dignity of a national issue deserving of the sympathy and support of the Filipino people. The three Filipino priests were themselves acclaimed as national heroes worthy of the respect and grateful remembrance of posterity.

For another, it helped determine the direction and goal of the life work of Rizal and that of many of his contemporaries. This significant fact was made known by Rizal in a letter which he wrote to Mariano Ponce. In that letter, Rizal, among other things, said:[12]

> Without 1872, there would now be neither Plaridel, nor Jaena, nor Sancianco.[13] Neither would there exist now the valiant and generous Filipino colonies in Europe. Without 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit, and instead of the *Noli Me Tángere,* he would have written one of contrary nature and purpose. In the face of those injustices and cruelties, my youthful imagination was aroused and I swore to avenge some day those numberless persons who suffered from them. To this end, I have been studying; one can read about this in all my works and writings. God will some day give me an opportunity to put my plans into effect.

The Cavite affair of 1872, as could well be inferred from the aforementioned letter, had a great deal to do in bringing into being the nationalistic movement which in Philippine history is referred to as the Propaganda Period. The latter in turn brought into being

[12] *Epistolario Rizalino.* Vol. 2, No. 254.

[13] The persons referred to were Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and Gregorio Sancianco y Gozon, respectively.

the Katipunan of Andrés Bonifacio which, in 1896, broke forth into an armed uprising against the sovereignty of Spain in the Philippines. It was in connection with the Propaganda episode that Rizal played his historic role.

Rizal's role in the Propaganda movement can be more fully understood and appreciated if viewed against the background of contemporary conditions and developments in Spain and in the Philippines.

In Spain, the thirty-five year span of life of Rizal (1861-1896) is contemporaneous with the following segments of Spanish political history: (1) the last years of the reign of Queen Isabel II (1861-'68); (2) the rule of Marshall Serrano as Regent of Spain (1868-'71); (3) the reign of Amadeo I (1871-'73); (4) the period of the Spanish Republic (1873-'74); (5) the Bourbon Restoration and the reign of Alfonso XII (1875-'85); and (6) the first years of the regency of Queen Maria Cristina (1885-1896).[14]

During a considerable part of this period, Spain's national life was very much agitated and disturbed. The Spanish people had the misfortune of living through what Toynbee would call "a period of troubles." Revolts, civil wars, factional conflicts occurred with painful regularity. Throughout the reign of Isabel II (1843-1868), there were few intervals of complete domestic peace and tranquility for Spain. Apart from the recurrent Carlist wars,[15] there were military uprisings in which soldier-politicians through revolutionary *pronunciamientos* or *golpes de estado*, rose to power and held momentarily in their hands for, and in the name of, the Queen, the reins of government. In 1868, Queen Isabel herself was ousted from the throne. The Revolution of 1868, as that revolutionary movement is historically known, was the culmination of the efforts of the Spanish Liberals to establish a more popular system of government in Spain.

The Spanish Liberals, as a result of the Revolution, set up a provisional government with Marshall Serrano as Regent of Spain.

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[14] For a good survey of the period, see Salvador de Madriaga, *Spain* (2nd ed.) London, 1942. For a more detailed history, see Rafael Altamira's *Historia de España*. 5 Vols. Barcelona, 1909.

[15] The Carlist wars were wars of succession waged between the forces of the Crown and the followers of Carlos, younger brother of Ferdinand VII. In 1830, three years before he died, Ferdinand promulgated a pragmatic sanction in which he named his newly born daughter, Isabel, to be his rightful successor to the throne. Carlos, claiming the throne under the law of succession, contested Isabel's right. The first of the Carlist wars (1833-39) broke out shortly after Ferdinand's death (1833). They flared up time and again during the latter part of the 19th century. Together with other internal troubles, they contributed to make conditions in Spain very much disturbed and unsettled, bringing, at times, the nation to the verge of chaos and anarchy.

The government's outstanding accomplishment was the adoption of a new constitution, the Constitution of 1869. The new Constitution continued the monarchial from of government. It incorporated, however, as the basis of the Spanish monarchy, liberal ideas and principles of government-freedom of worship, civil marriage, the jury system, and all the other fundamental tenets of individual liberty. Members of the Bourbon dynasty were, by express provision of the Constitution, excluded from the throne.

It is interesting to note that, in the Constituent Cortes which framed the Constitution of 1869, efforts were made by some Spanish liberals to incorporate into the constitutional project then under consideration reforms designed to improve Spain's colonial administrative system in the Philippines. Abelardo Lopez de Ayala, Minister of the Colonies in the Provisional Government, presented a "*Memoria*" proposing certain changes in the governmental system in the Philippines. A group of Congressmen composed of Julian Pellón y Rodriguez, Tomás Rodriguez Penilla, Miguel Uzuriaga, Victor Balaguer, Joaquin Baeza, Francisco Javier Moya, and Roberto Fernández de la Cuevas, proposed to grant greater political liberties to the inhabitants of the Philippines. In the session of the Cortes of May 25, 1869, Julian Pellón spoke in favor of the proposals of his group. None of the proposed reforms, however, was approved by the Constituent Cortes.

The leaders of the Revolution of 1868 offered the Spanish Crown to Amadeo, son of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy. As king of Spain, he endeavored, in all sincerity and with the best of intentions, to help bring to Spain the blessings of peace. Conditions in the country, however, made it difficult for him to fulfill his desires. Throughout his brief reign (1871-73), Spain continued to suffer from her chronic ills—uprisings, factional rivalries, intrigues, and bitter party struggles. Moreover, Amadeo did not enjoy the sympathy and goodwill of many of his Spanish subjects. He was looked upon with suspicion and distrust. He was regarded by many Spaniards as an alien who did not deserve the loyalty, affection and devotion of the Spanish people. The general feeling of a considerable portion of the Spanish people towards Amadeo was reflected in the Carlist war cry in the Carlist revolt of 1872: "Down with the stranger — long live Spain!"

The governmental system established by the Constitution of 1869 was admirable in many ways. But in the conditions then existing, it could not function efficiently and satisfactorily. The political leadership of the nation lacked the strength and the solid

popular support to maintain national unity and governmental stability. It could not provide adequate safeguards to life and property. In fact, the Queen herself barely escaped death from the hands of an assassin. Indicative of the confusion and instability which marked the administration of national affairs was the fact that, during the first year of Amadeo's reign, four different ministers successively occupied the premiership—Serrano, Zorilla, Malcampo and Sagasta.

Disgusted with the existing situation, Amadeo decided to give up the Crown of Spain. In February 1873, he formally tendered to the Cortes his resignation as King of Spain. In his letter of abdication, Amadeo, among other things, said:[16]

> Those who, with the sword, the pen, and the spoken word, aggravate and perpetuate the evils of the nation, are Spaniards themselves. All invoke the sweet name of country, all fight and act supposedly for her well being. And in the heat of combat, in the confused, thunderous and conflicting clamors of the factions, among so many manifestations of public opinion, it is impossible to guess the true will and desires of the nation and even more difficult to find a remedy for the nation's ills.

Amadeo's words accurately presented the nature and source of the ills which afflicted Spain.

Following the abdication of Amadeo, the Spanish Liberals decided to establish a republican form of government. The Republic during its brief period of existence (1873-1874) was successively ruled by four eminent Spanish Republicans—Figueras, Pí y Margal, Salmeron and Castelar. All were widely known in the country for their liberal ideas and progressive spirit. Castelar was, among his contemporaries, particularly distinguished for his eloquence as a public speaker.

It was the fond hope and expectation of many people in Spain that, with the institution of a government truly popular in form and in substance, an era of real peace and prosperity would at last dawn for Spain. Such hopes and expectations, however, failed to materialize. Despite the high qualities of the Republican leaders as politicians and statesmen, the state of the nation as regards law and order continued to deteriorate and Spain drew dangerously close to the brink of anarchy and chaos.

At that critical moment, as on similar occasions in the past, a soldier-politician rose to power. Early in 1874, General Manuel

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16 Juan Ortega Rubio, *Historia de España*. 8 vols. Madrid, 1910. (Appendix.) Copy of the text is in Zafra, *Readings in Philippine History*. U.P., 1956.

Pavia, in a *golpe de estado,* seized the reins of government.[17] The Republic came under the administration of a new set of officials chosen by General Pavia and acting under his sole control and supervision. The Republic was thus transformed into a virtual military dictatorship.

Pavia's military dictatorship, however, was of short duration. Towards the close of 1874, General Martinez Campos, with the approval and support of several army officers, launched a *pronunciamiento* proclaiming Alfonso, son of the deposed Queen, Isabel, as King of Spain. The proclamation was received favorably by the nation. To many people, Martinez Campos' *pronunciamiento* meant the return to Spain of a scheme of government more in keeping with Spain's cherished and long established traditions. Alfonso, who had been living in exile, was brought back to Spain. Early in January 1875, he was officially installed as King under the regnal name, Alfonso XII.

Alfonso's reign (1875-1885) is generally referred to as the Era of the Bourbon Restoration. From the standpoint of domestic peace and tranquility, it was a marked improvement over those that preceded it. The recurrent Carlist wars, which for years disturbed the peace and tranquility of Spain, were finally brought to an end. General Martinez Campos, who took a leading part in the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, was mainly responsible for the attainment of that result. He adopted and put into effect a policy of attraction and conciliation toward the Carlists, as a result of which, many of the Carlist leaders gave due recognition to Alfonso as King and extended to him their allegiance and support.

Another notable event of Alfonso's reign was the adoption of a new constitution for Spain—the Constitution of 1876. The Constitution was the work of the Constituent Cortes which was called into being following the installation of Alfonso XII. The new constitution embodied many of the fundamental principles of individual liberty which were fought for in the Revolution of 1868 and which were embodied in the Constitution of 1869—freedom of worship, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of domicile.

The Constitution extended to the inhabitants of Cuba and Porto Rico the right and privileges of representation in the Spanish Cortes. This concession, however, was withheld from the inhabitants of the Philippines. The Philippines remained in the same

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17 General Manuel Pavia y Lay had been governor and captain general of the Philippines for a brief period (1854).

colonial status that was established by the Constitution of 1837 for Spain's dependencies in the Ultramar. As such she was to be governed by special laws. The Spanish government, however, was authorized to extend to the Philippines, with such modifications as it might deem proper and convenient, the laws promulgated or would be promulgated for Spain herself.

Although the reign of Alfonso XII was, on the whole, a peaceful one, free from the turbulent upheavals which characterized the preceding periods, it was not entirely free from the conditions and influences which produced most of the nation's ills—heated party struggles and rivalries, excessive partisan spirit and tendencies, and greed for political power with all its attendant evils. A noted Spanish writer of the age, José Ma. Pereda, summed up the views and feelings of many a thoughtful Spaniard of his time as to what was wrong with the Spanish people when he said: "We are an ungovernable people."[18]

Alfonso XII died in 1885. As no heir had been born at the time of his death, Maria Cristina became Queen Regent of Spain.[19] Alfonso's death, in the view of many people at the time, created a grave situation for Spain. Two of the outstanding political leaders of the period, Canóvas del Castillo, head of the liberal-conservative group, and Sagasta, chief of the liberal party, realizing the vital need of preserving the Bourbon dynasty in the national interest, agreed to cooperate and maintain national unity with a view to safeguarding the integrity of the dynasty. The plan was for the two to alternate in the administration of the nation's affairs. This arrangement, which came to be known popularly as "Rotativism," was designed primarily to save Spain from the harmful effects of bitter political rivalries and conflicts.

Between 1885 and 1896, in accordance with the terms of the pact, Canóvas del Castillo and Sagasta took turns in holding the position of prime minister of Spain. Shortly after the proclamation of Maria Cristina as Queen Regent, Canóvas del Castillo tendered his resignation, supposedly to give the new sovereign freedom to choose a new prime minister. The resignation was accepted and Sagasta was asked to form a new ministry. Sagasta's ministry ruled Spain until July, 1890. It was succeeded, as expected, by a new ministry headed by Canóvas del Castillo. The Canóvas ministry remained in power until December, 1892. On the latter date

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18 Quotation from Segdwick, Henry D., *Spain: A Short History*. Little, Brown and Company. Boston, 1925.

19 A male child, Alfonso, was posthumously born on May 17, 1886. He later became Alfonso XIII.

Sagasta's liberal party once more took over the reins of government. It held office until March 1895 when, as a result of the rise of serious problems in the field of foreign affairs, Sagasta tendered his resignation. Canóvas del Castillo once more took over the responsibilities of office. He remained as head of the government until his death in 1897.[20]

III

Conditions in Spain being what they were, the lot of the Philippines as a Spanish colony was not, as could well be expected, an enviable one. The Philippines was a convenient dumping ground for followers and favorites of politicians in Spain. A change of administration in the mother country was invariably followed by sweeping changes in the personnel of the Philippine government. For among politicians in Spain, the accepted political axiom to be followed in the disposition of government jobs was, "to the victors belong the spoils of office."

Indicative of the frequency with which government officials were changed in the Philippines is the fact that, from 1853 to 1898, 41 different governors held the governorship of the Philippines, each serving an average term of one year and three months.[21] The German scholar, Jagor, who visited the Philippines in the latter part of the reign of Isabel II, wrote of a judge of the Real Audiencia who left Spain with his family by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and who, upon arrival in Manila, found himself out of office and his successor, who had taken the shorter route by way of the Isthmus of Suez, already on the ground.[22]

It goes without saying that the Spanish administrative system in the Philippines under the circumstances was inefficient and corrupt. Bribery, nepotism, favoritism tainted the actuations of many a public official. The corruption, according to one authority, "notoriously extended on occasions to the governor-generals themselves; certain there were many of them who paid well for their appointments, and saw to it that the bargain was not a losing one for themselves.[23]

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[20] During the time that Sagasta and Canóvas del Castillo alternated in the management of Spain's affairs (1885-1897), in accordance with the terms of the "Rotativism" pact, the following held the governorship of the Philippines: Emilio Terrero (1885-1888); Antonio Molto (acting) 1888; Federico Lobaton (acting) 1888; Valeriano Weyler (1888-1891); Eulogio Despujol (1891-1893); Ramón Blanco (1893-1896); Camilo Polavieja (1896-1897).

[21] Forbes, W. C., *The Philippine Islands.* Boston, 1928. Vol. 1, Ch. 2.

[22] Cited by LeRoy, James A. *The Americans in the Philippines,* vol. 1, p. 50.

[23] *Ibid.*

Under the Spanish colonial system, the inhabitants of the Philippines did not have the ordinary natural and constitutional rights and liberties which were enjoyed by Spaniards in Spain. The Governor and Captain General of the Philippines had wide dictatorial powers over the lives and fortunes of citizens. Persons could be deported or made to change their residence without previous hearing. Homes could be searched without judicial formalities. Books, pamphlets or articles could not be published or introduced into the country unless they had the previous approval of the Board of Censors. Meetings or assemblies for political purposes were prohibited.

In connection with the governorship of the Philippines, Rizal had some interesting things to say. In an article he wrote in 1890, he said in part as follows:[24]

> The Captain General of the Philippines is the only Spaniard who wields greater powers than any man on earth, not excepting the King himself, and who, at the same time, has the least degree of responsibility... What does one need to obtain this post? Does he have to be an outstanding Spaniard... a paragon of wisdom, of prudence, of virtue, or of integrity?... Not at all. To be able to hold that post, one need only be a military commander, at most a captain general. The post does not require of a candidate anything better than purely military qualifications.
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> Sometimes, though, for reasons of state, the post is occupied by those who might possibly disturb the plans of certain politicians, or who, for valuable services rendered to certain causes or to certain political groups, demand suitable rewards. At times, even this is unnecessary; it is enough that one should promise to serve the interests of this or that powerful corporation to be assured of his selection.

What aggravated the situation and made the colonial administration particularly odious in the eyes of the inhabitants of the Philippines was the fact that many Spanish colonial officials had exaggerated notions of racial superiority. In their dealings with the inhabitants, they were inclined to be domineering, arrogant, insolent and contemptuous.

It is interesting to note in this connection the impression that the Spanish colonial administration made upon the youthful mind of Rizal. In one of his diaries, Rizal wrote of the harsh treatment which his townspeople had to endure at the hands of Spanish officials.

This is what he wrote:[25]

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[24] *"Como se Gobiernan Las Filipinas."* LA SOLIDARIDAD, Dec. 15, 1890.

[25] Austin Craig, *Rizal's Own Story,* Manila, 1929.

> I spent many, many hours of my childhood down on the shore of the lake, Laguna de Bay. I was thinking of what was beyond, I was dreaming of what might be over on the other side of the waves. Almost everyday, in our town, we saw the *Guardia Civil* lieutenant caning and injuring some unarmed and inaggressive villagers. The villager's only fault was that while at a distance he had not taken off his hat and made his bow. The *alcalde* treated the poor villagers in the same way whenever he visited us.
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> We saw no restraint put upon brutality. Acts of violence and other excesses were committed daily. The officers whose duty it was to protect the people and keep the public peace were the real outlaws. Against such law-breakers, our authorities were powerless.

Rizal himself knew from personal experience specific acts of oppression and injustice under the Spanish colonial regime. One notable instance was that which happened to his mother. In 1871, his mother was sent to jail on a false accusation. She was kept in prison for about two and one-half years, an innocent victim of malice and vengeance on the part of the Spanish commander of the *Guardia Civil* of Calamba.

In 1880, Rizal himself was a victim of arrogance and brutality. Of that incident, he gave the following account.[26]

> In 1880, I was mauled and wounded one dark night by the Civil Guard, for having passed by a statue and failing to salute it. The statue turned out to be the lieutenant commander of the detachment. I was treacherously wounded on the shoulder without a word of explanation. I went to Mr. Primo de Rivera. I never saw His Excellency nor did I ever receive redress.

Of the injustices and outrages which Rizal, in common with his countrymen, had the misfortune to endure under the Spanish colonial regime, there was one which had a particularly significant effect. It was the Cavite affair of 1872. It was that incident that determined the direction and goal of Rizal's life and that of many of his contemporaries. Rizal felt deeply grieved by the harsh and cruel manner in which the Spanish colonial authorities dealt with Father Burgos, Gomez and Zamora and the other prominent Filipinos who were brought to trial for their alleged participation in the Cavite mutiny of that year. As he himself revealed in the letter cited elsewhere in this paper,[27] his "youthful imagination was aroused and (he) swore to avenge someday those numberless persons who have suffered from them."

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[26] Epistolario Rizalino, vol. 2, No. 347.

[27] Supra, p. 19.

We do not know definitely just when Rizal started to think of formulating a plan of action for the redemption of his country. It is generally admitted that love of country was an obsession with him and that, like many of his other personality traits, it appeared early in life. In all probability, he became conscious of it for the first time while studying at the Ateneo de Manila. There is a passage in his *Memorias De Un Estudiante De Manila,* which seems to show that, by the time he reached his senior year in the Ateneo, he was already thinking seriously of his country's welfare. We find it in chapter five of the *Memorias.* In a passage in that chapter, he wrote: "In the second year of my stay (as a boarding student) . . . there had grown in me strong sentiments of patriotism."

It can well be presumed that it was his plan to help work for the emancipation of the Philippines from colonial oppression and injustice. He envisioned a happy and prosperous Philippines under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy. He must have had that vision before him when he left the Philippines for the first time in 1882. He intended to use the opportunities afforded by foreign travel to improve his God-given talents to enhance his usefulness and his capacity for service to his country and people.

IV

The twenty-year period (1872-1892) which followed the Cavite episode of 1872 was a memorable one in Philippine history. This was the period which saw the launching of what is known historically as the Propaganda campaign. The undertaking was the work of a small group of young Filipino nationalists anxious to secure, thru peaceful and legitimate means from the government of Spain, needed reforms in the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines.

The Propaganda was a direct outgrowth of the Cavite affair. The harsh and arbitrary manner in which many prominent Filipinos were prosecuted for their supposed participation in the 1872 Cavite mutiny caused many Filipinos to think seriously of the future of their country. Rizal, del Pilar and their associates in the nationalistic movement became fully aware of the fact that the colonial regime had become an instrument of tyranny and injustice and that, unless radical changes were made for the better in the governmental system, there would be little hope of redemption for the Filipino people from their wretched and miserable condition. The campaign sought to bring to public notice the realities of the situation in the Philippines in the hope that the Spanish people would

take steps to satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of the Filipino people.

The Propaganda was, in the words of Le Roy, "a two-sided campaign, waged in Spain for the extension to the Philippines of freer governmental institutions, for an honest administration, and for the speedy replacement of the friars by Filipino priests, and waged in the islands themselves for the improvement of educational facilities, a removal of the espionage upon the press and public opinion, and, above all, for an awakening of the lethargic masses."[28]

The men behind the campaign sought to attain their objectives by bringing to public attention through their writings the evils which afflicted the Philippines. Their ultimate aim, however, was not separatist. They were, in spite of the oppressive and illiberal character and tendencies of the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines, closely attached to Spain. They had not lost faith in the sense of justice and magnanimity of the Spanish people. They sincerely believed that, if duly and properly informed of the realities of the situation in the Philippines, Spain would deal fairly and justily with the Filipino people.

Of the reforms which the Filipino nationalists wanted most to see introduced in the Philippines, the one they considered of vital importance was that which concerned the role of the Spanish friar in the administration of public affairs. More specifically, the desired reform sought the elimination of the Spanish friars from their positions of power and influence in the government. That involved the latters' removal from the curacies and their replacement with Filipino or Spanish secular priests.

It was a peculiarity of the Spanish colonial system that the Spanish friar was used by the government as an instrument of colonial domination. For that purpose he was entrusted with numerous duties and responsibilities. How extensive and varied his role was may be gathered from the statement of a high official of one of the Religious Orders in the Philippines. Fr. Juan Villegas, Superior of the Franciscan Order, speaking before the Philippine Commission in 1900, among other things, said:[29]

> The following may be mentioned as among the principal duties or powers exercised by the parish priest: he was inspector of primary schools; president of the health board and board of charities; president of the board of urban taxation... inspector of taxation; previously he was the actual president, but lately honorary president, of the board of public works.

[28] Op. cit. vol. 1, p. 63.

[29] Senate Document, No. 190, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 64.

He certified to the correctness of the *cedulas*—seeing that they conformed to the entries in the parish books... He was president of the board of statistics... He was president of the census taking of the town.

Under the Spanish law every man had to be furnished with a certificate of character. If a man was imprisoned and he was from another town, they sent to that other town for his antecedents, and the court would examine whether they were good or bad. They would not be received, however, unless the parish priest had his visa on them. The priest also certified as to the civil status of persons.

Every year they drew lots for those who were to serve in the army, every fifth man drawn being taken. The parish priest would certify as to that man's condition.

Because of the dominant character and wide scope of friar intervention in governmental affairs, the Philippine government was, in the view of the more enlightened elements of the Philippine population, a government of, and, by, the Spanish friar, a "Frailocracy" (*Frailocracia*), a "Monastic Sovereignty" (*Soberania Monacál*), in the words of M. H. del Pilar.

How the Filipinos at the time of Rizal felt and thought about the government, particularly about the Spanish friar curate as a representative of Spanish sovereignty, can be inferred from the testimony of Florentino Torres before the Philippine Commission in 1900. Mr. Torres, who later became a member of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, belonged to the generation of Rizal, Del Pilar, and other prominent and distinguished Filipinos of that age. In his testimony, Justice Torres spoke in part as follows:[30]

> The local authorities took no step, obeyed no superior orders, and did not perform the duties of their office, without previous advice, permission, or knowledge of the friar curate, since the protection of the latter sufficed at times to defy the anger of the governor of the province and paralyze or evade the action of justice... The friars, occupying a preeminent place in the system of accusations, arrogated to themselves the right to issue certificates of "Spanishism" or filibusterism in such a way that the most worthy and upright man who should merit the characterization of *filibustero* was lost and became the object of all manner of governmental actions, of military proceedings, and of the cruelest outrages and vexations... And the protection or good report of a friar sufficed for the most perverse and immoral resident to be considered the most ardent supporter of the Spanish cause and secure the best positions even though he was the enemy of Spain to the very marrow of his bones.

It is interesting to note that there were high minded Spaniards in the Philippines who were aware of the evils existing in the

[30] *Loc. cit.*

Philippines and who were anxious to see that the conditions which produced them be removed. One of these was Manuel Scheidnagel, a military officer, who served for many years with distinction in the government of the Philippines. In one of his works, Scheidnagel made the following interesting observations on the governmental system of the Philippines:[31]

> The friar is greatly needed in the colony. But he should carry on his mission, religious and humanitarian, without intervening directly in matters that pertain to the executive power. His counsel is and will always be listened to and will be accorded due respect; but his will or desire which, on many occasions is unjustified, should not prevail over the laws and interests of the Nation...
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> We observe there a situation which, because of the unhappy results that it produces, should be radically changed... It often occurs, specially in the provinces, that without justifiable cause an educated Filipino is held suspect (*sospechoso*) and not infrequently he experiences on that account, grave injuries to his interests and to his person.
>
> Vigorous enforcement of the laws and punishing the criminal to the fullest extent of the law is and will always be a sound doctrine. But under no circumstances and in no place shall whim or caprice be the cause of an injustice.

The situation being what it was, it was to be expected that, in their campaign for reforms, the Filipino nationalists should consider as of fundamental importance the question of the Philippine curacies. They felt that the only satisfactory solution to the problem was the removal of the Spanish friar curates from the parishes and their replacement with secular priests, Spanish or Filipino.

The Spanish government, however, was not disposed to agree to such a solution of the problem. For the question of the Philippine curacies, after the Cavite affair of 1872, had become, not just a matter of ecclesiastical administration, but essentially a political problem of vital importance involving the preservation of Spanish political integrity and sovereignty in the Philippines. Reports coming from official sources in the Philippines highlighted this aspect of the problem. They emphasized the fact that members of the Filipino clergy were strongly nationalistic in spirit and in tendencies and that, therefore, the placing of Filipino priests in the parishes would be dangerous to Spain's national interests.

The report of Jimeno Agius, Intendant of Finance, was a case in point. In his report, Agius categorically stated that "the native clergy constituted an undesirable and dangerous element for the

[31] El Archipelago de Legazpi: Madrid, 1890, p. 261, et. passim.

integrity of the motherland."[32] Under the circumstances, the Spanish government was constrained, not only to retain the existing arrangements as regards the administration of the curacies, but also to strengthen the position and authority of the friar curates so as to enhance their usefulness as bulwarks of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines.

V

Rizal's activities in the nationalistic campaign fall within three distinct chronological stages. The first embraced the years lying between Rizal's first departure for Europe in May, 1882, to his second trip abroad early in 1888. It was, for the most part, a period of study, preparation and travel. The second extended from Rizal's arrival in London in June, 1888, to the date of his departure from Europe in October 1891. It was a period of intense literary and political activity. The third period lasted from the time he arrived in Hongkong in November, 1891, to July 1892, when he was ordered exiled to Dapitan, Mindanao. This period saw Rizal returning to the Philippines to carry on the campaign on Philippine soil.

A survey of each of these stages in the life of Rizal is important and necessary for an understanding of Rizal's role in the nationalistic campaign.

Rizal left Manila on May 3, 1882, arriving at Barcelona on June 15 of that year. According to Retana, Rizal at the time he arrived in Spain was a confirmed nationalist. Evidence for this is the literary work that he wrote during his stay in Barcelona. Under the title *"Amor Patrio,"* Rizal wrote a treatise on patriotism. It was the first literary work that he wrote in Spain.

In *"Amor Patrio"* Rizal gave expression to his emotions of love for, and devotion to, the land of his birth. "After the manner of the ancient Hebrews," he wrote, "who used to offer at the temple the first fruits of their love, we, in a foreign land, shall dedicate our first thoughts to our country, wrapped up amidst the clouds and mists of the morning, always beautiful and poetic, but more endearing the longer we are absent and the farther we are removed from her." He spoke, with a feeling of nostalgia, of the natural beauties of his country, the scenes of his childhood, and the loved

[32] *Poblacion y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas,* Madrid, 1884. The portions of Agius' work relating to the question of the Philippine curacies have been reproduced by W. E. Retana in his edition of Martinez de Zuñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas,* vol. 2, p. 29 of Apendice A. (An English translation of those portions of Agius' work is Zafra, N., *Readings in Philippine History,* 956 revised ed., p. 522, *et. seq.*

ones he had left behind. With patriotic fervor, he called upon the youth of the land to consecrate themselves to the service of the country. "It is our duty," he wrote in concluding the essay, "to follow the dreary but peaceful and productive paths of Science which lead to progress and from there to the union desired and prayed for by Jesus Christ in the night of His suffering."[33]

From Barcelona Rizal transferred to Madrid. An entry in the diary of Consuelo Ortiga y Rey, daughter of Pablo Ortiga, former government official in the Philippines and, at that time, serving as *"Consejero de Ultramar"* (Counsellor in the Department of the Colonies), reveals that Rizal, by the middle of September, was already settled in Madrid. Consuelo's diary records Rizal's first visit to the home of Pablo Ortiga on September 16, 1882.[34]

Rizal enrolled in the Universidad Central de Madrid taking up simultaneously courses in the College of Medicine and in the College of Philosophy and Letters. He obtained his *"Licenciado en Medicina"* (Licentiate in Medicine) on June 21, 1884. On June 19, 1885, his 24th birthday, he received his *"Licenciado en Filosofía y Letras"* (Licentiate in Philosophy and Letters) with a grade of *"sobresaliente"* (excellent).

In 1884, while still a student, Rizal spoke in public before a select audience composed of artists, men of letters, journalists, prominent politicians of Spain, and Filipino students residing in Madrid. The occasion was a testimonial banquet to honor two Filipino painters whose works had won recognition and distinction at the *"Exposicion Nacionál de Bellas Artes"* held that year in Madrid—Juan Luna, with his *"Spoliarium,"* and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, with his *"Virgenes Cristianas."*

Rizal's speech was a notable one, not only for its eloquence and literary excellence, but also for the fact that it brought to public notice in Spain conditions in the Philippines. Rizal called attention to the fact that the Philippines, "lethargic during the historic night while the sun brightens other countries is now awakened by the electric impact that is produced by contact with Western nations, and demands *light, life, civilization,* which was once its heritage." There were, however, Rizal went on to say, elements in the Philippines who were obstructing the progress of the country. These were, to use his own words, "the narrow minded who, *assured of the present,* do not look to the future, *do not weigh consequences;* weak nurses, corrupt and corrupters, who seek to

[33] The "Amor Patrio" was published in *La Solidaridad,* on October 31, 1890.
[34] "Memorias de Consuelo Ortiga y Perez." (Unpublished manuscript)

suppress all legitimate aspirations, who, perverting the heart of the nation, *sow the seeds of discord so that they might later gather for themselves the fruit, the ruin, the death of future generation.*"[35]

The "*Brindis,*" as Rizal's contemporaries were wont to call Rizal's speech, was directed to a notable segment of the people of Spain. As such, it represented Rizal's first important political activity, the initial blow, so to speak, in the Propaganda campaign.

In the next two years following his graduation from the College of Philosophy and Letters of the Universidad Central de Madrid, Rizal made a tour of several countries of Europe. He left Madrid in 1885 for Paris. His purpose in going to France was two-fold: (1) to acquire proficiency in the use of the French language, and, (2) to make a more intensive study of the science of ophthalmology, the branch of medicine which he had chosen as a field of specialization. In Paris he worked as an apprentice in the clinic of Dr. Luis Wecker, world-famous French ophthalmologist. He remained in Paris throughout the remaining part of 1885.

From France, Rizal went to Germany. He arrived in Heidelberg on February 7, 1886. In Heidelberg, he continued his studies in ophthalmology, taking practical lessons from Dr. Galezowsky, a renowned German ophthalmologist. In Heidelberg, too, on April 22, 1886, feeling homesick and lonesome, Rizal wrote his poem "*A Las Flores de Heidelberg*" (To the Flowers of Heidelberg).[36] The composition, in the view of a Spanish writer, is "one of the most beautiful poems which emerged from the pen of Rizal."[37]

He stayed in Germany throughout the rest of the year 1886 and the first four months and a half of 1887. During this time he visited many parts of the country — the Rhineland, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin. He also became acquainted with many well-known German scholars such as Dr. A. B. Meyer, president of the Anthropological and Ethnographical Society of Berlin, Dr. F. Jagor, who visited the Philippines in 1859-60, author of *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Travels in the Philippines), and members of the Berlin Geographic Society, Dr. Rudolph Virchow, world-famous German anthropologist, and Dr. Joest, noted geographer. While in Berlin, Rizal worked in the clinic of Dr. Schulzer, a renowned ophthalmologist, to acquire further practical knowledge in ophthalmology.

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[35] The text of the speech is found in Retana, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal,* Madrid, 1907, pp. 94-98.

[36] This and other poems of Rizal have been compiled and edited by Jaime C. de Veyra in *Poesias de Rizal.* Manila, 1946.

[37] Angel Rodriguez Bachiller, *Rizal Ante La Historia.* Madrid, 1955. p. 14.

From Berlin, Rizal in company with his friend, Dr. Maximo Viola, made a tour of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.[38] Leaving Berlin on May 11, 1887, Rizal and Viola went to Leitzmeritz, then in Austria, for a visit with Prof. F. Blumentritt and his family. They stayed for about a week in Leitzmeritz. Leaving Leitzmeritz on May 17, they continued their tour visiting other cities of Austria, Prague, Salzburg and various cities in Bavaria. Early in June Rizal and Viola were in Switzerland. They visited Basel, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva.

After staying in Geneva for about fifteen days, Rizal and Viola separated from each other. Viola remained for a while in Switzerland while Rizal proceeded to Italy visiting Turin, Milan, Venice and Florence on his way to Rome. He arrived in Rome on June 29th. On July 3, he left Marseilles, France, on his way back to the Philippines. He arrived in Manila on August 6, 1887.

Of the activities that Rizal undertook during the first stage of his career as a Propagandist (1882-1888), unquestionably the most important and significant historically was the writing of his novel, *Noli Me Tángere*. The novel was, in the view of many of his contemporaries, one of Rizal's greatest works. Retana, Rizal's biographer, called it the *New Gospel,* the *New Bible* of the Filipino People.[39] Blumentritt considered it "as the greatest literary work ever written by a Filipino or by any other on the Philippines, . . . a work written with the heart's blood of a patriot."[40]

The work was published in Berlin sometime on March 21, 1887.[41] The writing of the novel was done in instalments as Rizal himself revealed in one of his letters. According to him, half of the work was written in Madrid, a fourth in Paris and the rest in Germany.[42]

Just when Rizal commenced the writing of the *Noli* is not definitely known. It is interesting to note that, in the diary which Rizal kept in Madrid, there is an entry for January 2, 1884, which may throw some light on the genesis of the *Noli Me Tángere.* According to the entry, Rizal, at a meeting of the Filipino residents in Madrid at the home of the Paternos, proposed the publication of a book on the Philippines to be written as a cooperative under-

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[38] A valuable source of information on this tour, apart from Rizal's own writings, is Dr. Viola's account, "My Travels with Dr. Jose Rizal." The document, translated into English by Mr. Alejandro R. Roces, was published in instalments in the *Manila Times,* Dec. 30-31, 1950, and Jan. 1-6, 1951.

[39] Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[40] Blumentritt's "Defense of the Noli."

[41] On March 21, 1887, Rizal sent a copy of the *Noli* to Blumentritt accompanied by a letter in which he told of his newly published book.

[42] *"Dr. Rizal al P. Pastells."* Epistolario Rizalino, Vol. 4, No. 575.

taking by the Filipinos themselves. The proposition was, according to Rizal's diary, unanimously approved. However, when the question came up as to how the project was to be carried out, those who voted for it began to offer objections and excuses. In view of this unexpected reaction on the part of his companions, Rizal abandoned the plan altogether and decided to undertake the task himself alone. According to Retana, to this decision of Rizal may be traced the origin and inception of the *Noli Me Tángere*.[43]

If Retana's surmise is correct it can be said confidently that Rizal began the writing of the *Noli* in the first part of 1884. How much of the work he was able to accomplish that year, however, is not definitely known. It is doubtful whether he was able to make rapid progress on it during the first half of that year, considering that at that time he was carrying quite a heavy burden of scholastic work. He was taking courses simultaneously in the College of Medicine and in the College of Philosophy and Letters of the Universidad Central de Madrid. Not until after he obtained his licentiate in medicine in June 1884, could he have at his disposal sufficient spare time to carry on, at a more rapid rate, the writing of his novel. It can be presumed, therefore, that the greater part of the novel which was written in Madrid was produced during the period between June, 1884, and the latter part of September, 1885, when he left for France.

Rizal wrote the novel for the great purpose that he had in mind—the redemption of his people from their deplorable situation. This objective had a two-fold aspect. It meant, in the first place, exposing, for all the world to see, the "social cancer" affecting his country. Rizal sought to reproduce in his novel the realities of the situation in the Philippines. As he stated in a letter that he wrote in 1887:[44]

> I have described the social conditions, the livelihood, the beliefs, the hopes, the vices, the complaints, the grievances of our people. I have unmasked the hypocrisy which, under the cloak of religion, came to our country to impoverish us, to brutalize us. I distinguished the true religion from the false and superstitious one.... I unveiled that which had been hidden behind the deceitful and brilliant words of our government. I told our countrymen our mistakes, our vices, our culpable and loose complaisance with their miseries. Whenever I found virtue I loudly paid honor to it.

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43 "*Rizal's Diary, January-June,* 1884," is reproduced in W. E. Retana, op. cit., p. 72, *et seq.*

44 W. E. Retana, *op. cit.*

The exposé was meant to arouse public attention in Spain to the need for reforms in the colonial administration in the Philippines. With the *Noli,* Rizal sought, to use his exact words, "to lift part of the veil which hides the sore," to the end that remedial measures might be applied.

In the second place, Rizal wanted to arouse, the national spirit of his countrymen. As he told M. H. del Pilar, "I wrote the *Noli Me Tángere* to stir up the sentiments of my fellow countrymen."

To enhance the usefulness and effectiveness of the *Noli* for the purpose he had in mind, Rizal gave to the work the substance and character of an authentic record of his time. As he told Professor Blumentritt: "The Filipinos will find in it the history of the last ten years."[45] It was so to speak, a contemporary history of the Philippines. Many of the events and personages portrayed therein were representations of historical actualities. "The events that I recount," he wrote to a friend of his, "are all true and have actually happened."[46]

In his portrayal of the contemporary scene in the Philippines, Rizal revealed his keen perception of the dynamics of history—the forces and influences that shape and direct the course of human events. With his skill as narrator, he described in his inimitable style the significant incidents, episodes and personalities of his time.

Copies of the *Noli Me Tángere* began to circulate in Europe as early as March, 1887. Before Rizal left for the Philippines in July of that year, he had received letters from a number of his friends and acquaintances in Europe praising him for his literary achievement. Antonio Regidor, F. Blumentritt, F. Resurreccion Hidalgo, Evaristo Aguirre, and Eduardo de Lete were among those who sent him laudatory comments and messages on his novel.

In the Philippines some copies had been received prior to the arrival of Rizal in Manila early in August, 1887. One of those who received a copy was the Archbishop of Manila, Fr. P. Payo. The latter sent his copy to the Rector of the University of Sto. Tomás with instructions that the book be reviewed. A committee of the faculty of the University was created to examine the book.

The committee found many things to criticize in the book. Among other things, it reported that, "in spirit and tendencies, the entire narrative seeks to discredit the existing social and religious institution in the country, and to arouse the inhabitants to rebel against them." *"Noli Me Tángere,"* the report concluded, "if it is

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45 *"Letter to Blumentritt"* March, 1887.
46 *"Letter to a Friend"* in Retana, *op. cit.*

allowed to circulate in the Philippines, would cause irreparable harm to faith and morals, would destroy and extinguish the love of the people for Spain and, inflaming the hearts and passions of the inhabitants of this country, would bring unhappy days for the Mother Country."

Emilio Terrero, who was at that time the governor and captain-general of the Philippines was furnished a copy of the report. Curious to know more of the real nature and tendencies of the novel, and, at the same time, to meet in person its author, General Terrero summoned Rizal to Malacañang. Rizal readily answered the summons. What took place in the conference is told by Rafael Palma in his biography as follows:[47]

> The Governor told him: "You wrote a novel which has given rise to many commentaries; I understand it contains subversive ideas."
>
> Rizal denied it. He had not done anything except to tell the truth as he understood it. He was conscious that he had not committed any fault; he had complied with a civic duty to his country and to Spain, and his sense of filial obligation impelled him to return to the Philippines.
>
> Rizal's remarks pleased Terrero who said to him: "I wish to read your novel so that I can judge it for myself."
>
> "General" he replied, "I intend to send copies to your Excellency and to the Archbishop as soon as they arrive from Europe. I brought only one copy but I have given it to a friend of mine. If your Excellency would permit me, I shall look for a copy for you."
>
> "Not only do I permit but I demand," declared His Excellency.
>
> "Then you will have one."
>
> Rizal went to the Jesuit fathers to ask for the copy that they had, but the latter were unwilling to part with it. He had to go to the friend to whom he had given a copy and the latter returned it to him. It was a much used and quite soiled copy. With it Rizal went back to the palace. The Governor received him with greater cordiality than on the first visit and he asked:
>
> "Are you going back home? They will not leave you in peace. I shall assign an officer of the Civil Guard in case you need his services."
>
> "Thank you. I accept it with much pleasure," he replied.
>
> And that is how the young lieutenant, José Taviel de Andrade came to be assigned to guard and accompany Rizal.

Whether Terrero actually read or not the book that Rizal gave him is not definitely known. What is certain is that he sent the book to the *Comisión Permanente de Censura* (Permanent Board of Censorship) for the latter to examine it and to recommend ap-

[47] *Op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. Rizal wrote about his meeting with Terrero to Blumentritt on September 5, 1887. The text of the letter is in the *Epistolario,* vol. 5, part 1, No. 35.

propriate action. Fr. Salvador Font took charge, for and in the name of the Board, of preparing the Board's report and recommendation.

The Board submitted its report to General Terrero on December 29, 1887. The report pointed out numerous objectionable features in the book. The *Noli Me Tángere,* it stated, contained attacks against the religion of the state; against the administration. the Spanish employees in the government and in the Courts of Justice; against the Guardia Civil; and against the good name of Spain. The Board urged Terrero to "prohibit absolutely the importation, reproduction and circulation of this pernicious book in the Islands."

The report was printed and given wide publicity. The effect of the censorship was to arouse keen interest and curiosity on the part of many people in the book of Rizal. Rizal himself became, as a result, a highly controversial figure. To many of his countrymen, particularly among the educated elements, he was the apostle of the new nationalism that had arisen in their country. His great love of country and his courage in denouncing the evils of the Spanish colonial administration and in demanding justice and fair treatment for his people won for him the respect, love and admiration of many of his countrymen.

Most of the Spanish residents in the Philippines, on the other hand, considered Rizal as a dangerous individual, a *filibustero,* (agitator, revolutionist), a confirmed public enemy of Spain. They were enraged by his denunciations of the vices of the Spaniards, lay and ecclesiastical, in the Philippines. They regarded his denunciations of the evils of Spanish colonialism as an unpardonable act of insolence and audacity, an insult to the good name and prestige of the Spanish people. They felt that Rizal's presence in the Philippines was intolerable. They brought strong pressure to bear upon Terrero to have him either deported from the country or placed in confinement.

Under the circumstances, Rizal found himself in quite an uncomfortable, if not extremely dangerous situation. For this reason, and, in obedience to the advise and counsel of his parents, he remained during the greater part of his brief stay in the Philippines in his home town, Calamba. He refrained from going to other towns. He even had to forego the pleasure of visiting his sweetheart, Leonor Rivera, in Pangasinan. Only on rare occasions did he venture beyond the limits of his town. On one of such occasions, he and his escort, Lieutenant Taviel de Andrade climbed Mt.

Makiling. From the top of that majestic mountain, the excursionists viewed with extreme delight the beauty and grandeur of the panorama that lay before them. In that excursion Rizal learned from the inhabitants of the area of Mariang Makiling, the legendary goddess after whom the mountain was named. Some years later, in Europe, Rizal wrote a delightful story based on the legend of Mariang Makiling. The story was published in the December 31, 1890, issue of *La Solidaridad*.

In Calamba, Rizal devoted much of his time to the practice of his medical profession. He operated successfully on the cataracts that had been bothering his mother's eyes, restoring thereby her faded eyesight. His success in this operation made him widely known as a skillful ophthalmologist. Many people came to him for treatment. From the fees that he collected for his professional services he was able to make a tidy fortune.

Rizal did not forego any opportunity to participate in the civic life of his town. He lent his support and cooperation in all matters affecting the interests and welfare of his townspeople. In the closing days of 1887, an official communication from the Department of Finance of the Central Government was received by the town of Calamba. The town was asked to furnish facts and figures regarding agricultural production in the estate belonging to the Dominican Order in the three years immediately preceding. The Government wanted information on this matter as a basis for determining the tax liability of the estate.

The receipt of the communication gave Rizal an opportunity to display his civic spirit and the dynamic leadership that he was capable of. He prepared a memorial which the *principales* of Calamba, in compliance with the government's order, presented on January 8, 1888. The memorial set forth the conditions existing in the town. It pointed out that while production in the estate increased in volume, the income of the tenants showed no corresponding increase owing to the many exactions, abuses, and irregularities committed in the administration of the estate. As a result, the memorial went on to state, the material conditions of the people had gone from bad to worse.

In view of the facts set forth, the *principales* presented in their memorial a petition requesting that a formal contract be entered into between the tenants and the owners of the estate; or, in case such an arrangement was not acceptable, that the lots be sold to the tenants under reasonable terms. The petition, how-

ever, after going through a maze of official red tape, was shelved. It was not brought to the attention of Governor Terrero.

The action of the *principales* of Calamba gave rise to what came to be known historically as the "Calamba Affair." Rizal's participation in the events which led up to that "affair" only served to intensify the animosity of his enemies towards him. Rizal became aware of the fact that, by prolonging his stay in the Philippines he would expose not only himself to serious danger, but also his relatives and close friends. He was constrained, therefore, to cut short his stay. Early in February, 1888, he left the Philippines for the second time. He was on his way to London, England. This time he went by way of Hongkong, Japan, and the United States.

Shortly after Rizal's departure a significant event took place in the Philippines. The incident is known historically as the "Manifestation of 1888." It was an outgrowth of a local dispute which arose between the friar curate of Binondo and prominent residents of that place. As a sequel of the dispute, on March 1, 1888, a number of Filipinos presented themselves before the civil governor of Manila with a petition urging the removal of the Archbishop of Manila and the expulsion of the Spanish friars from the Philippines. It was a bold and daring act which Spaniards in the country interpreted as an open challenge and threat to Spanish sovereignty. According to Wenceslao Retana, the leaders of the movement were encouraged to take such a step by the anti-clerical attitude of some of the prominent Spanish officials in the government, particularly Governor Terrero, the civil governor of Manila, José Centeno, and the Director of Civil Administration, Benigno Quiroga.[48]

The Board of Authorities (*Junta de Autoridades*) which, by the way, included in its membership Governor Terrero himself and the Director of Civil Administration, Quiroga, took cognizance of the petition. The Board found the petition subversive and seditious and ordered that judicial action be taken against the petitioners. Twenty-eight persons who took part in the "Manifestation" were brought to trial and sent to jail. The others were declared free from criminal responsibility. It was found out that they signed the petition not knowing its true nature and purpose and that they affixed their signatures in the mistaken belief that it was simply a request to the Spanish Government for the establishment of schools of arts and trades.

48 *Cultura Filipina,* Feb. 1912, under the title *"Para la Historia."*

Rizal was in Japan on his way to Europe when he heard of the incident. It appears that he did not approve of the purposes of the "Manifestation" or of the manner in which it was conducted. What he thought of it was revealed in an interview which he had a few years later with Ricardo Carnicero in Dapitan on August 30, 1892. When asked whether he was in favor of the expulsion of the friars, he replied as follows:[49]

> No, sir, because in my country everybody is welcome. Sometime ago, during the manifestation of the gobernadorcillos of the province of Manila (March 1, 1888) petitioning the expulsion of the friars and while I was in Japan, I was apprised of the occurrence by Perez Caballero. Later, I was consulted by friends from Manila about what they should do, and I told them: "For the manifestation, since it was done without my consent, you can suffer the consequences. I can not advise anything on the matter."

The story of Rizal's second journey to Europe is told by Rizal himself in a letter that he wrote to Mariano Ponce from London on July 27, 1888, and in the diary that he kept during his trip.[50] There are a few interesting things about his trip that Rizal told in these writings. We learn, for example, that Rizal was not feeling well when he left Manila early in February, 1888. He was sick throughout the voyage from Manila to Hongkong. At Hongkong, where he stayed for a few days, he met some Spaniards who had been in the Philippines. One of these, Baranda by name, had been Secretary of the Central Government in the administration of Governor Terrero. He also met a number of Filipinos. One of them was José Ma. Basa, one of those deported for alleged participation in the Cavite affair of 1872. Another was Balbino Mauricio, another victim of the 1872 affair. Still another was one Lecaros by name, a descendant of a former Filipino representative in the Spanish Cortes. Rizal took advantage of his brief stay in Hongkong to study Chinese customs and the Chinese theatre.

Leaving Hongkong, he arrived in Japan on February 28th. He visited a number of interesting places in Japan. He took advantage of his brief stay, (February 28 - April 13) to study the Japanese language and the way of life of the Japanese people. His sojourn through Japan broadened his knowledge of the country and of its people. He left the country deeply impressed with the industry and enterprise of the Japanese people.

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49 *Epistolario,* Vol. 4, No. 565.

50 Rizal's letter to Ponce is in the *Epistolario,* Vol. 2, No. 186. Retana, *op. cit.,* p. 153, *et. seq.,* gives extracts of Rizal's diary.

VI

Early in June, 1888, Rizal took up his residence in London. His purpose in going to London was to carry on the patriotic work that he had begun. What he saw and experienced in the Philippines during his brief stay there made him feel the urgency of a more vigorous prosecution of the Propaganda campaign and strengthened his determination and purpose to carry on that campaign to a successful conclusion.

He realized, however, that the exigencies of the task before him demanded further preparation on his part. He needed to enlarge his knowledge of the Philippines, particularly of its history, to enable him to better understand and evaluate existing conditions in the country. It was for this reason that he took up his residence in London at 37 Chalcot Crescent, Primrose Hill, not very far from the British Museum. It was his plan to do research work on the history of the Philippines in the British Museum availing himself of the rich collection of Philippine historical material that he knew existed in that institution.

Rizal stayed in London between June, 1888, and March, 1889. Much of this time he spent in the British Museum reading and examining the numerous works that had been written relating directly or indirectly to the Philippines. With laborious effort, but with keen delight and interest, he took down notes and gathered relevant material from all available sources.

Of the books that he found in the Museum, the one that fascinated him most was the original 1609 edition of Dr. Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. He used this book as the core and center of his historical studies. The work was a narrative of the events that took place in the Philippines in the first decades of Spanish rule in the Philippines. It was, in the words of Blumentritt, "the best account on the conquest of the Philippines."[51] Rizal planned to bring out, with annotations of his own, a new edition of this work.

Dr. Morga first came to the Philippines in 1595 as a member of the Royal Audiencia in the Philippine Government. At one time he served in an acting capacity as governor and captain general of the Philippines. In 1600 he commanded a squadron that fought and repulsed a Dutch naval force that came to the Philippines under Admiral Van Noort. The official positions that he occupied gave him ample opportunities for close observation and study of existing conditions in the Philippines.

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[51] "Prologo," Morga, Antonio de, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Rizal edition.

Rizal's main purpose in undertaking the preparation of a new edition of Morga's work was two-fold. He wanted, in the first place, to disprove erroneous claims and assumptions regarding the state of culture of the Filipinos when the Spaniards first arrived in the Philippines. He wanted the testimony of a man of Morga's character and reputation to rectify wrong impressions and historical distortions. For Morga was known for his scrupulous regard for historical truth and for his high sense of fairness and justice. In the second place, Rizal wanted his new edition of Morga to help advance the cause of the nationalistic campaign in which he was engaged. He strongly believed that the new edition could arouse among his countrymen national consciousness and love of country.

The new edition brought Morga's *Sucesos* out of the obscurity in which it had remained for so many years. It was, in the words of Blumentritt, "a lasting monument to the name of Rizal."[52] With the abundance of historical data and critical notes with which its author enriched it, it proved to be a valuable contribution to the literature of Philippine history and to the cause of Philippine nationalism.

Rizal showed in his edition of Morga's *Sucesos* his real qualities as a practitioner of the historian's craft. He revealed therein his familiarity with the fundamental rules and principles of historical criticism. To ascertain the facts of history he went invariably to the known sources of information. His attitude towards historical testimony was one of sound and reasonable skepticism. He would accept only those claims and assumptions of a historical witness which, on critical examination, he found to be worthy of credence. "I did not want," he once wrote to Isabelo de los Reyes speaking of his procedure or methodology in historical matters, "to ignore what I found in all the authorities, just as I refuse to accept what one claims without reasonable basis . . . I never affirm anything upon my own authority. I cite texts and, when I do, I have them right in front of me."[53]

In his studies in the British Museum, Rizal took particular interest in the civilization of the early Filipinos. On that subject, as he himself revealed in the letter to Isabelo de los Reyes above cited, he read all the works of contemporary and later writers that he could find in the Museum. His knowledge of foreign languages proved of great help to him for it enabled him to read accounts and documents in the languages in which they were originally writ-

[52] *Op. cit.*
[53] *"Una Contestación a D. Isabelo de los Reyes." La Solidaridad.* Oct. 31, 1890.

ten. He used Pigafetta's *Primo Viaggio* in Italian, the works of Blumentritt, Jagor, Virchow, Joest, and others in German; works in French such as those of A. Marche and M. Jacquet; works by English writers such as Lord Stanley, T. Cavendish, Marsden, and Wallace; works in Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and, of course, the numerous works in Spanish by Spanish writers as well as by Filipinos such as T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes, Gregorio Sancianco y Gozon, and Pedro A. Paterno.

His knowledge of philology also proved exceedingly useful. It enhanced his capacity to solve many difficult historical problems. It enabled him to bring the force and weight of linguistic evidence to clarify obscure or little known facts of history or to disprove erroneous claims or assumptions.

Rizal's annotations reflected the patriotic fervor and strongly nationalistic spirit which surged in his being and which provided the motive power in all his actuations. He wanted the Filipinos to know that they had a past of which they could well be proud, and that the civilization that their ancestors possessed at the arrival of the Spaniards was worthy of their respect and admiration.

Rizal commented on the various phases of civilization among the early Filipinos which Morga dealt with in his *Sucesos*. Backed up in almost every instance by adequate historical evidence he endeavored to show that the Filipinos had, at the arrival of the Spaniards, land and naval forces, equipped with artillery and other implements of warfare; that they had commercial relations with China, Japan, Cambodia, and other countries of Asia; that they had schools where their children learned to read and write; that they were musically inclined; that they had songs and dances and other forms of literary and artistic expression; that they had a system of writing which, although not as simple and clear as the Latin, was, nevertheless, sufficiently developed to meet adequately their needs. Rizal noted, too, that the early Filipinos believed in a Supreme Being, in lesser gods and goddesses, in life after death, and in future rewards and punishments; that they had a keen sense of morality and that their ideas of moral values could stand comparison with those of peoples supposedly more advanced in civilization. Rizal claimed that there were many things in the civilization of the early Filipinos which were commendable. This was true particularly of their political organization, their slavery system, their laws, customs, and usages governing marriages, inheritances, and the status and rights of children.

As a crusader for political and administrative reforms in the Philippines, Rizal naturally gave a great deal of interest and attention to Spain's actuations as a colonial power. His studies on the history of the Philippines enabled him to view with greater clarity the character and spirit of Spanish colonialism in Asia. Spanish chauvinists of his time took pleasure in propagating the view that the Philippines did not bring anything of value to Spain. They claimed, too, that the Philippines owed a debt of gratitude to Spain for the immense benefits and advantages that she derived from her association and contact with the Mother Country.

Taking up such claims, Rizal commented that the beneficial results accruing from Spain's coming to the Philippines were by no means one sided. They were mutual, accruing to the advantage both of Spain and of the Philippines. According to him, Spain profited even more than did the Philippines. Her gains took the form of the "enormous quantity of gold which was taken from the islands in the first years; the tributes of the *encomenderos;* the millions which were collected to pay the salaries of soldiers, government employees, diplomatic agents, the corporations, etc." He further maintained that, considering the enormous losses in lives and in property that the Filipinos sustained in helping to uphold Spain's position as a colonial power in the Far East, the Philippines paid dearly for her association with Spain.[54]

Rizal also took up for comment Morga's statement regarding the purpose of Spain's colonial policy. Morga, on this point claimed that, quoting his exact words,

> ...the King our sovereign derives as yet no profit from any revenues of the Philippines, but rather an expenditure, by no means small, from his revenues in Nueva España. He sustains the Philippines only for the Christianization and conversion of the natives, and for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia, which are expected through this gateway, at God's good pleasure.

On the above quoted passage, Rizal commented as follows:[55]

> That the conversion of the Filipinos to Christianity was the only thing which gave the Spanish kings the right to possess the Islands was the general judgment of men at that time, military as well as civilians and theologians, such as P. Alonso Sanchez, Hernando de los Rios, the admiral, D. Jeronimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo, and others. The latter complaining against the neglect in which the Indians found themselves, said: "They have ceased to instruct these simple folk in the Catholic faith, *which is the only reason under which the King of Spain*

[54] Rizal's edition of Morga's *Sucesos,* p. 142, note 2.
[55] *Ibid.,* p. 363, note 1.

holds this country which is not of his patrimony, etc." (Apud. Ramusium) . . .

The Rizal edition of Morga's *Sucesos* was published in Paris in 1890. It included as one of its distinctive features a preface written by Professor Blumentritt. Rizal had, in a letter written on May 20, 1889, from Paris, requested his Austrian friend to prepare a preface to his work.[56] "I ask you," he told him, "to write with complete freedom . . . The only thing I ask of you is your amiability to write the prologue; forget that I am your friend. Judge it, as I shall some day judge your work. As I desire to tell the truth, I wish others to do the same to me." The letter was an admirable expression of Rizal's tolerance and open-mindedness and of his confidence in the good faith and sense of justice of his friend.

Blumentritt readily obliged. The preface that he wrote was a notable one. It was a critique of Spain's colonial regime in the Philippines, and as such was a valuable supplement and addition to Rizal's own annotations. Blumentritt censured Spain for the shortsightedness of her colonial policy in the Philippines. He deplored the fact that many Spaniards "pretending to be noble, do not know how to be just; pretending to be a superior nation, fail to follow a prudent policy; fear separatist ideas and force the Filipinos to find refuge in revolution." Blumentritt heartily commended Rizal for his work, calling it a "precious gift to the Philippines and to the whole civilized world." He urged its perusal by all those Spaniards who "loved the Philippines and who desired the conservation of the archipelago."

Blumentritt, nevertheless, found a few things to criticize in Rizal's annotations. One of these was Rizal's way of appraising men and events of the distant past. "The high esteem which I have for your notes, "he wrote," does not impede me from pointing out that, in common with many modern historians, you censure events of distant epochs on the basis of ideas prevailing today. It is wrong to do so. The historian should not ascribe to men of the 16th century the wide range of ideas which moved those of the 19th century."

Another criticism of Blumentritt was directed at the anti-Catholic tone of some of Rizal's commentaries. "I believe that it is not in the religion," he told Rizal, "but in the harsh procedure and in the abuses of many priests that one should find the origin

[56] Text of this letter is in the *Epistolario,* vol. 5, 2nd part, no. 71.

of many lamentable events, prejudicial to religion, to Spain, and to the good name of the European race."

Rizal accepted with good grace the criticisms of Blumentritt. At the same time he made it known that he took exception to certain statements that Blumentritt wrote in his preface. He found unacceptable, for one thing, Blumentritt's reference to *Quioquiap,* the pen name of the Spanish writer Pablo Feced, whose writings on the Philippines were notorious for their acrimony and for the violence and bitterness of their attacks against the Filipinos. "I do not want the name of *Quioquiap,*" he wrote Blumentritt, "to appear in my book. It is puny in comparison to that of Morga. Outside of Spain, nobody thinks much of him. If we cite his name in a serious work, we would be giving him an honor which he does not deserve."[57]

Rizal also was not agreeable to the way Blumentritt compared the Spaniards to the czars of Russia. "It is flattering to the *castilas,*" he wrote, "even if they be demigods, to be compared to the czars of Russia. It is too high a wage for the kind of labor rendered."

Rizal also objected to Blumentritt's references to "fraternity" and "world brotherhood." "Undoubtedly," he wrote, "with the best of intentions and from the bottom of your heart, you desire that the Spaniards should embrace us as brothers. But we should not implore or beg and keep on begging, for it is quite humiliating for us to do so. If the Spaniards do not want to have us brothers, neither do we care for their love . . . We are not after compassion; justice, yes. All that we aspire for is the enlightenment of our country . . . Fraternity as the alms of Spanish pride, we do not crave."

Rizal's historical studies in the British Museum gave him the knowledge and preparation that he needed for the nationalistic campaign in which he and other Filipino propagandists were at the time engaged. With the enlarged knowledge of history that he had acquired, he was ready to take up before the forum of world opinion the vital problems and issues affecting his people. He was in a position to discuss these questions from the vantage point of a well informed student of Philippine history.

Rizal dealt with many of these questions in two notable pamphlets which he wrote at the same time that he was preparing his edition of Morga's *Sucesos.* These were, *"Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años"* (The Philippines Within A Century), and *"La Indolencia*

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[57] Rizal to Blumentritt, Nov. 11, 1889. Text in Retana, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

de los Filipinos" (The Indolence of the Filipinos). Together with the annotations to Morga's *Sucesos,* these works constitute the principal fruits of Rizal's historical studies in the British Museum. The first was published in *La Solidaridad* in its issues of September 30, 1889 - February 1, 1890; the second, in the July - September, 1890, issues.

In *"Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años,"* Rizal presented, in a masterly fashion, his views regarding the Philippines as a colonial problem of Spain. He dealt, in the first place, with the Philippines' past, pointing out what he considered as the outstanding facts in the political and cultural history of the Filipino people. He next took up the existing conditions in the Philippines with particular reference to the blunders and excesses of the Spanish colonial administration. In the last part of the essay he ventured to peer into the future at the same time warning Spain as to what would happen to her colonial empire in the Orient if she did not adopt a more liberal and generous policy toward the Philippines.

Of the passages of the essay, those contained in the last part are particularly interesting and significant, for the reason that many of the things that Rizal prophesied and envisioned in those passages have, with surprising accuracy, come to pass. The following are some of the important portions of this part of the essay:

> The Philippines either will continue as a Spanish colony, but with more rights and greater liberties, or will declare itself independent at the cost of immense blood to herself and to the Mother Country... If the Philippines succeeds in winning its independence at the end of heroic and tenacious struggles, it can rest assured that neither England, nor Germany, nor France, and much less Holland, will dare to pick up what Spain has not been able to preserve... Perhaps the great American Republic, which has interests in the Pacific and which has not participated in the spoils of Africa, may some day think of acquiring overseas possessions...
>
> In all probability the Philippines will defend with supreme ardor the liberty won at an immense cost in blood and treasure. With the new men who will emerge from its bosom and with its remembrance of its past, it will tread the broad way of progress, and its people will work hard to strengthen their country, internally and externally, with the same enthusiasm with which a young man returns to work the farm of his ancestors, so long devastated and abandoned as a result of the negligence of those who gave it away. Then gold will be extracted from the mines to relieve misery, iron with which to arm itself, copper, lead, coal, etc. Perhaps the maritime and mercantile life of the islands to which they are by nature, by aptitudes, by instincts, adapted, will be reactivated and the nation, once more free like the bird that leaves its cage, like the flower that blooms in the free air, will recover her former good qualities which little by little are being lost, and will once

more become a lover of peace, gay, happy, smiling, hospitable and fearless.

These things may come to pass within a hundred years more or less. But the most logical augury, the prophecy based on better probabilities can fail from insignificant and remote causes... On what fortuitous circumstances will depend the destinies of the Philippines?

It is not advisable to depend upon the eventual; there is at times an imperceptible and incomprehensible logic in the works of History... It is more important to go ahead of the desires of a people than to cede. The first attracts sympathies and love; the second, contempt and anger. As it is necessary to give to six million Filipinos their rights to make them Spanish citizens, the Government should grant those freely and spontaneously, without injurious reservations, without irritating jealousies. We shall not tire in repeating this point as long as there is a ray of hope; we prefer this disagreeable task to saying someday to the Mother Country: "Spain, we have spent our youth in serving thy interests in the interest of our country; we have looked to thee, we have used up all the light of our intellects, all the fervor and enthusiasm of our hearts in working for the good of what was thine, to draw from thee a glance of love, a liberal policy that would assure us the peace of our native land and thy sway over loyal but unfortunate islands! Spain, thou hast remained deaf, and, wrapped up in thy pride, hast pursued thy fatal course and accused us of being traitors, merely because we love our country, because we tell thee the truth and hate all kinds of injustice. What dost thou wish us to tell our wretched country, when it asks about the result of our efforts? Must we say to it that, since for it we have lost everything, youth, future, hope, peace, family; since in its service we have exhausted all the resources of hope, all the disillusions of desire, it also take the residue which we can not use, the blood from our veins and the strength left in our arms? Spain must we some day tell the Philippines that thou has no ear for her woes and that if she wishes to be saved she must redeem herself?"

In the "*Indolencia de los Filipinos,*" Rizal produced another notable work of historical scholarship. In that work, Rizal dealt with a topic which appealed strongly to his interest, the supposed "indolence" of the Filipinos. That the Filipinos were a race of idlers, lacking in energy and much addicted to vice, was the view held by many a Spaniard of his time. How valid was that claim?

Rizal proposed to examine that question critically. In the spirit of a true scholar, mindful of the standards and requirements of the historical profession, he went into the study of that question, employing, to quote his own words, "all the impartiality of which a man is capable who is convinced that no redemption is possible without the solid foundations of virtue."

Rizal maintained as the main thesis of his essay, that "indolence in the Philippines, is a chronic malady, not a hereditary one." He pointed out that, before Spain's coming to the Philippines, the

Filipinos were not indolent. They were active in commerce, in agriculture, and in industry. In support of this claim, he adduced historical facts drawn from the accounts and records of numerous contemporary writers. He cited the testimony of Chau Ju-Kua, a Chinese writer of the 13th century, who wrote of the trade of the Filipinos with the Chinese and spoke of the former's honesty and good faith in their dealings with Chinese traders. He quoted, too, from the accounts of such well-known authorities as Pigafetta, Chirino, Colin, Martin Mendez, Morga, Argensola, and Gaspar de San Agustin to support his claim that, in the Philippines prior to the coming of the Spaniards, "there was life, there was activity, there was movement."

Rizal pointed out that causes or factors beyond the Filipinos' control brought about a decline in the spirit of enterprise and activity of the inhabitants of the Philippines. He enumerated the following as the contributory causes: (1) the internal disorders which followed the implantation of Spanish rule in the Philippines; (2) "the continual wars into which the inhabitants of the Philippines were plunged to maintain the honor of Spain, to extend the sway of her flag, . . . to repel the Dutch foe"; (3) "the frightful inroads of the terrible pirates from the South"; (4) the continual labor in the royal shipyards and other impositions which resulted in the depopulation of the Islands and in the abandonment of industry, agriculture and commerce.

Rizal explained that other factors and influences tended to foment and aggravate the evil. These were: (1) the lack of stimulus to labor due to the cutting off of commercial relations with countries with which the Philippines traded in pre-Spanish times; (2) the decline of internal trade as a result of, first, piratical raids by Malays from the South and, second, burdensome prohibitory regulations and other administrative exigencies; (3) "the pernicious example of the dominators in surrounding themselves with servants and despising manual labor or corporal labor as a thing unbecoming the nobility and chivalrous pride of the heroes of so many centuries; (4) the encouragement and propagation by the Government of gambling; (5) the neglect of, and indifference to, commerce, industry, and agriculture on the part of the Government; and lastly the kind of education that was being given to the Filipinos. "The education of the Filipino," Rizal asserted, "from his birth to his descent to the grave, is brutalizing, depressive, anti-human. It tended to deprive the Filipino of his dignity and of his moral strength. It was responsible, for the sense of, and tendency toward, inferiority on the part of the Filipino. It accounted, too, for the

lack of national sentiment which in turn predisposed the Filipino to accept without protest measures prejudicial to the public welfare."

To remedy the situation, certain things had to be done, according to Rizal. "Without education and liberty," he said, "no reform is possible, no measure can give the result desired..." "What we wish is that obstacles be not put in the way of the Filipino, that those placed by the climate and situation of the country be not multiplied, and that instruction be not denied him for fear that once he acquires intelligence he would emancipate himself from the colonizing nation."

In concluding his essay, Rizal once more reminded Spain of the course that she should follow in the Philippines if she expected to retain the affection and loyalty of his people. He concluded his essay with these words:

> Inasmuch as some day the Filipino will become enlightened, whether the Government likes it or not, let the enlightenment come as a free gift, not as spoils of war. We desire that the Government policy be frank and consistent, that is to say, highly enlightening, free from petty reservations, suspicions, fears or misgivings, aiming at the good for its own sake, enlightenment for the sake of enlightenment, without ulterior thoughts of gratitude or ingratitude. Or, it can be boldly exploiting, tyrannical and selfish, without hypocrisies nor falsehoods, with a well thought out and studied plan of domination which would compel obedience, bring enrichment, and provide the wealth that makes one happy. If the first course is chosen, that Government will rest assured that some day it will reap a rich harvest, and will find a people bound to it by the bonds of affection and common interests... If, on the other hand, the course chosen be one of logical and systematic exploitation, drowning with the sound of gold and with the brightness of opulence the spirit of liberty of the colonials, rewarding with riches the loss of their freedom, as the British have done in India, where the people, moreover, are left under the government of their own native rulers, then let roads be built, highways traced, railroads constructed, and commerce fomented. Let the Government, instead of attending solely to the interests of four religious orders, send able employees to foment industry, impartial judges, well paid, and free from venality... Such a policy has one advantage in its favor in that, while it does not destroy completely the instincts of liberty, once the Mother Country loses her colonies, she can keep the wealth she has accumulated and, besides, not regret that she has reared ungrateful children.

VII

Before the publication of Rizal's edition of Morga and while Rizal was still in London, two events of great significance in the history of the Propaganda took place. One was the organization in December, 1888, in Barcelona, Spain, of an association called

La Solidaridad. Composed of Filipino young men who were at the time residing in Spain, it was founded to carry on the campaign for reforms for the Philippines. Rizal was made honorary president of the association.

The other event was the publication on February 15, 1889, also in Barcelona, Spain, of the initial issue of *La Solidaridad. La Solidaridad,* a fortnightly newspaper, was to be the literary organ and mouthpiece of the Propaganda.

On the occasion of the organization of the association, *La Solidaridad,* Rizal wrote from London, January 31, 1889, a letter to the members of the association. In that letter, he gave a few words of advice impressing upon the members the need for, and importance of, selflessness on their part and the spirit of dedication in the management of the affairs of the association.[58]

The story of how *La Solidaridad* came into being is told by two contemporary writers: Mariano Ponce, one of the founders of the newspaper, and Wenceslao Retana. Ponce's version was given in an article which he wrote in 1912 on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the paper.[59]

Retana's version is as follows:[60]

> The large Filipino community in Barcelona in 1889, made up mostly of students, to whom the writings of Rizal and the European environment had imbued liberal sentiments, desirous of having an organ of their own, prevailed upon D. Pablo Rianzares to finance the publication of a paper. This Filipino was the first proprietor of the famous fortnightly, *La Solidaridad.* At the head of the editorial staff was D. Graciano Lopez Jaena, an orator of radical tendencies, a nervous and prolific writer, who was under the protection of prominent Spanish socialists, such as Sol y Ortega, Emilio Junoy, and other politicians well-known in the capital of Cataluña.
>
> After the founding in Madrid of the Spanish-Filipino Association, the men behind *La Solidaridad* thought that for their purposes it was more advantageous to transfer to the metropolis the paper they had started in Barcelona. *La Solidaridad* thus came to Madrid. The first number that appeared there was the 19th, under date of November 15, 1889. The 21st issue (December 15) announced that Lopez Jaena had resigned from the editorship and that Marcelo H. del Pilar, who had acquired the ownership of the paper was to be its new managing editor. As the paper was somewhat radical in its views, constantly attacking the friars, the authorities in the Philippines forbade its circulation.

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58 Text of the letter is in *Epistolario de M. H. del Pilar,* tomo I, no. 14.

59 The text is reproduced in Veyra-Ponce, *Efemerides Filipinas.* Manila, 1914. English translation is in Zafra, *Readings in Philippine History.*

60 *Aparato Bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas,* No. 2803. English translation in Zafra, *op. cit.*

The men, all Filipinos, who distinguished themselves by their contributions to *La Solidaridad* were: José Rizal (who used the pseudonym Laong Laan); M. H. del Pilar; Mariano Ponce (who wrote under the pen names Naning and Kalipulako); Lopez Jaena; Antonio Luna (Taga-Ilog); José Maria Panganiban (Jomapa); and several others. The Austrian professor Ferdinand Blumentritt also was a frequent contributor. Because of financial difficulties as well as of differences of opinion amongst its collaborators, *La Solidaridad* appeared for the last time on the 15th of November, 1895.

Unquestionably, the man who most distinguished himself as a newspaperman of great ability and wisdom was M. H. del Pilar. This man, having lost all hope of ever securing the longed-for reforms for his country,—penniless and in despair, had planned to leave for Japan, and there carry on the work. But death overtook him in Barcelona, July 4, 1896, a few days prior to to the outbreak of the Katipunan, the origin of which was due precisely to his own initiative.

The first two years of existence of *La Solidaridad* were years of intense literary and political activity on the part of Rizal. Events and developments occuring in the Philippines and in Spain during those years spurred him to action.

The governor and captain general of the Philippines at that time was Valeriano Weyler (1888-1891). Like his predecessor Emilio Terrero, Weyler was an appointee of the Liberal regime under Sagasta which was then in power in Spain. This fact led many people to hope that Weyler would deal with the problems of colonial government in the Philippines in a liberal spirit and that he would consider with sympathy and understanding the needs and aspirations of the Filipinos. His administration, however, proved to be anything but liberal and friendly toward the Filipinos. In his actuations, he showed himself to be not much different from the general run of colonial officials that were sent to the Philippines. He was conservative in his ways and tendencies. He was not disposed to make radical changes in the colonial administrative system. And he displayed, in common with many of his countrymen in the Philippines, an attitude of suspicion, distrust, and hostility toward any movement or endeavor on the part of the Filipinos to secure changes for the better in the colonial administration in the Philippines.[61]

It was during his administration that the Calamba Affair reached its climax. It will be recalled that, in connection with an order received from the Department of Finance of the Central Government, the *principales* of Calamba had presented a memorial,

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61 Weyler's administration lasted from June 15, 1888, to November 17, 1891. For details of the history of his administration, see W. Retana, *Mando del General Weyler*. Madrid, 1896.

prepared by Rizal, setting forth facts and figures about the conditions of production in the Calamba estate. They also petitioned that as a means of improving their material conditions a formal contract be made between themselves and the owners of the estate; or, if that was not feasible, that the lots they occupied as tenants be sold to them on reasonable terms.

For presenting the memorial, the people of Calamba were threatened by the administrators with expulsion from the estate. As Rizal pointed out in his version of the affair,[62] the people of Calamba presented another petition asking the government to intervene in their behalf. Governor Terrero was then at the head of the Philippine government. Known for his liberal ideas and tendencies, he enjoyed the confidence and goodwill of many Filipinos. It appears, however, that the petition of the people of Calamba for government intervention was not brought to the attention of Terrero. It was not until May, 1888, when Terrero was no longer the chief executive of the Islands that the petition was taken up formally for consideration. The petition was denied by the government on the ground that the allegations set forth therein were false and unfounded.

Subsequently, the administrators of the estate brought suit in the courts for the ejection of the tenants from the estate. The judge of first instance of Laguna to whom the ejection proceedings were referred decided the case against the tenants. The case was taken on appeal to the Real Audiencia. The latter confirmed the judgment of the lower court.

Governor Weyler, displaying undue interest in the affair, sent a force of Spanish soldiers to Calamba to put into effect the order of ejectment of the court. The tenants involved in suit were summarily ejected from the estate. As a further punishment to the town of Calamba, twenty five prominent citizens of the town, who were suspected of being the promoters of the agitation against the owners of the estate, were ordered deported. Included among the deported were members of the family of Rizal.

During Weyler's administration, important reform measures affecting the Philippines were promulgated by the Spanish government. One of these was the decree of July 31, 1889, extending to the Philippines the Spanish Civil Code and the Code of Commerce. Governor Weyler, however, for reasons of his own, chose to withhold from the Philippines the full benefit of the reform. He suspended certain important provisions of the Civil Code, name-

62 "La Verdad Para Todos," *La Solidaridad*, May 31, 18889.

ly: (1) Title Four, relating to civil marriage, and (2) Title Twelve, relating to civil registration. In so doing, Weyler continued the same conditions and practices as regards marriages and civil registration which had existed in the Philippines from time immemorial.

Why Governor Weyler chose to withhold from the Philippines those provisions of the Code was not at all surprising to many people at that time considering the fact that he was, by nature and inclinations, conservative, not readily disposed to disturb the existing order of things in the colony. In this connection, it is interesting to note what a noted Spanish authority on the civil law, Sanchez Roman, had to say. Commenting on Weyler's suspension of the above mentioned provisions of the Civil Code, Sanchez Roman wrote:[63]

> By reason of the lack of that preparation which was proper in a matter of such great importance, it seems, according to reports which merit a certain amount of credit (for no order has ever been published which reveals it), that the government of the Philippines, after taking the opinion of the Audiencia of Manila, consulted the colonial office concerning the suspension of title 4, on account of certain class influences which were strongly opposed to the application of the formula of marriage which gave some slight intervention to the authorities of the State through the municipal judge or his substitute in the celebration of the canonical marriage. As to title 12 the opinion was asked by reason of the fact that there was no such officer as municipal judge who could take charge of the civil registry.

Under the newly extended Civil Code, many of the old restrictions on individual freedom such as the censorship on books and other forms of publication remained. As a reform measure, therefore, the Civil Code was, at least, in the view of many Filipinos, of not much consequence, for it did not improve those conditions of the colonial administration which the Filipinos considered of vital importance to their welfare and happiness.

Another reform measure promulgated during Weyler's administration was the Becerra law of November 12, 1889, named after its sponsor, the then Minister of Ultramar, Becerra. The law provided for the creation of *"ayuntamientos"* in the capitals of provinces belonging to the class of *"gobiernos civiles."*

The *"ayuntamiento,"* as a form of local government, was established in the early years of Spanish rule in the so-called "Spanish cities." These were places in the Philippines which were designated as residences for Spaniards. The early "Spanish cities" were Manila, Cebu, Nueva Cáceres, and Nueva Segovia. The *ayuntamiento*

[63] *Derecho Civil*. Vol. 2, p. 64.

consisted of: (1) two *alcaldes en ordinario,* elected every year by the Spanish residents in the city; (2) a number of *regidores,* who constituted the city council; (3) an *alguacil,* in charge of the maintenance of peace and order; and (4) an *scrivener,* who kept the records of the city government. As a governing body, it was quite different from the *tribunál municipal* which administered the affairs of the towns and villages of the Philippines.

The Becerra law provided for the establishment of *ayuntamientos* "similar to those of the municipalities of Spain." The institution of this type of local government was to be the first step in the gradual process of preparing the inhabitants of the Philippines to assume a larger measure of control in the management of their local affairs.

In implementing the Becerra law, however, Governor Weyler did not follow strictly the provisions of the law. The law required, in the first place, that *ayuntamientos* were to be created "in all the capitals of Luzon where there was civil government (*gobierno civil*)." The *gobierno civil* provinces, as created by the Royal Decree of March 5, 1886, were: Albay, Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Cagayan, Laguna, Mindoro, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, Tayabas, and Zambales.[64] Weyler had his doubts as to the wisdom of instituting the reform in the form and manner contemplated by Becerra. He seemed to believe, for one thing, that in all those provinces there were not sufficient number of persons duly qualified to discharge the duties and responsibilities of office under the new regime. Hence, acting solely in accordance with his own discretion in the matter, he created *ayuntamientos* in only a few selected capitals of the Philippines; namely Albay, Batangas, Cebu, Iloilo, Jaro, Nueva Cáceres, and Vigan.

Moreover, the *ayuntamientos* which were created in those places did not, in substance, conform to the pattern envisioned by Becerra. Weyler seemed to believe that the people would not make good use of the opportunity created for them under the law. Accordingly, he himself chose the chief officials of the *ayuntamientos,* instead of letting the voters themselves elect those officials in accordance with the provisions of the law. Weyler thus deprived the inhabitants in the few places where *ayuntamientos* were established of the opportunity granted them by the reform decree to acquire training and experience in the management of their local affairs.

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[64] Berriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas,* vol. 5.

Rizal utilized in full measure the columns of *La Solidaridad* to make known his thoughts and ideas regarding events and conditions of his time. His prolific pen provided abundant material for the newspaper. Here appeared some of his most important writings as a scholar and as a propagandist. His two lengthy articles, *"Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años"* (The Philippines Within A Century), and *"La Indolencia de los Filipinos"* (The Indolence of the Filipinos), products of his historical studies in the British Museum, were the most notable among the works of Rizal which appeared in the publication during the latter's first two years of existence. The first appeared in the September 30, October 31, December 15 (1889) and February 15, (1890) issues of *La Solidaridad;* the second, in five successive issues of the paper—July 15 and 31, August 15 and 31, and September 15, 1890.[65]

Other literary and scholarly works which were published in *La Solidaridad* were: *"Me Piden Versos"* (You Ask Me For Verses), March 31, 1889; *"Notas Al May-i"* (Notes on "May-i"), April 30, 1889; *"Sobre La Nueva Ortografía de la Lengua Tagala"* (On the New Orthography of the Mother Tongue), April 15, 1890; *"Amor Patrio"* (Love of Country), October 31, 1890; *"Una Contestación a D. Isabelo de los Reyes"* (A Reply to D. Isabelo de los Reyes), October 31, 1890; and *"Mariang Makiling,"* a story of the legend of Mariang Makiling, December 31, 1890.

Rizal's first notable contribution to the literature of the propaganda period which appeared in *La Solidaridad* was his article *"Los Agricultores Filipinos"* (Filipino Farmers). It was published in the March 15, 1889, issue of the paper. In that article Rizal called attention to the disheartening conditions in the Philippines which accounted for the backwardness of agriculture in the country. "The Filipino farmer," Rizal wrote, "has to contend not only against plagues and other public calamities but also against petty despots and villains .... There is the *alguacil* who takes away his workers for service to the State ... and the Guardia Civil who arrests people for one excuse or another."

Apart from the *alguacil* and the Guardia Civil, there were, according to Rizal in the same article, other sources of trouble and harassment for the Filipinos farmer. The underling in the court or in the government of a province could make life miserable for the farmer. A farmer who incurred the displeasure of such an employee could be ordered to appear, on urgent summons, at the

[65] For Rizal's views expounded in these articles see supra, p. 71. *et. seq.*

capital of the province and subjected to various forms of vexation and annoyance.

"These abuses," Rizal went on to state, "ranging from the unspeakable to the ridiculous, harm the country and discredit the Government. This system of prevention, of confounded fears, of unjust suspicions, . . . added to the inability to control banditry, makes the uninformed believe that the Government is severe only with the peaceful and the honorable, while it pampers or is lenient to the rebel and the criminal . . . And as we believe that there is no better way of serving the country than to tell her the truth, we tell the truth to the Mother Country so that she may apply the proper remedy. For this reason, we ask for representation in the Cortes and freedom of the press in Manila."

The other articles of Rizal that appeared in *La Solidaridad* during this stage of Rizal's life were political in character and reflected Rizal's reactions to the events of his time. In connection with the case of the Calamba tenants which was then pending decision before the courts, Rizal wrote three notable articles: *"La Verdad Para Todos"* (May 31, 1889), *"Ingratitudes"* (January 15, 1890), and *"Sin Nombre"* (February 28, 1890).

"La Verdad Para Todos" was Rizal's answer to a series of articles which appeared in a newspaper in Manila under the title, *"Los Escritos y Las Autoridades en Filipinas."* The author, writing under an assumed name, was apparently greatly incensed by the actuations of the *principales* of Calamba in the controversy then going on with the owners of the Calamba estate. He complained bitterly against the actuations of Filipino local officials. He blamed them for much of the misgovernment and confusion which prevailed in the towns and villages of the Philippines. He made known that the native officials were despicable, depraved, and ignorant; that they had all the vices and defects of character that were peculiar to their race; and that whatever complaints they had against their oppressors should never be listened to.

Rizal's reply was an able defense of his people against the attacks of the anonymous author of the article. "We admit," he wrote, "that there is a great deal of immorality in the Philippines, much disorder and intrigue, and much misrule. But let us not blame the people for them, let us not always impute against them another's fault for our own. In a home where the head of the family exercises unlimited authority, he is responsible for the state of things. The miseries of a people without freedom should not be ascribed to the people but to their rulers; for one to be held

responsible, he should have the freedom to act. The Filipino people are not free, either in their actions or in their thoughts."

"We admit," he further stated, "that a great part of the so-called authorities, if they are are not poor wretches overwhelmed by the weight of official duties, are blind instruments of some, cringing followers of others, humble and complaisant with every whim of their superiors, deaf and despotic towards their subordinates and to the people whose welfare is placed in their hands."

But the responsibility for the evils which afflicted the country, Rizal pointed out, should be borne by the rulers themselves. "The people," he wrote, "have had bad tutors; they have had before them bad examples. Like teacher, like pupil."

As in his other political writings, Rizal in his articles had a word of friendly advice and warning to the Spanish government. "Does the government," he asked, "wish to win the love of the Philippines? Then, let it give her liberties, treat her as she deserves. Does it want to lose her? Then, let it continue its unjust repressions, close its ears to the clamors of the people, let it consign her to slavery . . . In the Philippines filibusterism does not yet exist; but it will surely come with all its horrors if the provocation should continue."

"Ingratitudes" was Rizal's answer to a letter from the Philippines which the Madrid newspaper *El Dia* published in its issue of December 29, 1889. The letter told of a visit that Governor Weyler made to Calamba in the latter part of 1889 in an effort to calm the inhabitants of the town whose peace of mind had been greatly disturbed on account of the ejectment proceedings instituted against them by the owners of the Calamba estate. It was reported in the letter that Governor Weyler, in the course of an address that he made, exhorted the people "not to allow themselves to be deluded with promises coming from ungrateful sons." Rizal of course knew that he was the one alluded to by Weyler as "an ungrateful son."

In the above-named article, Rizal ably defended himself against the charge of ingratitude. After reviewing the history of the Calamba controversy and of the failure on the part of the government to intervene on behalf of the people in the conflict, he related what he did in the affair, how he tried to calm the excitement of the people making them preserve their faith in the sense of justice of the rulers. "Well," he wrote, "nothing came out of it. The Government kept silent, it did not care to intervene or to ascertain the real facts, it paid no attention to the petition of the

tenants or to their just demands... We assured the people that the government would listen to their complaints and we told them to have faith and confidence in the government. Nothing that we promised was fulfilled. His Excellency is right in telling the people of the province of Laguna that they should *not believe in the promises of ungrateful children.* But he himself has done wrong in deceiving the people. I confess that I have been ungrateful in promising something that I should not have believed in; but then Terrero was the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines and Governor Terrero did not visit the towns in company with the friars."

"These were the promises of the ungrateful sons," Rizal continued. "We challenge all the governors of the world to tell us if we promised something else. Provinces of the Philippines, His Excellency now tells you that you should not believe in similar promises."

"... With respect to the Mother Country," Rizal went on to say, "we also plead guilty to being *ungrateful sons,* if to be ungrateful, is to tell the truth in order to restrain the abuses of her other children, to safeguard the future, and not be an accomplice in the commission of abuses and crimes that others commit in her name. We felt that we acted well; we believed that our Mother Country was a nation that loved the truth, not a tyrant that abhorred it. Only thus do we admit the charge of being *ungrateful.*"

In *"Sin Nombre,"* Rizal complained against the unfairness of the course followed by the government in relation to the petition which the people of Calamba presented during the time of Governor Terrero. It will be recalled that the petition was not brought to the attention of Terrero. It was presented to his successor who, however, instead of sending someone to Calamba to investigate as the people of Calamba wanted, sent a confidential communication to the Provincial of the Dominican Order asking for information regarding the matters dealt with in the petition. Rizal pointed out that the action taken was irregular, contrary to ordinary notions of justice. "Frankly speaking," he wrote, "we do not know if this manner of administering justice, the judge seeking advice from the accused, and not listening to the voice which demands verification of the truth, we do not know if this is followed in an uncivilized country; perhaps it is, since we see it done by a high official of a nation as deeply in love as Spain is for progress and justice ... "

Addressing himself to the then minister of the Ultramar, Mr. Becerra, Rizal continued:

It surely is painful, Mr. Secretary of Ultramar, to complain and complain every day to a liberal government, but it is even more painful, not only for the Philippines but also for Spain, to think that after three and a half centuries that the Spanish flag has flown there; after so much sacrifice, so much bloodshed, and so much treasure spent, the Filipinos should then retrocede in the administration of justice, the foundation of societies and governments; and Spain, the colonizing Spain, has been able to do only that thing in spite of the Civil Code. If only our forefathers could come back to life!

"Filipinas en el Congreso" was Rizal's commentary on a plan sponsored by Mr. Calvo y Muñoz in the Cortes to grant to the Philippines the right of representation in the Cortes and freedom of the press. These were precisely the reforms which Rizal was most anxious to see introduced in the Philippines. "We believe it is time," he wrote in the article, "to give the Philippines representation in the Cortes and freedom of the press. With these reforms, duly implemented by a Minister and a Governor who do not allow themselves to be influenced by anybody, all other reforms which may later be promulgated will meet with success, will prosper under their protection."

"At present," Rizal continued, "when the country does not have any voice either in the organs of public opinion or in the legislature, it is not here known whether a reform duly promulgated is complied with or not, whether the Governor-General, to please some one, suspends it, mutilates it, or interprets it in his own way. A free press would watch its enforcement and the delegates could defend it in the Cortes. With these two reforms, we firmly believe that the pessimisms and discontents will cease from the moment that means are made available by which they can be known. It is something to be able to complain when one feels aggrieved."

Other writings of Rizal that appeared in *La Solidaridad* were: *"Verdades Nuevas"* (New Truths), July 31, 1889, an answer to Vicente Belloc's claim that the introduction of reforms in the Philippines would have adverse effects upon Spain's mild and paternal rule over the Philippines; *"Una Profanación"* (A Profanation), July 31, 1889, a vigorous protest against the action of the ecclesiastical authorities in the Philippines denying ecclesiastical burial to Mariano Herbosa "just because he was a brother-in-law of Rizal"; *"Enseñamiento,"* August 15, 1889, a defence of F. Blumentritt against an article published in *Manililla,* June 1, 1889; *"Diferencias"* (Differences), September 15, 1889, advocating, as a much needed reform in the Philippines, "a government which really gov-

erns"; *"Inconsequencias"* (Inconsequences), November 30, 1889, a defense of the Philippines and, at the same time, a criticism of the liberal newspaper *El Pueblo Soberano* for its inconsistencies, advocating a course of action toward the Filipinos which was inconsistent with its avowed ideas of liberalism; *"Cosas de Filipinas"* (Philippine Affairs), April 30, May 15, 1890, dealing with the abuses of the Guardia Civil; *"Una Esperanza"* (A Hope), July 15, 1890, expressing Rizal's regret over the fall of the liberal regime headed by Sagasta; and *"Como Se Gobiernan las Filipinas"* (How the Philippines is Governed), December 15, 1890, an article which was, in the words of Retana, "a political writing full of sincerity and energy."[66]

Apart from the above-named articles that appeared in *La Solidaridad,* Rizal produced other notable writings. One of these was a letter he wrote in 1889 to the young women of Malolos. The latter, in December 1888, had petitioned Governor Weyler for permission to establish at their own cost a school for the teaching of Spanish in their town. They were encouraged to take this step by Weyler's avowed desire to propagate the Spanish language in the Philippines. Marcelo H. del Pilar, very much moved by the spirit shown by the young women of his town, asked Rizal to write to them commending them for what they had done.[67] Rizal gladly obliged. Writing in Tagalog with the salutation, *"Sa Mga Kababayang Dalaga sa Malolos"* (To My Young Women Compatriots of Malolos), Rizal praised the young women for their initiative and enterprise.[68] The letter reflected the intense love of country which characterized all the writings of Rizal as a propagandist and gave him a new opportunity to make known to his countrymen his hopes and aspirations for the Philippines. Important passages of his letter follow:

> When I wrote *Noli Me Tángere,* I asked myself whether bravery was a common thing in the young women of our people. I brought back to mind those I had known since infancy, but there were few indeed who seemed to come up to my ideal. There was an abundance of girls with agreeable manners, beautiful eyes, and modest demeanor, but there was in all an admixture of servitude and deference to the words or whims of their so-called "spiritual fathers" (as if the spirit or soul had any fathers as if the spirit or soul had any father other than God). This obsequiousness was due to the combined effect of their excessive

[66] *Vida y Escritos....* p. 198.

[67] Del Pilar's letter written from Barcelona, February 17, 1889, is in Epistolario de M. H. del Pilar, Manila, 1955, Vol. 1, No. 17.

[68] The letter was written in London, February, 1889. The manuscript was sent to M. H. del Pilar together with Rizal's letter to del Pilar, dated London, February 22, 1889.

kindness, modesty, and perhaps ignorance. They were like withered plants sown and reared in darkness, whose flowers are without fragrance and whose fruits are without juice.

But when the news that happened in Malolos reached us, I saw my error, and great was my rejoicing.

Now that you have responded to our first appeal for the welfare of the people, now that you have set an example to those who, like you, long to have their eyes opened and be delivered from servitude, new hopes are awakened in us and we now even dare face adversity, because we have you for our allies and are confident of victory. No longer does the Filipina stand with her head bowed, nor does she spend her time on her knees, because now she is quickened by hope for the future; no longer will the mother contribute to keeping her daughter in darkness and bring her up on contempt and moral annihilation.

Arouse and prepare the will of the child for what is good and proper, for love of honor, sincere and firm purpose, clear judgment, good manners, honorable acts, love of neighbor and respect for God—all these should be taught to the child. And as life is full of sorrows and misfortune, the will should be strengthened against every hardship, the heart emboldened against every danger. The country can not expect honor and comfort, if the child is not properly brought up, if the mother who looks after the growth of the child is servile and ignorant. One can not drink from a turbid and polluted spring; sweet fruit does not come from a sour seed.

The duties that the woman must perform in helping to free the country from hardships, are by no means easy, but all these can not be greater than the strength and will of the Filipino woman.

Everybody knows the power and skill of the women in the Philippines; that is why the rulers blinded them and bound them, and bent their will in the belief that if the mother is enslaved, all her chlidren can be enslaved too. This is the cause of the enslavement of Asia. The women in Asia are ignorant and servile. Europe and America are powerful because the women there are charming educated, open-minded and strong-willed...

We shall not feel depressed if you are with us. God will help clear the sky, for He is the God of truth; and the Filipino woman's charm, which lacks nothing except an independent mind due to excessive goodness, will be restored. This is our constant dream and aspiration—the honor of the wife who is a companion in the joys and hardships of life. If she is single, let her be loved, not merely for her beauty or sweetness of ways, but also for her strength of heart, the nobility of her character, which can give life and can strengthen the weak or the cowardly, and can inspire beautiful thoughts... Once married, she would help in all the hardships, give her husband courage, share equally with him the perils of life, soothe his pains, relieve him of his sorrows, and always bear in mind that there is no hardship that a courageous heart can not endure, and that there is nothing more bitter than the heritage of infamy and slavery. Bring up the child to love and safeguard honor, to love his fellowmen and his country, and to comply with his duty. Constantly impress upon him that it is sweeter to die with honor than to live in dishonor. Let the Spartan women be your models...

Another notable work of Rizal which appeared in 1889 was *La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez.*[69] It was Rizal's reply to the series of pamphlets which Fr. José Rodriguez, an Agustinian friar, had written against Rizal and the *Noli Me Tángere,* under the title *Cuestiones de Sumo Interes* (Matters of Supreme Importance). Written under Rizal's pen name *Dimas Alang, La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez* satirized Fr. Rodriguez, exposing his ignorance and his lapses from the ideas and ideals of his Order as taught by its great founder, Saint Augustine. Rizal therein revealed the extent of his knowledge of Biblical literature and the writings of the Church Fathers.

In the following passages Rizal took occasion to express his own concept of the Divinity. Speaking to Fr. Rodriguez, St. Augustine was represented as a messenger from God to deliver God's rebuke to the erring sons of St. Augustine.

> 'Go to the world' (God told St. Augustine), 'and say to those who call themselves your sons, that I, who created the millions of suns around which revolve thousands of universes, each inhabited by millions of beings created by Me in my infinite goodness, do not want to serve as the instrument of petty passions of a few creatures, who are precisely not the most perfect, a handful of dust which is carried by the winds, an insignificant part of the inhabitants of one of the smallest of my worlds. Tell them that I do not want that, in my name, they exploit the misery and ignorance of their brethren; that I do not want that in any name, they shackle the intelligence and the mind that I have made free; I do not want that, in my name, they commit abuses, nor force a sigh, draw forth a tear, or shed a drop of blood. Neither do I want that they represent Me as cruel, vengeful, subject to their whims and executor of their wills; that they not make of Me, I who am Good, a tyrant and a bad Father; that they not pretend to be the sole possessors of light and of life everlasting. Why should I, who give to every being air, light, life, love and nourishment in order that he may live and be happy, deny to others, for the benefit of a few—and for certain not the best—what is the most essential, the most transcendental, the real happiness?... Tell them that I pardon error, but punish iniquity; that I overlook a fault against me, but not the oppression of the unfortunate... for the least outrage against the poor, the oppressed, shall be punished... I am the Father of all that exist; I know the destiny of every atom: that they should let me love my creatures, whose miseries and needs are known to me; that each one should comply with his duties; that I...! Know what should be done...

VIII

The outstanding literary work of Rizal during the period under review (1888-1891) was unquestionably *El Filibusterismo*. The

[69] Barcelona, 1889.

work was, as Rizal himself stated in one of his letters, a "continuation" of the *Noli Me Tángere*.[70]

When and where Rizal actually started writing the *El Filibusterismo* is not definitely known. He might have begun the work, as one of his biographers surmised, in Calamba in October, 1887.[71] Neither is it known just what Rizal's original ideas was as regards the plot or general outline of the story that he intended to write. All that we know is that, at the time he arrived in London in June, 1888, some chapters of the novel had already been written. However, for reasons of his own, Rizal decided to change his plans altogether. He discarded what he had already written and proposed to write an entirely new story.[72]

Work on the new novel must have been started shortly after August 18, 1888, judging from a letter that Rizal wrote on that date to Mariano Ponce. The first chapters were probably written in London during Rizal's stay in that city (June 1888 - March 1889). The other chapters were written in the various places where Rizal stayed during his second trip to Europe—Paris, Brussels, Madrid, Biarritz, and Ghent.[73] The concluding chapter was finished in Biarritz, France, in March, 1891, as may be gathered from a letter that Rizal wrote to Blumentritt on March 29, 1891.[74]

After staying in Paris for a month or so following his return thereto from a brief visit in Biarritz, Rizal went back to Brussels (April, 1891). In that city, he made some changes and revisions in the manuscript preparatory to publication. In July, he moved over to Ghent, Belgium. He had decided to publish the novel in that city having found printing costs there to be lower than elsewhere. Lack of funds, however, delayed the publication of the work. Rizal's financial conditions constrained him to live in a small room in Ghent and to take his meals in a very modest restaurant in order to conserve his meager resources. Fortunately, a Filipino friend, Valentin Ventura, who was then living in Paris, learned of Rizal's situation and came to his assistance. He sent Rizal the money that he needed to complete the printing of his book. *El Filibusterismo* came off the press on September 18, 1891.

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[70] Letter to Mariano Ponce, August 18, 1888. Epistolario Rizalino, Vol. 2, No. 191.

[71] Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal.*

[72] See his letter to Ponce regarding this point in the *Epistolario,* Vol. 2, No. 177.

[73] Rizal was in Paris during the period, March, 1889 - Jan., 1890; in Brussels, Feb.-July, 1890; in Madrid, Aug., 1890 - Feb., 1891; in Biarritz, Feb. - March, 1891; back in Paris, March - April, 1891; in Brussels again, April - June, 1891; in Ghent, July-Sept., 1891

[74] *Epistolario,* vol. 5, p. 585.

Rizal dedicated the novel to the three Filipino priests who were executed in 1872. The dedication reads as follows:

TO THE MEMORY
of the Priests Mariano Gómez (85 years)
José Burgos (30 years)
and Jacinto Zamora (35 years)
Executed at the Gallows at Bagumbayan on February 28th, 1872

The Church, in refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime which has been imputed to you. The Government, by shrouding your cause in mystery and in darkness, has given rise to the belief that some error has been committed in a fatal moment. And the whole Philippines, in venerating your memory and calling you martyrs, makes known that it does not in any way recognize your culpability.

As long, therefore, as your participation in the Cavite affair is not clearly known, whether or not you were patriots, whether or not you entertained sentiments of justice, sentiments of liberty, I have the right to dedicate to you my work as victims of the evil that I seek to combat. And, while waiting for the day when Spain will rehabilitate you and will regret her participation in your death, let these pages serve as a belated wreath of fallen leaves on your forgotten graves, and whoever, without clear proof, attempts to smear your memory, may his hands be stained with your blood.

Ghent, 1891.

On the "Dedicatory" to *El Filibusterismo,* Jayme C. de Veyra, noted authority on Rizal, in his unpublished work, *Rizal Redivivo,* makes the following observations:

This dedicatory calls for some clarification, or rather rectification. The author did not have, at the time, the opportunity to check up, as he usually did, on the accuracy of some details of his work.

The exact date of the execution is February 17, 1872, as can be seen from the official records in the office of the Secretary of the Government.

With respect to Father Gómez, it has not been possible to ascertain definitely his age at the time of his death. A biographer of his simply states that he was born "in the first quarter" of the 19th century. Ed. Plauchut, who made a detailed account of the execution, wrote that Father Gomez was over 70 years old. Another writer makes the statement that, "Father Gómez apparently was born on August 19th, 1787." If this statement is correct, Father Gómez should, at the time of his death, be 85 years old, the age attributed to him by Rizal.

Father Burgos was born on February 9, 1837, according to his baptismal record. He was, therefore, 35 years old, at the time of the execution.

Father Zamora, who was born on August 14, 1835, was two years older than Father Burgos.

The story of *El Filibusterismo* as summarized by Apolinario Mabini is as follows:[75]

In the second volume of *Noli Me Tángere,* under the title of *El Filibusterismo,* the romance goes on, making the reader believe that Ibarra was able to take refuge in a foreign country wherein he became rich by commerce. Thence he moved to Cuba, as a jeweler, and became a friend of the Governor-General of that island by means of valuable presents. As the office of governor-general of the Philippines was more lucrative, he lent money that his friend might obtain from the colonial minister a transfer to the Magellan Archipelago.

Thus, under a false name and with the security afforded by his position of intimate friend and confidant of the new governor-general, with enormous spectacles always coaxering his eyes to prevent recognition, Ibarra was able to come back to the Philippines and devote himself exclusively to his filibustering campaign.

It consisted in extolling the blindness and stirring up the bad passions of the authorities, that they, by pressing to the utmost the abuses and oppression upon the natives, might push them from exasperation into exasperation into insurrection. The cries of the oppressed people reached heaven, and if they did not excite compassion, it was because oppressors had hearts harder than stone.

But in spite of all, the people did not rise and Ibarra's patience was not so long as theirs. His heart was greatly agitated by desires to avenge his wasted future and lost happiness. As he could wait no longer, he prepared a splendid banquet to which the higher authorities and the principal families of Manila were invited, and underneath the hall was placed a dynamite bomb, to explode before the feast was over. Afterward, protected by the confusion such as an accident would cause, Ibarra, at the head of a gang of outlaws he had at his disposal, was to penetrate to the Walled City, to take his sweetheart out of the nunnery of Santa Clara and flee away with her. A Filipino, to whom Ibarra had in confidence imparted his plans, terrified at the outrage, frustrated it; which caused the discovery of the plot.

Ibarra was pursued, and, fatally wounded, took refuge in the country house of a Father Florentino who convinced him that he was wrong. He expired soon after, overcome by pain and by remorse for not having expended his time in useful and beneficent works. Father Florentino, to whom Ibarra had entrusted his treasure-box filled full of precious stones, threw into the sea that wealth, cause and origin of unspeakable sufferings, that it might cease to do harm. The priest believed in relying on virtuous young men, ready to make an offering of their pure and stainless blood, to obtain from heaven the welfare of the country.

The preceding extracts from his works show that Rizal intended to specially record two forewarnings, for the guidance not only of the Spaniards, but also of the Filipinos. By the first he foretold to the Spaniards that, should the Spanish government humor the friars and turn a deaf ear to the cries of the Philippine people, these in despair would eventually resort to violent means, to seek in separation the

[75] *La Revolución Filipina.* (1902)

alleviation of their griefs. By the second he warned the Filipinos that should they labor for their country under the impulse of hatred, or for personal ambition, instead of relieving it, they would increase its sufferings.

Rizal meant that the only effort which would prove beneficial to the Filipinos was the one inspired by true patriotism, which not only demands the sacrifice for the common welfare of all personal vengeance and ambition, but requires, when necessary, the disinterestedness and self-denial of an Elias.

Rizal's new novel was enthusiastically acclaimed by the Filipino community in Europe. Congratulatory letters were sent from Paris by Juan Luna, Pardo de Tavera and Valentin Ventura, shortly after receipt of copies to them. Friends and admirers of Rizal in Barcelona, headed by Graciano Lopez Jaena, in a letter they wrote on October 2, 1891, praised Rizal for his new literary achievement. They informed him that his new work was for the Philippines a "Decalogue of its political redemption and human dignification." "If the Philippines," they further stated, "should know how to comply with the commandments, precepts and counsels which are beautifully written in your novel, she would soon arise from her status of degradation and slavery to that of a free, great, and prosperous nation, master of its destinies."[76]

Opinions, however, varied among Rizal's contemporaries as well as among his biographers as to the literary merits and significance of *El Filibusterismo*. Blumentritt and the Filipino residents then living in Barcelona and Paris considered the *Fili* as superior to the *Noli*. Marcelo H. del Pilar, however, had a different opinion. In his view, the *Fili* as a novel was inferior to the *Noli*, and he said so frankly in a letter that he wrote to Rizal.

It is interesting to note what Rizal himself thought of *El Filibusterismo*. In letters that he wrote shortly before and after the publication of the novel, Rizal revealed his own appraisal of his work. In a letter that he wrote on May 20, 1891 to José Ma. Basa, he said of the *Fili* as follows:[77] "I write with greater ardor than the *Noli* and, although it is not as cheerful, at least it is more profound and more perfect." In another letter to Basa, June 13, 1891, Rizal said: "The *Fili* is greater than the *Noli*."[78] Again, in his letter to the same person August 6, 1891, he said: "I think that this second part (the *Fili*) has greater importance than the

76 Text of the letter is in Palma, *Biografía de Rizal*. Manila, 1949, p. 195.
77 *Epistolario Rizalino*, No. 459.
78 *Loc. cit.*, No. 460.

first part (the *Noli*).[79] In a letter that he wrote to del Pilar, October 13, 1891, he said in part as follows:

> I am grateful to you for what you said regarding my work. I appreciate much your judgment that my *El Filibusterismo* is inferior to the *Noli*. I myself frankly am of the same opinion. To me the *Fili*, as a novel, is inferior to the *Noli*... However, when it comes to unity, ideas, depth, etc., that is a different matter."[80]

In writing his second novel, Rizal was moved by the same lofty motives of patriotism that inspired the writing of the *Noli Me Tángere*. He wanted, for one thing, to expose the abuses and injustices that were being committed in the Philippines in the hope that the necessary remedies would be applied. He made this fact clear in the foreword which he prepared for his novel but which, for reasons of his own, he left out in the printed edition. "We shall look," he wrote, "at (the realities of the situation) face to face... so that, upon seeing it, our country and its government (would) reflect."[81]

Rizal also wanted to point out what his countrymen needed to do to enable them to attain the goal of their aspirations for nationhood and freedom. He was fully aware of the shortcomings of his people, of their faults and vices, of their lack of a sense of personal dignity, of self discipline, civic conscience, and the spirit of sacrifice and dedication to the public welfare. He was deeply concerned over the weakness of the moral and spiritual foundation of his country. He understood well enough that if his beloved Philippines were to rise to the stature and dignity of a great nation, worthy of a place among the free and enlightened nations of the world, it was vitally important that the Filipino people should regenerate themselves and should acquire those moral qualities and virtues that give strength and stability to the social and political structure of a nation.

Rizal must have had these things in mind as he wrote his *El Filibusterismo*. He wanted his book to serve as a New Gospel, a New Testament, to the Filipino people, to show them the way to their redemption and to their future welfare and happiness. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rizal should refer to the *Fili* as "greater than the *Noli*," that it was written "with greater ardor," that it was "more profound and more perfect," and that it was superior in "unity, ideas, depth, etc."

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79 *Loc. cit.*
80 Text in Palma, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
81 *Loc. cit.*

Of the chapters of *El Filibusterismo,* the concluding one is unquestionably the most important because it is there that Rizal gave the essence, the core, so to speak, of his "Gospel," his "Testament," to his people. It is contained in the narrative of the last moments of Simoun. In the memorable passages of that narrative, Rizal, speaking through Father Florentino, made known his ideas and ideals of freedom and nationalism. The narrative as told by Rizal himself is, in excerpts, as follows:[82]

> Padre Florentino looked toward the bed and he was shocked to see that the patient's face had lost its peaceful and ironical expression. A hidden anguish seemed to make him frown, in his eyes anxiety could be read and his lips were contracted in a smile of pain.
>
> "Are you suffering, Señor Simoun?" asked the priest solicitously as he approached.
>
> "Somewhat, but soon I shall no longer suffer," he answered, moving his head.
>
> Terrified, Padre Florentino joined his hands together, thinking he understood a terrible truth.
>
> "My God, what did you do, Señor Simoun? What did you take?" and he pointed to the bottles.
>
> "It's useless; there is no remedy whatsoever!" he answered with a sad smile; "what did you want me to do? Before eight o'clock.... Dead or alive... dead, yes, but alive, never!"
>
> "My God, my God! What did you do?"
>
> "Please be calm!" interrupted the patient with a gesture; "what has been done can't be undone. I must not fall alive into anybody's hands... they might wrest the secret from me. Please don't get excited, please don't lose your head... it's useless. Please listen! Night is approaching and there's no time to lose... I must tell you my secret; I must confide my last wish to you... I need to let you know my life... At the supreme moment I want to put away a burden, I want to settle a doubt... You who believe so much in God... I want you to tell me if there is a God!"
>
> The priest, perplexed, let himself fall on the reclinatory, prayed at the feet of Christ's image, hiding his face with his hands and then he seriously and gravely arose as though he had received from his God all the energy, all the dignity, all the authority of the Judge of consciences. He pulled up a large chair to the spot near the patient's head and was ready to listen.
>
> At the first words which Simoun murmured to him, when he told him his real name, the old priest drew back and looked at him with terror. The patient smiled bitterly. Taken by surprise, the man was stupefied, but soon he controlled himself, and covering his face with his handkerchief, he leaned again, and went on listening.
>
> Simoun told his sad story: how thirteen years before, on his return from Europe, full of hopes and rose-tinted illusions, it had been his

[82] English translation by Dr. Jorge Bocobo, Manila, 1957, p. 349, *et seq.*

desire to marry a girl whom he loved, ready to do good and to forgive all who had wronged him, provided they would leave him alone. But things had not turned out in that manner. A mysterious hand had cast him into the maelstrom of an uprising faked by his enemies: he had lost his name, fortune, love, future, freedom and all, and he had been saved from death only through the heroism of a friend. It was then when he vowed to take revenge. With his family's riches, buried in a forest, he had escaped, had gone abroad, and had engaged in business. He had taken part in the Cuban war, helping one side, and then the other, but always reaping profits. There he had known the General, who was then only a major, whose goodwill he had won, first through advances of money and becoming his friend later thanks to crimes whose secret the jeweller knew. Through the power of money, Simoun had secured the job for his friend, and once in the Philippines, he had turned the General into his blind instrument, prompting him to commit all manner of injustice, making use of his insatiable thirst for gold.

The confession was long and heavy, but in the course of it the confessor did not show another sign of amazement and he seldom interrupted the patient. The night had set in when Padre Florentino, wiping the perspiration from his face, straightened himself up, and began to meditate. Mysterious darkness prevailed in the room, which the rays of the moon entering through the window flooded with vague lights and vaporous reflections.

In the midst of the silence, the priest's voice sadly and slowly but comfortingly sounded:

"God will forgive you, Señor... Simoun," said he; "He knows we are fallible, has seen how much you have suffered, and in allowing that you should find the punishment of your misdeeds by meeting death at the hands of the very ones whom you had instigated, we can see His infinite mercy! He has foiled your plans one by one, even the best conceived ones; first with the death of Maria Clara, then with lack of foresight, and later mysteriously... Let us abide by His will and thank Him!"

"According to you," replied Simoun weakly, "His will is that these islands..."

"Shall continue in the condition in which they are groaning?" concluded the priest, seeing that the other had stopped. "I do not know, Señor; I can not read the thought of the Inscrutable! I know that He has not abandoned those peoples who in supreme moments trusted in Him, and made Him the Judge of their oppression; I know that His arm never failed when, justice having been trampled upon and every recourse having been exhausted, the oppressed man took up the sword and fought for his home, for his wife, for his children, for his inalienable rights, which in the words of the German poet, shine unbroken and unsullied in high heaven like the eternal stars themselves! No; God who is Justice, can not abandon His cause, the cause of liberty without which no justice is possible!"

"Why then, did He withhold His support from me?" asked the patient, full of bitter complaint.

"Because you have chosen a method which He had could not approve of!" answered the priest in a severe voice; "the glory of saving a country is not vouchsafed to him who has contributed to her ruin! You believed that what crime and iniquity have stained and deformed, another crime and another iniquity could purify and redeem. A mistake! Hate begets only monsters; crime, criminals; only love can achieve wondrous deeds, only virtue can save! No; if our country is going some day to be free, it shall not be through vice and crime; not by corrupting her children, deceiving some and buying others, no, never! Redemption presupposes virtue; virtue, sacrifice; and sacrifice, love!"

"Very well; I accept your explanation," said the patient, after a pause; "I have made a mistake; but because I have made a mistake, should this God refuse a people liberty and should He save others who are much more wicked than I? What is my fault side by side with the crime of the rulers? Why should this God bear in mind my iniquity more than the clamor of so many innocent people? Why did He not strike me and then let the people triumph? Why should He let so many worthy and just persons suffer and be complacently unmoved by their tortures?"

"The just and the worthy should suffer so that their ideas may be known and may spread! We should shake or break bottles so as to pour out their perfume; we should strike a stone so that light may come forth! There is something Providential in tyrants' persecutions, Señor Simoun!"

"I know it," murmured the patient; "that's why I fostered tyranny..."

"Yes, my friend, but more corrupt liquids were poured than other things. You fomented social rottenness without sowing a single idea. From such fermentation of vices only boredom could arise, and if something should be borne during the night, it would at best be a fungus, because only fungi are spontaneously bred in the garbage. True, the vices of a government are deadly to itself; they cause its death, but they also kill the society in which they develop. For an immoral government, there is a demoralized people; for an administration without a conscience, there are rapacious and servile citizens in the towns, and bandits and thieves in the mountains! Like master, like slave. Like government, like country."

A brief pause reigned.

"Then what should be done?" asked the patient's voice.

"Suffer and work!"

"Suffer... work...!" repeated the patient with bitterness; "ah! it's easy to say so when one does not suffer... when work is rewarded... If your God demands of man so much sacrifice, of man who can scarcely count upon the present and doubts the morrow; if you had seen what I have; miserable men, unfortunate men, suffering untold tortures for crimes they had never committed; murders to cover up others' wrongs or incapacity; poor fathers of a family dragged away from their homes to work uselessly on roads that are destroyed every morning and seem to serve only to sink families into misery... Ah! to suffer... to work... It is God's will! Convince these persons that their being murdered

is their salvation; that their work means the prosperity of their homes! To suffer... to work! What sort of God is this?"

"A very just God, Señor Simoun," answered the priest, "a God who punishes our lack of faith, our vices, the little appreciation we have for dignity, for civic virtues... We tolerate and aid and abet vice, sometimes we praise it; it is just, very just then that we should suffer its consequences and that our children should also suffer them. He is the God of liberty, Señor Simoun, who compels us to love it by making the yoke heavy for us; a God of mercy, of equity, who at once punishes and improves us, and grants well-being only to him who has earned it by his efforts: the school of suffering tempers, the arena of combat lends vigor to the soul. Far be it from me to say that our liberty should be wrested with the edge of the sword; the sword exerts very little influence now on modern destinies, so we should achieve freedom by being worthy of it, by exalting reason and the dignity of the individual, loving unto death whatsoever is just and good and great; and when a people attain such a height, God furnishes the weapon, and idols fall, tyrants topple down like a house of cards, and liberty shines with the first dawn! We owe our misfortunes to ourselves; let us not blame anybody. If Spain should see us less complacent toward tyranny, and more ready and willing to fight and suffer for our rights, Spain would be the first to give us liberty, for when the fruit of the conception has reached maturity, woe unto the mother who should want to strangle it! Meanwhile, so long as the Filipino people do not have sufficient energy to proclaim, with head erect and bare bosom, their right to social life, and guarantee it with their sacrifice, with their very life-blood; so long as we see our countrymen in their private life feel inwardly ashamed of themselves, hear the rumbling of the voice of conscience which rebels and protests, and in public life keep silent, join the voice of the abuser to make fun of the abused; so long as we see them shut themselves up in their egotism and praise with a forced smile the most iniquitous acts, begging with their eyes for a part of the loot, why give them liberty? With Spain or without Spain, they would always be the same, and perhaps, perhaps worse! What is independence for, when the slaves of today will be the tyrants of tomorrow? And tyrants they shall be, for he loves tyranny who submits to it! Señor Simoun, so long as our people are not prepared, so long as they join the fray, deceived or driven, without a clear idea of what they are going to do, the wisest efforts shall fail, and it is better that they should fail because, why should the bride be handed to the groom if he does not love her enough, if he is not ready to die for her?"

Padre Florentino felt that the patient took his hand and was clasping it; he then was quiet, expecting that Simoun would say something, but he only felt two more handclasps, heard a sigh and a long silence prevailed in the room. Only the sea, whose waves had been disturbed by the evening breeze as if they had awakened from the heat of the day, sent forth its rough rumbling, its eternal song as it dashed itself against the high rocks. The moon, no longer rivalled by the sun, triumphed quietly in the sky, and the trees of the forest, leaning forward to one another, confided their secular legends to one another in mysterious murmurs which the wind carried on its wings.

Seeing that the patient said nothing, Padre Florentino, as if lost in thought, murmured:

"Where are the youth who shall consecrate their roseate hours, their illusions and their enthusiasm to the good of their homeland? Where are the youth who shall shed their generous blood to cleanse so much shame, so many crimes, so much abomination? Pure and spotless the victim has to be in order that the holocaust may be acceptable!... Where are you, Oh youth, who shall embody in yourselves the vigor of life that has fled from our veins, the purity of ideas that has been stained in our brains and the fire of enthusiasm that has been extinguished in our hearts?... We await you, Oh youth: come, for we await you!"

And feeling that his eyes were moist, he gently withdrew his hand from that of the patient; he rose and walked to the window to behold the vast surface of the sea. He was taken out of his meditation by some discreet knocks on the door. It was the servant who wanted to know if he should light the lamp.

When the priest approached the patient, he saw, by the light of the lamp, that he was motionless, his eyes were closed, the hand that had clasped his own was open and lay on the edge of the bed; he thought for a while that he was asleep, but noticing that he was not breathing, he touched Simoun softly, and it was then when he perceived that he was dead: he was beginning to turn cold.

Thereupon he knelt and prayed.

When he rose and beheld the remains, on whose face the most profound sorrow could be read, the weight of a whole useless life, which he was carrying beyond the grave, the old man trembled and murmured:

"May God have mercy on those who have twisted his pathway!"

And while the servants, summoned by him, were kneeling and praying for the deceased, curious and attracted by the bed and reciting *requiems* and more *requiems,* Padre Florentino took out from a drawer the famous steel valise that contained Simoun's fabulous fortune. He hesitated for a moment; but soon, making up his mind, he went down the stairs, and wended his way toward the rock where Isagani had often sat in order to scrutinize the bottom of the sea.

Padre Florentino looked down. Yonder below, the dark waves of the Pacific could be seen beating upon the cavities of the rock, producing sonorous thunders, while wounded by a moonbeam, waves and foams glittered like sparks of fire, like clusters of diamonds thrown upward by some genius of the abyss. He looked around. He was alone. The solitary coast was lost far away in a thin mist which the moon dissipated till it was confused with the horizon. The forest was whispering unintelligible voices. Then the old man, with the effort of his Herculean arms, cast the valise into the sea. It turned several times and rapidly descended, tracing a small curve, reflecting upon its polished surface some pale moonbeams. The old man saw some foams leap, heard a broken noise, and the abyss closed, swallowing up the treasure. He waited for a while, to see if the abyss would return something, but the wave again closed as mysteriously as before, without increasing in the least its ruffled surface, as if into the immensity of the ocean a small pebble had fallen.

> "Let Nature keep thee in the profound abyss among the corals and pearls of her eternal seas!" said the priest, solemnly stretching out his hand. "When for a sacred and sublime cause, men should need thee, God will know how to take thee out of the bosom of the waves... Meanwhile, there thou shalt not perpetrate evil, thou shalt not transgress right, thou shalt not foment avarice!..."

IX

In 1890 while he was in Brussels, Rizal received disheartening news from home. Paciano informed him of the hardships that the family had to suffer, of the unfavorable turn of their litigation over their lots in Calamba, of the rise of banditry in the province, of sickness among members of the family, of the insufficiency of funds in the family, etc. With a note of despair, Paciano referring to their litigation wrote that "nothing could be expected in the Philippines; in Spain, perhaps something favorable may yet turn up."[83] A letter from sister Lucia spoke of "unceasing misfortunes," and of the prevalence of "abuses, madness, and despotism."[84] From sister Trining, Rizal learned of the marriage of Soledad "without the consent of our parents."[85] And sister Saturnina informed him of the deportation of her husband Manuel Hidalgo.[86]

News of these happenings at home touched Rizal deeply. He thought of going back home to share the sufferings of his beloved ones and to help lighten the weight of their misfortunes. He wrote to Blumentritt on June 20, 1890, informing his friend of his desire to go back to the Philippines. But Blumentritt advised him against returning to the Philippines at that time. "Don't go to the Philippines now," he wrote back to Rizal, "but rather to Madrid, where you can render greater services than in Calamba to your country, as well as to your family, during these hard times."[87]

Heeding the advice of his friend, Rizal left Brussels and went to Madrid arriving in the latter city early in August, 1890. One of the things he wanted to do was to obtain a just and reasonable settlement of the litigation involving members of his family. The case had been elevated to the Supreme Court of Spain. It was also his plan to contact influential Spanish liberals to secure their assistance in the Filipino campaign for reforms in the Spanish colonial administration of the Philippines.

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[83] *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 372.
[84] *Loc. cit.,* No. 375.
[85] *Loc. cit.,* No. 378.
[86] *Loc. cit.,* No. 379.
[87] *Loc. cit.,* No. 386.

Unfortunately, the political situation in Madrid at that time was unfavorable and inauspicious. The Liberals headed by Sagasta had fallen from power.[88] Becerra, who was known for his liberal ideas and friendly attitude to the Filipinos, was no longer at the head of the colonial office. The Conservatives were now in control of affairs with Canóvas del Castillo as prime minister. The new minister in charge of colonial affairs was Fabie, a man known to be closely identified with the interests of the religious orders in the Philippines.

Despite the unfavorable conditions then existing, the Filipinos in Madrid spared no efforts to obtain political favors or concessions from the Spanish Government. A commission composed of Rizal, del Pilar, and Dominador Gomez went to confer with Fabie about the needs and conditions of the Philippines. Nothing, however, of importance came out of the conference. The Filipinos sought to enlist on their side the backing and support of prominent Spanish Republicans as well as influential organs of public opinion. Many a well known political figure, the venerable statesman Pí y Margall being one of them, sympathized with and lent their moral support to the desires and aspirations of the Filipinos.

But in the conditions then existing, Rizal and his compatriots in Spain had little hope of obtaining any of the desired reforms. They were confronted by seemingly insurmountable difficulties not the least of which was the Government's attitude towards colonial problems. It was one of indifference and neglect. An influential newspaper *El Resumen* in its issue of November 15, 1890, aptly described the nature and tendency of the Government's colonial policy when it said: "To close the ears, open the purse and fold the arms, such is the Spanish policy in the colonies."[89] Zorrilla, a prominent political figure at the time, realizing the futility of the course of action that was being followed by the Filipinos, told the latter to use more violent methods. "Liberties," he told them, "are to be won with bullets, not on bended knees."

Rizal's going to Madrid was impelled by another purpose. He wanted to come into closer and more intimate contact with his fellow countrymen in Spain, to see for himself how they were using their opportunities for self improvement in preparation for future service to their country. It appeared from reports he received while in Brussels from Filipinos in Paris that some members of the Filipino colony in Madrid were not using their time properly, in-

88 The Sagasta Ministry resigned in July, 1890.

89 Quoted by Retana, *Vida Y Escritos*, p. 194.

dulging themselves in gambling and in various other forms of frivolity. As the recognized leader and spokesman of the Filipino community in Europe, Rizal was much disturbed by the reports. In a letter that he wrote to M. H. del Pilar from Brussels dated May 28, 1890, he made known his keen displeasure and disappointment. Among other things, he wrote:[90]

> Is there nothing in that place, that would remind them that the Filipino does not come to Europe to gamble or to amuse himself but to work fore the freedom and dignity of his race? To gamble, it is not necessary for anyone to leave the Philippines, because there is already much gambling there. If we who are called upon to do something, if we, upon whom our poor country places its modest hopes, spend our time in these things, precisely when the years of youth should be used for something nobler and greater, I much fear that we are pursuing a useless illusion, and, instead of being worthy of freedom, we only render ourselves deserving of slavery.
>
> I appeal to the patriotism of all Filipinos to prove to the people of Spain that we are superior to our misfortunes and that we can not be degraded, nor our noble sentiments be dulled with the corruption of usages.

Rizal's going to Madrid was his second sojourn in that city. Nearly eight years before, he went there for the first time to continue his studies in medicine and in arts and letters at the Universidad Central. This time he had come in pursuance of more serious objectives. In the first place, he wanted to find some measure of relief for his relatives and friends in the Philippines from the oppressions and harassments to which they were at that time being subjected. Furthermore, he wanted to be close to his countrymen in Madrid, to make more effective his moral support and cooperation in the campaign of political propaganda that they were then waging. Finally, it was his desire to help those of his countrymen in Madrid who happened to be somewhat lacking in moral strength and seriousness of purpose, to imbue them with a greater sense of duty and responsibility.

The political situation then existing in Spain, however, did not offer bright prospects of success for Rizal and his countrymen in their political endeavors. The Liberals had, as above stated, fallen from power. Becerra was no longer in charge of the department dealing with Philippine affairs. We can be sure that Rizal had no illusions whatsoever that he would not encounter difficulties and disappointments in Madrid.

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[90] *Epistolario de M. H. del Pilar,* No. 106.

Rizal arrived in Madrid in the early part of August, 1890. Unpleasant surprises awaited him in that city. Only a few days after his arrival, an incident arose involving him and Antonio Luna which nearly brought about a duel between the two. In a picnic held by the Filipinos in Madrid, Luna, while drunk, made some remarks which offended Rizal. The latter was constrained to demand satisfaction and redress "on the field of honor."

The incident caused deep concern among the members of the Filipino community in Madrid. It was felt that the cause of Filipino unity would suffer should the encounter between Rizal and Luna be allowed to continue its course towards a tragic end. It was deemed advisable, for the sake of the Philippines, that the affair be settled amicably.

It speaks well of the good sense and spirit of unity on the part of the Filipino community that the efforts at conciliation were successful. Luna expressed sincere apologies saying that he regretted that, in a moment of inebriety, he had acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. He went as far as to declare in his apology that, should he ever get drunk again, he should be tied up to prevent him from doing any mischief.

With Luna's expressions of regrets, the incident was closed. Rizal and Luna became good friends again. Rizal on August 23 made a report of the incident to Antonio's elder brother, Juan, in Paris. In reply, Juan Luna himself apologized for the conduct of his brother. "I am sorry," he wrote, "for what happened between you and Antonio and between the latter and other friends." He requested Rizal to continue looking after the welfare of Antonio and to use his influence to restrain his brother's combative spirit and impulsive tendencies.[91]

The Rizal-Luna affair served to deepen the favorable impression that Rizal enjoyed among his countrymen. It brought out in bold relief the fact that Rizal was a man of strong character, with a keen sense of personal honor, and that he would not hesitate to risk his life to uphold and defend his honor and dignity.

It was during Rizal's stay in Madrid that the Calamba land controversy reached a critical stage. What Rizal feared would follow from an adverse decision of the case now happened. A letter from his sister Saturnina written on September 6, 1890, told him what had come to pass. "Our parents," she wrote, "have been driven from our home... Paciano, Antonino, Dandoy, Silvestre

[91] Luna's letter is in the *Epistolario,* Vol. 3, No. 408.

and Teong at four o'clock this afternoon left on their way to exile in Mindoro."[92]

Rizal received with a heavy heart the sad news from home. The thought that he was, by reason of his political activities, largely responsible for the afflictions and misfortunes of his dear ones, and that he was unable to help them, made his situation more poignant and oppressive. At the same time it tended to arouse his fighting spirit. He was quick to react against any criticism, particularly if it concerned the honor and interests of any member of his family.

Rizal was in this state of mind when on November 16, 1890, an article by Wenceslao Retana appeared in the Madrid newspaper *La Epoca*. In that article, Retana made some statements which reflected on the character and moral rectitude of Rizal's parents. The article deeply hurt Rizal. Within twenty-four hours after its publication, Rizal challenged Retana to a duel.

The story of this affair was told by Retana himself in his biography as follows:[93]

> I read with great interest everything that appeared in print concerning the Philippines. Taking advantage of the favorable reception accorded to my writings in *La Epoca,* I started a campaign through the columns of this paper intended to counteract the effects of the campaign which the Filipinos (principally Rizal) were waging. In one of my articles, touching on the Calamba question I said: — "Coming from Europe, Dr. Jose Rizal arrived in Calamba, and *thenceforth* the tenants refuse to pay the rentals, more particularly the *parents* and friends of Rizal." Before twenty-four hours expired after the publication of the article, Rizal's seconds called on me... One of Rizal's representatives spoke to me as follows:
>
> "Rizal does not mind being attacked in person. He is a fighter and he knows how to take care of himself. But he will not allow any one to involve his dear ones in these matters."
>
> Rizal's sense of filial devotion bordered on the sublime. It is not easy to find another man whose love for his parent's, brothers, and other relatives was greater than his. One can, therefore, see how much he suffered everytime news of the deportation of any of his relatives reached him... Rizal's challenge was settled to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. A statement was drawn up in a manner which "left untarnished the honor and good name of Rizal and his relatives, as well as those of Mr. Retana."

Retana in the account above quoted did not state in what form his public apology to Rizal was presented. It would seem, however, that Rizal accepted the apology as a satisfactory reparation

[92] *Loc. cit.*
[93] *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

for the injury that Retana had caused to his sense of honor and dignity.

Juan Luna, however, felt that Rizal was too generous and liberal towards Retana. Writing from Paris on December 21, 1890, Luna, referring to the Rizal-Retana affair, expressed his dissatisfaction and disappointment over the way the affair was settled. "I am sorry," he told Rizal, "that your dispute with Retana did not go beyond mere apologies. Men of his type, like serpents, should be crushed."[94]

There were other unpleasant surprises to Rizal while in Madrid which made quite unhappy his second stay in that city. One of these came shortly after the settlement of his affair with Retana. A letter he received from his sweetheart, Leonor, brought the sad news of her forthcoming marriage to an Englishman. In her letter Leonor recounted in detail the circumstances which had brought such an unhappy ending to their love affair.

It was a heartbreaking news to Rizal. He wept, according to an eyewitness, like a child upon reading the letter. For a moment, he was in an extremely depressed spirit. "I wanted," he revealed in a letter to Blumentritt, "that a gigantic volcano should burst and destroy everything in my country."

He was able, however, to regain full control of his emotions. Blumentritt wrote him a consoling letter reminding him that he was, after all, in pursuit of a more worthy cause. "A more beautiful woman," Blumentritt told him, "lovingly awaits you—your country. Filipinas is like one of the enchanted princesses in the German legends, a prisoner in the hands of a wicked Dragon, and anxious to be liberated by a valiant knight."[95]

Shortly thereafter Rizal had to face a more serious issue. It was one which concerned his relationship with M. H. del Pilar and his association with the Filipino community in Madrid in the Propaganda movement and was, for that reason, a matter of vital interest to him.

Among the members of the Filipino community in Madrid, it was traditional to hold a fraternal banquet on the eve of a new year. In the 1890 New Year's eve reunion, Rizal was present. As usual speeches were made and toasts more or less appropriate to the occasion were offered. One of the speakers happened to say that it was regrettable that, among the members of the community, there were some who were lacking in industry and earnestness in

94 *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 428.
95 *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 3, No. 441.

their studies. Strangely enough this remark evoked warm applause from many of those present at the banquet. Rizal, however, reacted quite differently. When the applause ended, he was heard to say, "we should rather be sorry for it than be pleased."[96]

His words reflected the deep concern that he felt over the doings of his countrymen in Madrid. Obsessed as he was with the idea that the Philippines stood in need of the idealism and enthusiasm of her youth, it naturally pained him to think that there were countrymen of his abroad who, instead of utilizing their opportunities to prepare themselves for service to their country, should waste their time and their energies in useless and frivolous activities. One of the reasons why he had gone to Madrid was precisely to help enhance the capacity of the Filipino community there as an instrument of political propaganda by making its members live up to a high standard of morality. He wanted to imbue his countrymen there with his own idealism to the end that, by their display of virtue, industry and the spirit of sacrifice, they would win for their race the respect and admiration of the Spanish people.

It appeared, however, that Rizal's idealism was not shared by some of his countrymen. In fact, there were many who resented his efforts to make them measure up to a high standard of conduct. They considered his offer of service and counsel for moderation and propriety in their ways as an undue attempt to impose his own ideas of morality and an unwarranted interference in their private affairs.[97]

Whether Rizal was aware of it or not, the fact is that there was a significant segment of the Filipino community in Madrid that was critical of him and that among the members of this group, the impression prevailed that his leadership in the nationalistic campaign was not by any means indispensable.

Subsequent events brought home to Rizal this grim and unpleasant fact. On New Year's day, a meeting of members of the Filipino community was held at the residence of Del Pilar. In that meeting it was proposed that a leader (*Responsable*) be chosen who was to direct the affairs of the Filipino community including the management of the newspaper *La Solidaridad*.

Rizal gave his full support and indorsement to the proposal. He knew well enough, from what he observed of the condition of affairs in the Filipino community in Madrid and incidentally

[96] An account of this incident and of what subsequently happened was given by M. H. del Pilar in his letter to Deodato Arellano, March 31, 1891. *Epistolario de M. H. del Pilar,* No. 116.

[97] See on this point Tomás Arejola's letter to Rizal, *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 439.

of the conduct of the Propaganda campaign, that the services of a *Responsable* were badly needed. He was anxious to see complete identity of aims and purposes between the *Responsable* and *La Solidaridad*.

While agreeable in principle to the idea, Del Pilar was opposed to the proposition that *La Solidaridad* be placed under the control of the *Responsable*. He explained that the publication of the newspaper was the concern and responsibility of a private entity. For that reason, he pointed out, *La Solidaridad* should not be subjected to the control and authority of the *Responsable,* for such an arrangement would deprive the newspaper of its independence and freedom of action. He hastened to say, however, that *La Solidaridad* was at the service of the Filipino community, that they were free to use it as their official organ through which they could express what they felt and believed were the desires and aspirations of the Filipino people.

Because of the firm opposition of Del Pilar, the proposition was abandoned. Following the disposal of that issue, the meeting proceeded to the business of electing the *Responsable*. The rules adopted at the meeting required a two-thirds majority for the election of the *Responsable*.

It became evident at once that a cleavage existed in the ranks of the members of the community. The latter were sharply divided in their political loyalties—one group supporting the candidacy of Rizal, another, that of Del Pilar. In three separate ballotings neither Rizal nor Del Pilar received the requisite majority.

The following day, the balloting was resumed with the same result. At the close of the last inconclusive balloting, Rizal, apparently much displeased by the partisanship and factionalism which characterized the conduct of the election, left the meeting. Mariano Ponce, anxious to preserve harmony in the community, appealed to the supporters of Del Pilar to give their votes to Rizal. Thanks to his efforts, Rizal in a new balloting received the requisite majority.

Rizal accepted the post to which he was elected. But he did not remain long in that office. Shortly after his formal induction, he left Madrid. He went to Biarritz, a resort on the Atlantic coast of France, to work on the continuation of his novel, *El Filibusterismo*.

His decision to leave Madrid and, incidentally, the position to which he had been elected was due primarily to the incidents which had arisen on the occasion of the election of the *Responsable*. What transpired on that occasion made quite clear to him the fact

that, as a leader in the Propaganda campaign, he did not enjoy the trust and confidence that he expected of the entire membership of the Filipino community in Madrid. Conscious of that fact, he had no alternative but to leave Madrid. His self respect, his high regard for honor and personal dignity, his sense of *delicadeza,* as he termed it, impelled him to do so. He once told Del Pilar that he would resign at the first indication of lack of confidence in his leadership.[98] He showed by his actuation that he knew how to live up to his avowed norm of conduct. He gave a demonstration of his desire to introduce *delicadeza* as a rule and a guide in the conduct of political affairs.

Moreover, he wanted others among his countrymen abroad to be given the opportunity to display their capacity for leadership in the Propaganda campaign. He was perfectly willing, in fact it was his hope and desire, as he repeatedly indicated in letters to his contemporaries, that others should come forward and even excel or surpass him in loyalty and devotion to the interests and welfare of the Fatherland. In renouncing the leadership of the campaign to Del Pilar by leaving Madrid, Rizal gave an admirable demonstration of his spirit of abnegation and self-effacement.

X

Rizal's departure from Madrid may be said to have brought to a close his active participation in the Propaganda campaign in Europe. That campaign was being carried on chiefly through the newspaper *La Solidaridad* of which the managing editor was M. H. del Pilar.

Rizal, however, did not think of abandoning the work to which he had been dedicating his talents and his energies on behalf of his country. He meant to carry on that undertaking. It was his plan to leave Europe upon completion and publication of *El Filibusterismo.* His intention was to return eventually to the Philippines to carry on his patriotic labors right at home. This plan was manifest in the letter which he wrote shortly before he left Europe. In that letter he said, among other things, as follows:[99]

> The field of campaign is in the Philippines. It is there where we should meet... It is there where we should help one another, where, united one and all, we shall either fail and suffer or reach the goal of our aspirations.

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98 "Rizal to Del Pilar," *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 488.
99 *Ibid.,* No. 491.

Rizal left Europe in October, 1891. His destination, however, was not the Philippines but Hongkong. He felt it was important that he should postpone his going to the Philippines until a more auspicious time.

He arrived in Hongkong on November 20, 1891. A few days, thereafter, (Dec. 1) he wrote to his parents requesting permission to go back to the Philippines in order to be close to them. His parents, knowing that it was not safe for him to return, themselves went to join him in Hongkong. The Christmas of 1891 was a particularly happy one for him for it was the first family reunion he attended in four years. He had with him on that occasion his father, his mother, his brother Paciano, his brother-in-law, Silvestre Ubaldo, and four of his sisters.

A promise of a more liberal policy in the administration of affairs in the Philippines was seen by Rizal in the arrival of Despujol as new Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.[100] Despujol was reported as an impeccable gentleman, friendly and cordial towards the more enlightened elements of the Philippine population, and eager to work for reforms which would redound to the interests and welfare of the country.

Rizal must have regarded the presence of such a man in the governorship of the country as a favorable condition for his return to the Philippines. For in a letter he wrote on Dec. 23, 1891, to Despujol, he offered his services and pledged his cooperation in the implementation of the later's policy of improving the administration and promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Despujol, however, chose to ignore Rizal's offer. Not even the favor of a reply to Rizal's letter did he grant to him. To justify his actuation, he insinuated that Rizal was not entirely sincere in making his offer of cooperation since, at the time he received Rizal's letter, *El Filibusterismo* began to circulate in the Philippines.[101] The imputation of insincerity was, of course, unjust, for Rizal did not regard his writing of *El Filibusterismo* as an act of disloyalty either to Spain or the Philippines.

At the same time that he was planning to return to the Philippines, Rizal conceived of a project to establish a Filipino colony in Borneo. His plan, as revealed in his second letter to Despujol, March 21, 1892, was to establish a colony in British North Borneo in an area which the government of that region was willing to cede to him and where many Filipinos were already residing.

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[100] An appointee of the Canóvas del Castillo Ministry, Despujol, began his governorship of the Philippines on Nov. 17, 1891.

[101] See Despujol's decree of deportation of Rizal, *Gaceta de Manila*, July 7, 1892.

Arrangements for the establishment of such a colony were made with W. B. Pryor, manager of the North Borneo Development Company which acted in behalf of the government of British North Borneo. Under the conditions mutually agreed upon, the proposed Filipino colony would be self-governing and at the same time would enjoy all the privileges and immunities of a British protectorate. As envisioned by Rizal, the colony would serve as a ready and convenient place of refuge for those of his countrymen who might wish to flee from colonial oppression and persecution at home.

Rizal's colonization project came to the attention of Filipinos in Europe arousing no little interest and enthusiasm among them. Juan Luna wrote to Rizal from Paris informing him of the great desire of the Filipinos in Paris to see the project realized.[102] Aristón Bautista expressed his desire to join Rizal in Borneo.[103] Antonio Luna, writing from Madrid, told Rizal: "Borneo will be a boon to us, and in all probability, I shall be one of its inhabitants if forced by circumstances."[104]

Rizal, out of courtesy and from a sense of propriety, took care to bring to the attention of Despujol his colonization project. In his second letter to the Governor, he explained what he had planned to do and why he wanted to do it. He told Despujol in the most courteous and respectful manner, that, since there were persons in the Philippines who considered him as a trouble maker and who believed that his presence and that of his relatives and friends were prejudicial to the tranquility of the Philippines, they were willing to go away forever. In such a case, he told the Governor, he would request permission to expatriate himself and to dispose of his properties, and, for those who would desire to join him in the colony that he proposed to establish, freedom to emigrate.

Despujol dealt with Rizal's petition in a manner not entirely in keeping with his reputation as a perfect gentleman. He did not condescend to answer Rizal in person. He chose to give his reply verbally thru the Spanish consul in Hongkong. The latter, speaking for Despujol, informed Rizal that, in view of the scarcity of farm hands in the Philippines, it was unpatriotic for anyone to take men away from the Philippines to cultivate the soil in a foreign land. For this reason, Rizal was told, the permission he requested was denied. However, Rizal was made to understand, Filipinos anywhere in the Philippines were free within the framework of the

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102 *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 515.
103 *Ibid.,* No. 514.
104 *Ibid.,* No. 517.

laws of the land to contribute with their labors to the prosperity of the country.[105]

Despite the snobbish and uncondescending manner with which he was treated by Despujol, Rizal did not abandon his plan to return to the Philippines. He still believed that Despujol had a high sense of justice. Besides, he knew that his conscience was clear; he was confident that God and the laws would protect him from injustice.[106]

Moreover, he had another important project in mind which required his presence in the Philippines and for which the initial steps had been taken in Hongkong. This was the founding in the Philippines of the *Liga Filipina.*

The constitution of the *Liga* was drafted by Rizal at the request of his friend and companion in Hongkong, Jose Basa. According to its constitution, the *Liga* had for its aims the following:[107]

1. Union of the Philippines into a compact, vigorous and homogeneous body.
2. Mutual protection in all occasions of danger and necessity.
3. Defense against violence and injustice.
4. Promotion of instruction, agriculture and commerce.
5. Study and application of reforms.

Before leaving Hongkong, in the latter part of June, 1892, Rizal wrote three letters. One of them, addressed to Governor Despujol dated June 20th, 1892, was mailed in Hongkong and was on its way on the same boat that was taking Rizal to the Philippines. The two others were sealed letters which Rizal left with a friend of his in Macao, Dr. Lorenzo Pereyra Marques, with instructions that they be opened only after his death. One of the letters was addressed to his parents, brothers and friends; the other, to his countrymen.

In these letters, Rizal revealed the reasons which impelled him to return to the Philippines. He was taking that step in obedience to a moral compulsion, which was to secure relief for his parents, relatives and friends from unjust vexation and persecution. He was aware of the fact that he was, because of his activities, the cause of the suffering of so many innocent persons. He felt that, it was his duty, binding upon him in conscience, to go back home to take over the responsibility for whatever charge the government might

105 Despujol's decree.
106 Rizal's letter to Despujol, June 20, 1892.
107 Text of the constitution and rules of the *Liga Filipina* is in Retana, *op. cit.*

wish to raise against him thereby bringing to the innocent justice and tranquility.

The letters were documents of supreme human interest. In them were reflected the sublime qualities of mind and heart that marked the personality of Rizal: filial love, deep concern for the welfare and happiness of his parents, relatives and friends, devotion to duty, great moral courage, a spirit of dedication to the public welfare, abnegation and selflessness, and, above all, a deep love of country and willingness to sacrifice everything for her including life itself.

On June 26, 1892, in the company of one of his sisters, Rizal arrived in Manila. On that same day, he called at Malacañang to pay his respects to Governor Despujol. He was granted an audience of three minutes duration with the Governor in the course of which he obtained the lifting of the order of deportation of his father. The same concession was granted a few days later on behalf of his sisters.[108]

The next few days were spent by Rizal in propagating the ideas and ideals of the *Liga Filipina.* He took a trip by train to see for himself the newly established railway in Luzon and, at the same time, to meet friends and admirers of his in the provinces. He visited Bulacan, Pampanga and Tarlac. He also accepted invitations to meet those who were eager to see and hear him. One of the meetings to which he was invited was held at the house of Doroteo Ongjunco. At that meeting, where officers of *La Liga Filipina* were elected, Rizal spoke. He stressed the need for the establishment of the *Liga Filipina,* saying that by means of the *Liga,* commerce, industry and the arts would flourish, and that the country, once prosperous and united, would be worthy of greater liberties, even independence itself.

On July 6, Rizal once more had an audience with Governor Despujol in Malacañang. What happened at that audience, Rizal himself wrote, in part, as follows:[109]

> Governor Despujol asked me if I insisted in my desire to go back to Hongkong, and I said yes. After talking about other matters, he told me that I had brought copies of a circular in my luggage. I told him no. He asked me who could be the owner of the pillows and mats, I said my sister. For this, he told me, he would send me to Fort Santiago...
>
> On Thursday afternoon, July 14, ... the Governor's nephew came to inform me that at 10 o'clock that night I would sail for Dapitan...

108 "Despujol's Decree of Deportation," Rizal's *Diary,* 1892.
109 Rizal's Diary, *Epistolario,* Vol. 4.

> The *Cebu* left at one o'clock the next morning... We arrived at Dapitan Sunday, July 17, at seven in the evening... We were met by the Military Governor, Captain Ricardo Carnicero.

Thus began Rizal's period of exile which lasted more than four years. How he felt about his deportation may be gathered from the confidential letter that Ricardo Carnicero, military governor of Dapitan, wrote to Despujol on August 20, 1892. Rizal accepted with resignation his deportation to Dapitan. His only regret was that Governor Despujol did not give him an opportunity to defend himself. He felt that the Governor deprived him of his liberty without due process of law.

For all that, however, Rizal did not have feelings of resentment toward Governor Despujol. He had the magnanimity to overlook the harshness of the treatment that he received at his hands. After all, important reforms could be expected by the country from his administration and, to Rizal, that was the thing that mattered more. Moreover, Rizal could not forget the favors that the Governor extended to his dear ones. His sense of gratitude constrained him to think well of Governor Despujol.

In the interview that he gave to Carnicero and which Carnicero reported in his confidential letter to Despujol, Rizal made it known that he was quite satisfied with his new situation. Except for the fact that he was far away from his beloved ones, he was content to live in his assigned place of exile.[110]

XI

In the period following Rizal's deportation important developments unknown to Rizal took place. The *Liga Filipina*, for one, began to lose its vitality. A few months after Rizal's deportation, it virtually ceased to exist. It was reorganized, however, early in 1893 along the original plan. In 1894, it was dissolved altogether. Some of the members, however, formed themselves into another group called *Compromisarios*. They promised to contribute monthly a sum of money to defray the expenses of publication of the newspaper *La Solidaridad* and of those who were engaged in the campaign for reforms in Spain. But it was not long before this organization also ceased to exist.

Another important development was the removal of Despujol from the governorship of the Philippines. In the latter part of 1892, the Ministry of Canóvas del Castillo fell from power in Spain.

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110 Text of Carnicero's letter is in Retana, *op. cit.*

The Liberals under Sagasta once more took over the reins of government. The Sagasta Ministry had, as Minister of the Ultramar, Antonio Maura. For the governorship of the Philippines, Ramón Blanco was chosen.

Of greater significance, however, was the founding of a new society more radical than the *Liga Filipina* in aims and purposes. This was the *Katipunan*.

The *Katipunan* was founded by Andres Bonifacio and five other persons on July 7, 1892, the day that the *Gaceta de Manila* came out with the decree of deportation of Rizal. It was a secret organization having as its avowed purpose to prepare the country for armed struggle against the Spanish regime for the emancipation of the Filipino people.

Starting with only a handful of members, the *Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan,* as the society was formally known, propagated itself gradually, although slowly at the beginning, among the Filipinos. Persons initiated into the Society went through the ceremonies of the "blood compact," consisting in the initiate's making a small incision on his arm and, with his own blood, signed an oath pledging his loyalty to the *Katipunan* and his readiness to defend it and its cause even at the cost of his own life.

By August 1896, the *Katipunan* had grown to large proportions. According to Olegario Diaz of the Guardia Civil Veterana, in the Manila area alone there were no less than 14,000 members at the time the Philippine Revolution broke out.[111] In Cavite, Batangas, Laguna and Nueva Ecija, he estimated that at least 20,000 had been initiated in the *Katipunan*.

In the later part of August 1896, following the discovery by Father Mariano Gil, Agustinian curate of Tondo, of the secrets of the *Katipunan,* Andrés Bonifacio gathered *Katipunan* members in Balintawak near Manila and there and then raised the historic cry of revolt. It was the opening event of the Philippine Revolution.[112]

In the meantime, Rizal passed quietly his days as a deportee in Dapitan. He adjusted himself without difficulty to the realities of his situation. He acquired new interests. He purchased agricultural lands and put them under cultivation. He renewed the practice of his medical profession, giving free medical service to the poor and the needy but charged high fees from the rich and the

111 Retana, *Archivo del Biblioflo Filipino,* Vol. 3, p. 356.

112 E. de los Santos, *Andres Bonifacio;* M. Artigas, *Andres Bonifacio y El Katipunan;* T. Agoncillo, *Revolt of the Masses,* are important studies on the *Katipunan*.

well-to-do. He taught Spanish, English and arithmetic to a group of boys in the town. He designed and helped build a water works system for Dapitan. He constructed on the plaza a relief map of Mindanao as a part of a plan of beautification that he had prepared for the town.

His conduct as a deportee was, as Governor Blanco himself attested, exemplary.[113] He kept himself aloof from the turmoil of contemporary political events in the Philippines. He gave no cause to either Capt. Ricardo Carnicero or Capt. Juan Sitges, his guardians, to doubt his sincerity and good faith. By the charm of his manners and the sweetness of his character together with the brilliancy of his intellect, he won their friendship, admiration and respect.

In his new situation, he gave himself again to his favorite intellectual pursuits. He wrote poems, painted pictures, designed sculptures, and undertook scholarly studies in various fields—history, ethnography, linguistics, biology, etc. He renewed his correspondence with Prof. Blumentritt and other European scholars. It was with extreme pleasure that he discussed with them some of the problems that he encountered in his studies.

Deeply attached as he was to his family, he longed to see his beloved ones join him in his exile. In the later part of 1893, he had the satisfaction of welcoming to Dapitan his mother, one of his sisters and a nephew. Their presence brought cheer and comfort to his life. The traditional family reunion was held on Christmas day. The Christmas of 1893 was, on that account, a particularly memorable one for Rizal. Rizal's mother returned to Manila early in 1895, but other members of the family took turns in visiting him at Dapitan. In February of that year, a new ray of sunshine came to Rizal's life when Josephine Bracken, his future wife, arrived in Dapitan.

With all the changes for the better in his situation, however, Rizal was not wholly contented. He felt galling the loss of his liberty. He longed to be restored to his freedom. He wanted to be vindicated from the imputation of disloyalty to Spain. In February 1894, he wrote to Governor Blanco requesting his liberty. For months, however, he waited anxiously for Blanco's reply. It never came. But in November of that year, Blanco promised to transfer him either to Ilocos or to La Union. The promise, however, was never fulfilled.

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113 Blanco's letter to Marcelo de Azcarraga, Spanish Minister of War, August 30, 1896.

Despairing of ever regaining his liberty, Rizal thought of settling down permanently in Dapitan. With this idea in mind, he asked Governor Blanco (February, 1895) for permission to establish an agricultural colony in Mindanao. Even this simple request did not merit an immediate reply from the Governor. It was only in June of that year that Blanco, surprisingly enough, granted the permission that Rizal requested.

In the meantime, a new idea came to Rizal. Blumentritt advised him to offer his services as a medical officer in the Spanish army in Cuba. To serve Spain in that manner, Blumentritt pointed out, would vindicate him from the imputation of disloyalty to Spain.

Acting upon that suggestion, which he thought was excellent, Rizal, in November, 1895, wrote to Governor Blanco offering to serve as a medical officer in the Spanish army in Cuba. As usual, however, Governor Blanco chose not to act at once on Rizal's offer.

After waiting in vain for two months for a reply, Rizal turned his attention and interest to his original plan of establishing himself permanently in Mindanao. In January, 1896, he wrote to his mother about his plan and invited her and his father to come over and pass the rest of their lives with him in Mindanao. "All I want," he told her, "is to serve you and my father and to help my sisters. If you would come over and I am allowed to establish myself here, we shall build a new Kalamba, free from friars, civil guards and bandits."[114]

On June 30, 1896, however, to his great surprise, Rizal received a letter from Governor Blanco notifying him of the acceptance by the government of his offer to serve in the Spanish army in Cuba. Blanco's letter upset all his plans. Right there and then, he decided to leave his properties in Mindanao and to take the first boat leaving for Manila.

Accompanied by Josephine, his sister Narcisa, and some members of his family, Rizal arrived at Manila, August 6, 1896. Unfortunately, the boat which he could have taken in his projected trip to Spain had left the day before. He had to wait for the next mail boat which was scheduled to leave on September 3.

In the meantime, by order of Governor Blanco, he remained aboard the Spanish warship *Castilla,* virtually isolated from his countrymen except from immediate members of his family. It was during this period that the *Katipunan* uprising took place. Early in the morning of August 30, 1896, the *Katipuneros* attacked San Juan del Monte sustaining heavy casualties. It was with a heavy

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[114] *Epistolario Rizalino,* No. 680.

heart that Rizal learned of these events. "Unhappy countrymen," he wrote in his *Diary,* "who so madly plunge themselves into death."[115]

On September 3, aboard the *Isla de Panay,* Rizal left for Spain. He had with him two letters of recommendation with identical texts, which Governor Blanco wrote in his own handwriting; one, to the Minister of the Ultramar, and the other, to the Minister of War. In his letter to the Minister of War, Marcelo de Azcarraga, Blanco said:

> I recommend to you with real interest Dr. Jose Rizal, who is on his way to the Peninsula, at the disposition of the Government, ever desirous of serving as a medical officer in the Army in Cuba.
>
> His behavior during the four year period that he stayed in Dapitan has been exemplary. He is, in my judgment, more deserving of pardon and benevolence, since it appears that he is in no way involved in the uprising which we lament these days either in conspiracy or in any secret organization.[116]

Early in the morning of September 8, the *Isla de Panay* anchored at Singapore. Like many fellow passengers, Rizal went ashore. Being on a British territory, he was free from Spanish jurisdiction. He was at liberty not to go back to the boat if he chose to do so. He knew that Pedro Roxas, a Filipino passenger, and like himself, was considered in the Philippines as a *filibustero,* had decided, for reasons of his own, not to continue on his journey to Spain. He was advised by friends to do likewise. For a while, he was tempted to heed their advice. But, on second thought, he decided to return to the boat.

"A refugee, never," he was reported to have said. "That will be an admission that I am an accomplice in the uprising. I have given my word of honor to Governor Blanco to go to Cuba to serve in the Spanish army. In any event, Blanco will take care to save me."[117]

Rizal placed honor and the demands of conscience far above personal interests. He had full faith and confidence in the justice of his cause and in the power and influence of Governor Blanco. To him, that was all that mattered. So he returned to the boat to resume his journey to Spain.

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115 "Travel Diaries of Jose Rizal," *Bulletin of the Philippine Historical Association,* July, 1957.

116 Text in Retana, *op. cit.*

117 An account of this incident by Federico Bru, a Spaniard who was a fellow passenger of Rizal, is given by Retana, *op. cit.,* p. 351 (footnote).

But Rizal was soon to know that he had badly misplaced his trust and confidence in Blanco. Shortly after leaving Suez (September 28), he received the bad news that he was under arrest and that he was to remain under confinement for the rest of the journey.

Rizal's arrest was ordered by Governor Blanco. The Governor issued the order upon the demand of Colonel Olive who had been designated to investigate the *Katipunan* prisoners in Fort Santiago to find out the causes and circumstances which had brought about the *Katipunan* revolt. Olive found Rizal's name frequently mentioned in the investigation. On the strength of his findings, he asked Blanco to have Rizal brought back to the Philippines for trial. Blanco complying with the demand, telegraphed the order of arrest. In another message, Blanco directed the Captain General of Barcelona to send Rizal back to the Philippines.

What Rizal's reaction was upon being notified of his arrest was revealed in the letter that he wrote to Blumentritt on the day that he received the news of his arrest. It was one of surprise, resentment and indignation. He could not believe that Blanco could do to him what he had done. Blanco's act was, to use his own words, "most unjust, a most abominable infamy, unworthy of him."

Before the bar of History, Blanco fully deserves the rebuke that Rizal gave him. He cannot very well exculpate himself from the injustice, the "abominable infamy" that he did to Rizal. For he had in his hands the power to deny the demand of Col. Olive for the recall of Rizal. As the supreme authority in the Philippines, he was, as Rizal well pointed out, the most powerful Spaniard in the country, not excepting the king of Spain himself. Thru his prerogative of the *cumplase,* he had the discretionary power to veto or annul any law, order or decision, whether coming from Spain or from the Philippines. It was, therefore, wholly within his discretionary power to approve or reject the demand of Col. Olive. That he chose to approve it even in the face of his declaration, freely made, that Rizal's conduct as a deportee in Dapitan was exemplary and that he had no part whatsoever in the *Katipunan* conspiracy, shows that Blanco, to say the least, did not make proper and wise use of his discretionary power. Indeed, it made quite clear the fact that, in a moment of moral weakness, he acted against the dictates of his better judgment. For this, the impartial student of history has good reason to question his sincerity and good faith.

Moreover, Blanco was not unaware of the fact that among his countrymen there were many who, deeply aroused and excited by passion and prejudice, were thirsting for the blood of Rizal and

that, under the circumstances, it was impossible for Rizal to have a fair and impartial hearing. In the interest of justice therefore, Blanco should have allowed Rizal to proceed to Spain, and to let the Government of Spain itself take the responsibility of deciding whether Rizal should be sent back to the Philippines or not. In taking over that responsibility himself, Blanco virtually sealed the fate of Rizal. He was, so to speak throwing Rizal into a den of hungry lions. For this, he must bear a major share of the responsibility for the unjust execution of Rizal.

Upon arriving in Manila on November 3, 1896, Rizal was taken to Fort Santiago as a prisoner. He went through a process of investigation preparatory to his formal trial before a military court which was held on December 26. In the trial, he was charged with two offenses: (1) that of having founded an illegal association which had for its purpose to commit the crime of rebellion; and (2) that of having, through his books, articles, speeches, etc., sowed the seeds of rebellion.

Rizal's defense lawyer, Taviel de Andrade, made a brilliant defense. With clear and convincing logic, he showed that Rizal was innocent of the charges brought against him. Rizal strengthened his defense by giving additional information designed to clarify his actuations in connection with certain vital matters which were brought up in the case against him.

Rizal's fate, however, was sealed. Nothing could prevail against the intolerance, the prejudice and the spirit of vindictiveness which marked the proceedings against him. On that same day, the court martial handed down its verdict. Rizal was declared guilty as charged and, as a penalty, he was to be executed by a firing squad. On that same day, the case was referred to Polavieja, Blanco's successor. On December 28th, Polavieja confirmed the sentence of death and ordered that Rizal be executed on December 30th at Bagumbayan Field.

Early in the morning of December 29th, Rizal was officially notified of the judgment of the military court and of the confirmation of that judgment by Governor Polavieja. The full text of the decision was read to him after which he was taken to the "capilla" a room in Fort Santiago where an improvised altar was set up. There he was to remain for the last twenty-four hours of his life.

On the appointed time, shortly after 7 o'clock in the morning of December 30th, on the execution ground at the Luneta, Rizal had his rendezvous with death. He died a martyr to a cause for

which he had given generously of himself—the welfare and redemption of his country.

XII

In prescribing by law the study in our schools of Rizal's life and works, it is our desire that our youth be imbued with Rizal's ideas and ideals. Rizal strongly believed in the importance of morality in the life of a nation. It was his conviction, drawn from the wisdom of the ages, that righteousness exalts a nation. He sought to impress upon his countrymen the truth that only on the foundation of virtue could they rise up to the level and dignity of a truly great nation. This was the big message that he gave to his people. It can well be said that it was the sum and substance, the core so to speak, of his political and social teachings.

Rizal conveyed this idea in many of his writings. In *La Indolencia de los Filipinos,* he told his countrymen that, to quote his own words, "No redemption is possible without the solid foundation of virtue." In *El Filibusterismo,* he voiced this same conviction in a clear and emphatic manner. In a passage of the concluding chapter of the novel, quoted elsewhere in this study, speaking through Father Florentino, he said these memorable words: "Redemption presupposes virtue; virtue, sacrifice, and sacrifice, love."

Perhaps because this idea was central in the *Fili,* that work was regarded as superior by many of Rizal's contemporaries and by Rizal himself. It would seem that Rizal had chosen it to serve as the vehicle, the instrument for the conveyance of his big message to his people.

It is easy enough to understand what Rizal had in mind when he penned those unforgettable words, above quoted, of Father Florentino. It can well be presumed that he was thinking of the virtue of Christian charity. It is reasonable to suppose that Rizal meant to convey the idea that the way to redemption lay in the Christian way of life, in the practice and observance of true Christian charity, that charity of which St. Paul discoursed with great eloquence in one of his letters to the Corinthians. "Charity," St. Paul said, "is patient, is kind; charity feels no envy; charity is never perverse or proud, never insolent; has no selfish aims; cannot be provoked, does not brood over an injury; takes no pleasure in wrongdoing, but rejoices at the victory of truth; sustains, believes, hopes, endures to the last."[118] It was Rizal's conviction that only in the

118 *The New Testament,* I Corinthians, ch. 13, (Ronald A. Knox Transl.).

exercise and practice of Christian charity could his people fulfill the rosy dream that he cherished for them. He knew that imbued with this virtue, his countrymen would enjoy peace, freedom and prosperity and would earn the respect and admiration of civilized nations.

We need today the high idealism of Rizal. For we stand face to face with a most serious situation. It is the breakdown of our sense of moral values as reflected in the widespread incidence of moral delinquency, cases of which are reported at frequent intervals in the newspapers. Disrespect for law, brazen acts of bribery, graft and corruption, extortions, teen-age vandalism, banditry, sex crimes and outrages, barefaced thieveries, thoughtless and willful destruction of our forests and our rich fishing grounds, and many other forms of wickedness and dishonesty are unmistakable symptoms of a serious disorder in our moral being.

We need very badly the spirit of Rizal to enable us to respond adequately and successfully to a grave challenge in our times. We need to take on as driving forces in our lives his high sense of honor, his sense of *delicadeza* as he called it, his civic courage, his unselfish devotion to duty, his spirit of sacrifice, his generous dedication of self for the good of his country, in short, his spirit of Christian charity.

As a model for our youth, Rizal plays a role of supreme importance in our scheme of nation building. Obviously, it is imperative that the Rizal that we present to our youth for their contemplation and emulation should be one that conforms faithfully to the historical reality. We should see to it that our youth get a true picture of him as he really was in all the stages of his life. For a historically accurate representation of Rizal is indispensable to a sound understanding and appreciation of his character and personality and, incidentally, of his dimension as a figure in our history.

The present situation, however, as regards the study of Rizal is not quite satisfactory. It is because, with respect to certain things in Rizal's life history, there is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding. Reference is had to what happened during the last twenty-four hours of his life, more particularly to his reported return to the Catholic Faith. Since these are things which form part and parcel of his life history and, as such, are important to know so that our knowledge of him may be full and complete, they cannot and should not be ignored or their importance and significance minimized.

It is the belief of many Filipinos that Rizal, in all sincerity and in the spirit of Christian charity, returned to the Faith of Our Fathers and died within the fold of the Catholic Church. This belief rests on an impressive and formidable array of evidence which includes, apart from the testimonies, duly authenticated by public notaries, of eyewitnesses, the document of retraction itself in Rizal's own handwriting. The evidence is, to the unbiased and open-minded, reasonably strong and adequate to justify the belief that Rizal's retraction is an established fact of history.

It is interesting to note that this belief was fully shared by an outstanding intellectual of our time, the late Senator Claro M. Recto. The latter, in an article entitled, *Rizal Y Sus Memorias de Un Estudiante,* referred to Rizal's return to the Catholic Faith in his usually beautiful and delightful literary style as follows:[119]

> According to the Jesuits, Rizal prayed with all the fervor and devotion of which his sensitive and romantic soul was capable... and a miracle of faith occurred in him, similar to those which History has recorded attesting, not only God's omnipotence, but also His mercy. It was the same miracle that restored to Longinus his sight and which made him partaker of the celestial heritage; the same miracle which, on the road to Damascus, occurred to Paul of Tarsus and which transformed him into the foremost apostle of Christianity; the same miracle which transformed Augustine, the son of Monica, from the unbelieving intellectual that he was, into a great defender of the Faith, a sentinel on the ramparts of the City of God.
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> ....
>
> It is well that the great patriot, from the magnificent lessons that he learned in his youth, knew how to form a body of political doctrines to make his country free and, at the moment of death, returned to the Faith of Our Fathers, to fall into the bosom of Him who is "the Light, the Way, the Life."

It is to be noted that the document of retraction, the most important piece of historical evidence bearing on the retraction issue, has been subjected to a searching examination and study by two scholars, handwriting experts, whose competence as such is well known. I have reference to Professors Jose I. del Rosario and H. O. Beyer. Their conclusion as regards the genuineness of the retraction document is positive and categorical, namely, that the document is in the handwriting of Rizal.

Opposed to the belief that Rizal died within the fold of the Catholic Church is the claim of Rafael Palma, author of the Rizal

[119] *The Journal of History.* March, 1961. The article in Spanish, was one of a collection of articles which the late Senator had planned to deliver as lectures in the countries in Europe and Latin America which he had intended to visit in 1960.

biography which is widely used as a textbook in the public schools and in many private schools in the country. Mr. Palma's contention is that Rizal's retraction is not a historical fact. Grounds for his claim are, first, that the account of the retraction by Father Balaguer and the testimonies of eyewitnesses are not worthy of credence; second, that certain "coetaneous acts" which were performed after Rizal's death tended to belie the belief that Rizal retracted; finally, that, on the basis of analysis made of the retraction document by Dr. Ricardo Pascual, the document is not authentic but a product of forgery.

Because of the fact that Mr. Palma's book has been officially approved as a textbook, the views therein set forth regarding Rizal's reported retraction carry with them the stamp of authority and official approval. Mr. Palma's claims and assertions, however, have been found to rest on weak and insecure foundations. His arguments seeking to impugn the credibility and good faith of the eye witnesses to the retraction have been demolished. The same can be said of the points raised by him to disprove, through circumstantial evidence, the historicity of the act of retraction.[120]

With respect to Dr. Pascual's study, which Mr. Palma used as a basis for his claim, it is worth noting that, in the opinion of the handwriting experts above mentioned, it is of doubtful value. The findings presented therein as regards the character and peculiarities of the handwriting on the document are questionable. Professor Beyer's comment on this point is as follows:

> Ricardo Pascual's analysis claiming the document to be a forgery is "full of holes," so to speak. He devoted most of his time to the signature which seems to me normal. He tried to show that certain parts of letters in the signature were longer or shorter than genuine specimens; but in these same specimens, there are parts which are even longer or shorter than those he claimed were genuine.
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> When Rizal wrote in German, for example, his handwriting looks different from that in his letters in Spanish; however, his handwriting in both cases contains the same tricks, loops, angles, and ends of lines commonly known as characteristics.[121]

On his part, Professor del Rosario pointed out that all the writing peculiarities of the retraction document which Dr. Pascual

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[120] The question of Rizal's retraction has been dealt with in detail and in a thorough and scholarly manner by Jesus Ma. Cavanna, C.M., in his book, *Rizal's Unfading Glory,* Manila, 1956. Father Cavanna refuted with devastating effect all the arguments raised against the historicity of Rizal's retraction. Other works which took up for critical examination Palma's claims are J. M. Hernandez, Rizal (Manila, 1950) and N. Zafra, *The Historicity of Rizal's Retraction,* (Manila, 1951).

[121] "Experts Declare Note Is Genuine." *Philippines Herald,* Dec. 29, 1938.

claimed could not be found in Rizal's letter to Andrade, or in the *Defensa* document, or in the *Ultimo Adios,* were present in many other genuine letters and writings of Rizal. He also brought out the fact that certain allegations of Dr. Pascual were either unfounded or erroneous. He was referring particularly to: (1) the claim that the three signatures on the retraction document were written by one hand, and (2) the allegation that there was a marked disparity in average slants between the retraction document and Rizal's letter to Andrade.[122]

The question of the historicity of Rizal's retraction continues to engage the interest of close students of Rizal. Recently three pamphlets have appeared dealing with this question. They are: (1) J. Collas, *Rizal's "Retractions"*, published in 1960; (2) R. P. Garcia, *Rizal's Retraction Still Stands,* 1960; and (3) I. T. Runes and L. de la Rosa, *The Forger of Rizal's Retraction,* 1961. Collas' *Rizal's "Retractions"* and I. T. Runes and L. de la Rosa's *The Forger of the Rizal Retraction* purport to show that the document of Rizal's retraction that Father Manuel A. Garcia found in May, 1935, in the archives of the Archbishop's palace in Intramuros was not written by Rizal. R. P. Garcia's *Rizal's Retraction Still Stands* is a refutation of Collas' *Rizal's "Retractions."*

Mr. Collas' contention is, to use his own words, as follows:

> Rizal's crafty enemies were in such a haste to exhibit their prize (Rizal's Retraction) that they actually presented not only one but two or three different "original retractions" just in case one or two of them should disappear or be destroyed.

The three "original retractions" are: (1) that which was published by Father Pio Pi, S.J., in his pamphlet *La Muerte Cristiana del Doctor Rizal,* Manila, 1909; (2) the one found by Father Gracia in the archives of the Archbishop's palace in May, 1935; and (3) that published by W. E. Retana in his biography of Rizal. Each of these supposedly "original retractions" was substantially different from the other. Hence, Mr. Collas concluded, none of them was authentic; all were forgeries.

All that need be said in connection with Mr. Collas' pamphlet is that Mr. Collas was arguing the same point that was raised by Dr. Pascual. The latter, in his book, *Rizal Beyond the Grave,* claimed that there were "irreconcilable discrepancies" between the versions of the retraction given by Father Pio Pí, in 1909, Father Balaguer in 1917, Archbishop Nozaleda in 1917, and Barzanallana

[122] Full text of Prof. del Rosario's comments is in Cavanna, *op. cit.*

in 1897. These "irreconcilable discrepancies," however, were ably and convincingly explained and clarified by Father Cavanna.[123] Mr. R. P. Garcia in his pamphlet summarized the discussion on this point as follows:

> There was a formula of retraction brought to Fort Santiago in the evening of December 29, 1896, for Rizal to copy. But Rizal did not copy it verbatim. He made some corrections here and there. After he had copied the formula together with his own corrections, he signed it and Father Balaguer got both of them. The retraction Rizal made was sent later to Archbishop Nozaleda for safe-keeping, while the formula was kept by the Jesuits. Father Pi thought that Rizal had copied exactly the formula, for he was not present when Rizal wrote his retraction, and so he copied it (the formula) and had it published with the statement (if he ever said so), made in good faith, that it was copied *a la letra* from the original retraction signed by Rizal.

Mr. Garcia could well say that Mr. Collas' "two or three original retractions" were "ghost retractions" and that "Rizal's retraction still stands."

Messrs. Runes and de la Rosa in their pamphlet claimed to have found the identity of the forger of Rizal's retraction. He is none other than Román Roque, the man who forged Gen. Lacuna's signature which Col. Funston used to effect the capture of General Aguinaldo in 1901. The story of his role in the forging of the document was obtained in an interview the authors had with Antonio K. Abad. Abad's story, in his own words quoted in the Runes-de la Rosa pamphlet, is in brief as follows:

> On August 13, 1901, . . . in a gathering in our home, Román Roque was there to wish me happy returns of the day . . . when my father mentioned the good penmanship of Roque, he was led to tell about his role in the forging of Rizal's retraction.
>
> You know that the capture of Aguinaldo was played up by the Manila papers. Naturally the forgery of Lacuna's signature and names of those who took part in the whole conspiracy, including that of the *cazador* sergeant, Lazaro Segovia, a Spaniard, were mentioned. It was not surprising that the Spanish Jesuits and friars took notice of them. And it was to be expected that Segovia was contacted and informed by them about their plan. Of course, Segovia remembered his former accomplice in the successful plot to capture Aguinaldo.

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[123] See Father Cavanna's discussion on this point in his book, *Rizal's Unfading Glory*, p. 187 ff. See also M. B. Espinas' article published in *The Bicol Mail*, Naga City, July 2, 1961, under the title, "The Conflicting Alleged Retractions of Rizal." On the point raised by Collas, Espinas commented as follows: "It is to be regretted that Mr. Collas misquoted and misrepresented Fr. Pio Pi... seemingly to make the discrepancies between the Pi document and the Gracia document appear more serious than they actually are... This misrepresentation is abominably misleading and reflects the prejudiced interests that (he) serves."

> Segovia, who, later, became manager of a friar owned sugar mill in Mindoro, went to see Roque in San Isidro. He induced him to go to Manila, and he was taken to "Hotel Cuatro Naciones," I think in Intramuros. He mentioned having been to a big building connected with other buildings across a street with a bridge built high over the street.
>
> The friars asked Roque if he was a good Catholic (not Christian), and he replied he was. After being informed of the progress of Protestantism in the Philippines, the friars told him of the danger which the Catholic faith was facing that time. Hence, the advisability of making the retraction of the foremost Filipino hero—to serve as model to others, especially those who were beginning to waver in their faith. Roque must show that he was a good Catholic.

What value is to be placed on Abad's story as a piece of historical evidence?

Anyone who is at all familiar with the rules of historical criticism will readily detect serious defects in the story which render it suspect and unworthy of credence. For one thing, Abad's statements are boyhood recollections of men and events. Based on memory, such statements do not deserve the historian's implicit faith and confidence. It is because the human memory is weak and fallible. After some years, what a person believes to be historical actualities are nothing but "vagaries of memory."

Moreover, many of the statements are gratuitous assumptions, unsupported by documentary evidence. It is true that in the case of the most important point in the testimony, namely Roque's claim that he forged the document of retraction, Abad presented as corroborating evidence a letter from one, L. A. Dionisio, written in 1926, urging Abad to write about the forgery of the Rizal retraction. Part of the letter written in Tagalog, read as follows:

> *Ngayon ay panahon na caylangan mong sulatin na hindi tunay na lagda at sulat ni Dr. Jose Rizal, ang kanilang sinasabing natuclasan nila sa archivo.*

Dionisio, according to Abad, was one of those who in 1901, heard Roque's "revelation."

Abad produced the letter of Dionisio apparently to give his testimony the appearance of credibility. But any sensible person will readily see that, far from strengthening his testimony, it casts serious doubt on his truthfulness and good faith. For it suffers from a queer case of anachronism. It mentions in 1926 an event, the finding by Father Gracia of Rizal's retraction document in the archives of the Archbishop's palace, (*Ang canilang sinasabing na-*

tuclasan nila sa archivo), which had not yet happened when Dionisio wrote his letter.

This defect together with the others above mentioned give one good reason for discarding Abad's testimony as a piece of historical evidence. Incidentally, it may be said that, by utilizing that kind of testimony, the authors of the pamphlet have revealed themselves to be sadly lacking in competence to deal with problems of historical criticism. For they seem to have too much of the instinct of credulity which in historical investigations makes quite difficult for the investigator to distinguish between truth and falsehood.

In view of the existence of contradictions on an important episode in the life of Rizal, the situation in which the study of Rizal is carried on in our schools, is far from wholesome. For one thing, it is conducive to confusion. Our youth find themselves in a quandary as to what really happened in the last twenty-four hours of Rizal's life.

Moreover, it is productive of controversy and discord, for as Pope John XXIII has said, "all discord, disagreement and dispute have their origin in these sources; namely, the truth not known, or what is worse, the truth examined and understood but rejected."[124] In such a situation the study of Rizal becomes a divisive influence among the youth of the land. Far from making Rizal a symbol of unity among us as we want him to be, it makes him a source of controversy and discord.

But a more serious aspect of the situation is the fact that it is liable to produce in the minds of our youth an entirely wrong impression concerning the character and personality of Rizal. One who is convinced by the force of historical evidence that Rizal did retract may have reason to doubt seriously about the greatness of the hero after he learns, through reading of Palma's biography, that Rizal, to use Palma's words, "succumbed to moral pressure and spiritual threats." He may with reason feel that Rizal, either did not know what he was doing, or he lacked the strength of character to stand up under "moral pressure and spiritual threats."

It goes without saying that this unwholesome and intolerable situation should not be allowed to continue. Something should be done to put an end to it. The José Rizal National Centennial Commission should take official cognizance of the problem involved in the situation and take proper steps to resolve it. The question to be resolved is the authenticity of the document of retraction.

[124] *Encyclical,* July 2, 1959.

The Commission should arrange for its solution. Let it enlist the services of the National Bureau of Investigation for this purpose. Let the National Bureau of Investigation review for the benefit of all concerned, the studies made on the document of retraction by Professors Jose I. del Rosario, Beyer and Pascual, to check up on the correctness and accuracy of their findings and the validity of their conclusions.

The problem it seems is a very simple one. For one thing, the document contains several lines of handwritten words. Besides, there are available innumerable specimens of Rizal's handwriting which have been preserved in our archives. As Professor Beyer has well stated:[125]

> If you have a whole sheet written by a man like this (the retraction document), I would venture to say that there is no one in the world who could forge that much writing in a way that a good handwriting examiner can not immediately detect. It is impossible to forge as much writing as there is in that paper or of any other man's writing in a way that cannot be detected. Because you can not imitate three or four lines of writing without getting a lot of your own tricks into it and you can't copy all of the original writer's own tricks accurately enough so that they cannot be detected. The more signatures and the more writings that you have of any individual the easier it is to tell whether the writing is genuine, or not.

In dealing with this problem, it is well to bear in mind what Rizal said regarding the spirit and attitude in which one should approach a historical problem. It is found in *La Indolencia De Los Filipinos*. This is what he said:

> Since we can serve our country only by telling her the truth, however painful it may be; since a categorical and artful denial cannot destroy a positive actual fact, no matter what brilliant arguments may be used; since, on the other hand, a mere assertion of a thing does not of itself bring into being what is impossible; we shall examine the fact calmly, exerting on our part all the impartiality which a man is capable of who is convinced that no redemption is possible without the solid foundations of virtue.

If and when the authenticity of the retraction document is officially verified, let there be a permanent moratorium on controversies and petty bickerings on the question of Rizal's return to the Faith of Our Fathers. By prolonging the state of confusion, misunderstanding and discord over this fact of history, we would only be diverting our attention and energies from the vitally im-

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125 Remarks made at U.P. Faculty Club Symposium, March 10, 1950.

portant objective and purpose for which we have prescribed in our schools the study of the life and labors of Rizal.

It was Rizal's cherished hope and dream that his countrymen would develop in themselves collectively and individually the will power and the capacity needed to make them a great nation. He envisioned a Philippines enjoying the blessings of liberty and the respect and admiration of enlightened peoples of the world because her own people, duly imbued with the spirit of Christian charity, have a proper regard and concern for truth, honor and justice.

Can we measure up to Rizal's idealism?

That is the big challenge that we face today, not only we of the present generation, but also by all who will come after us, our children and our children's children.

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